











THE JOURNAL  
OF THE  
**British**  
**Archaeological Association,**

ESTABLISHED 1843,

FOR THE  
ENCOURAGEMENT AND PROSECUTION OF RESEARCHES  
INTO THE ARTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE  
EARLY AND MIDDLE AGES.

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VOL. XXXVIII



London :

PRINTED FOR THE ASSOCIATION

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MDCCCLXXXII.



THE JOURNAL

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ESTABLISHED 1842

FOR THE

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INTELLECTUAL AND MORAL AGENTS OF THE  
ARTS AND SCIENCES

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W. G. & S.

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## PREFACE.

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THE thirty-eighth volume of the JOURNAL OF THE BRITISH ARCHAEOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION, which is here laid before the world of antiquaries, will be found to contain a series of papers upon most of the principal points to which, during the year 1882, the attention of the Association has been chiefly attracted. The last Congress, held in the course of the summer at Great Malvern, although productive in many ways tending to advance the interest that antiquarian pursuits should rightly hold among us all, was not particularly prolific in papers or dissertations. But, on the other hand, the evening meetings of the Association during the past session have been more numerous attended than heretofore; and they have also been signally fortunate in witnessing and recording a considerable improvement in the number and importance of the objects exhibited, many of them being the result of recent discovery in the course of excavations almost always in progress at some spot or other in the hundred square miles of superficial area of London; and many of them either of great rarity of form, or of high historical or intrinsic value. Among foreign antiquities, notably

the gold, silver, and fictile relics exhumed by the diligence and perseverance of our Associate Major A. P. di Cesnola, F.S.A., at Cyprus, have been brought before the notice of the Association, to the delight of those members who were thereby enabled to contemplate the very beginnings of Phœnician and Hellenic arts, that were destined afterwards to rule the progressive arts of the civilised world.

W. DE G. B.

31 December 1882.

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# British Archaeological Association.

THE BRITISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION was founded in 1843, to investigate, preserve, and illustrate all ancient monuments of the history, manners, customs, and arts of our forefathers, in furtherance of the principles on which the Society of Antiquaries of London was established; and to aid the objects of that Institution by rendering available resources which had not been drawn upon, and which, indeed, did not come within the scope of any antiquarian or literary society.

The means by which the Association proposed to effect this object are:

1. By holding communication with Correspondents throughout the kingdom, and with provincial Antiquarian Societies, as well as by intercourse with similar Associations in foreign countries.

2. By holding frequent and regular Meetings for the consideration and discussion of communications made by the Associates, or received from Correspondents.

3. By promoting careful observation and preservation of antiquities discovered in the progress of public works, such as railways, sewers, foundations of buildings, etc.

4. By encouraging individuals or associations in making researches and excavations, and affording them suggestions and co-operation.

5. By opposing and preventing, as far as may be practicable, all injuries with which Ancient National Monuments of every description may from time to time be threatened.

6. By using every endeavour to spread abroad a correct taste for Archæology, and a just appreciation of Monuments of Ancient Art, so as ultimately to secure a general interest in their preservation.

7. By collecting accurate drawings, plans, and descriptions, of Ancient National Monuments, and, by means of Correspondents, preserving authentic memorials of all antiquities which may from time to time be brought to light.

8. By establishing a *Journal* devoted exclusively to the objects of the Association, as a means of spreading antiquarian information and maintaining a constant communication with all persons interested in such pursuits.

9. By holding Annual Congresses in different parts of the country, to examine into their special antiquities, to promote an interest in them, and thereby conduce to their preservation.

Thirteen public Meetings are held from November to June, on the first and third Wednesdays in the month, during the session, at eight

o'clock in the evening, for the reading and discussion of papers, and for the inspection of all objects of antiquity forwarded to the Council. To these Meetings Associates have the privilege of introducing friends.

Persons desirous of becoming Associates, or of promoting in any way the objects of the Association, are requested to apply either personally or by letter to the Secretaries; or to the Treasurer, THOMAS MORGAN, Esq., Hill Side House, Palace Road, Streatham Hill, S.W., to whom subscriptions, by Post Office Order or otherwise, should be transmitted.

The payment of ONE GUINEA annually is required of the Associates, or TEN GUINEAS as a Life Subscription, by which the Subscribers are entitled to a copy of the quarterly *Journal* as published, and permitted to acquire the publications of the Association at a reduced price.

Associates are required to pay an entrance fee of ONE GUINEA. The annual payments are due in advance.

Papers contributed to and accepted by the Association will be found in the volumes of the *Journal*. Every author is responsible for the statements contained in his paper. The published *Journals* may be had of the Treasurer and other officers of the Association at the following prices:—Vol. I, out of print. The other volumes, £1 : 1 each to Associates; £1 : 11 : 6 to the public, with the exception of certain volumes in excess of stock, which may be had by members at a reduced price on application to the Honorary Secretaries. The special volumes of TRANSACTIONS of the CONGRESSES held at WINCHESTER and at GLOUCESTER are charged to the public, £1 : 11 : 6; to the Associates, £1 : 1.

An Index for the first thirty volumes of the *Journal* has been prepared by Walter de Gray Birch, Esq., F.S.A., F.R.S.L., Honorary Secretary. Present price to Associates, 10s. 6d.; to the public, 15s. Subscribers' names received by the Treasurer.

In addition to the *Journal*, published regularly every quarter, it has been found necessary to publish occasionally another work entitled *Collectanea Archæologica*. It embraces papers whose length is too great for a periodical journal, and such as require more extensive illustration than can be given in an octavo form. It is, therefore, put forth in quarto, uniform with the *Archæologia* of the Society of Antiquaries, and sold to the public at 7s. 6d. each Part, but may be had by the Associates at 5s. (*See coloured wrapper.*)

Public Meetings held on Wednesday evenings, at No. 32, Sackville Street, Piccadilly, at 8 o'clock precisely.

The Meetings for Session 1881-82 are as follow:—1881, Nov. 16, Dec. 7. 1882, January 4, 18; Feb. 1, 15; March 1, 15; April 5, 19; May 3 (Annual General Meeting, 4.30 P.M.), 17; June 7.

Visitors will be admitted by order from Associates; or by writing their names, and those of the members by whom they are introduced. The Council Meetings are held at Sackville Street on the same day as the Public Meetings, at half-past 4 o'clock precisely.

## RULES OF THE ASSOCIATION.<sup>1</sup>

THE BRITISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION shall consist of patrons, associates, correspondents, and honorary foreign members.

1. The Patrons,<sup>2</sup>—a class confined to the peers of the United Kingdom, and nobility.
2. The Associates,—such as shall be approved of and elected by the Council; and who, upon the payment of one guinea as an entrance fee (except when the intending Associate is already a member of the Society of Antiquaries, of the Royal Archæological Institute, or of the Society of Biblical Archæology, in which case the entrance fee is remitted), and a sum of not less than one guinea annually, or ten guineas as a life subscription, shall become entitled to receive a copy of the quarterly *Journal* published by the Association, to attend all meetings, vote in the election of Officers and Committee, and admit one visitor to each of the public meetings.
3. The Honorary Correspondents,—a class embracing all interested in the investigation and preservation of antiquities; to be qualified only for election on the recommendation of the President or Patron, or of two members of the Council, or of four Associates.
4. The Honorary Foreign Members shall be confined to illustrious and learned foreigners who may have distinguished themselves in antiquarian pursuits.

### ADMINISTRATION.

To conduct the affairs of the Association there shall be annually elected a President, fifteen<sup>3</sup> Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, two Secretaries, and a Secretary for Foreign Correspondence; who, with eighteen<sup>4</sup> other Associates, one of whom shall be the Honorary Curator, shall constitute the Council. The past Presidents shall be *ex officio* Vice-Presidents for life, with the same *status* and privileges as the elected Vice-Presidents, and take precedence in the order of service.

### ELECTION OF OFFICERS AND COUNCIL.

1. The election of Officers and Council shall be on the first Wednesday<sup>5</sup> in May in each year, and be conducted by ballot, which shall continue open during one hour. Every Associate balloting shall deliver his name to the President or presiding officer; and afterwards put his list, filled up, into the balloting box. The presiding officer shall nominate two scrutators, who, with one or more of the Secretaries, shall examine the lists, and report thereon to the General Meeting.

### OF THE PRESIDENTS AND VICE-PRESIDENTS.

1. The President shall take the chair at all meetings of the Society. He shall regulate the discussions, and enforce the laws of the Society.
2. In the absence of the President, the chair will be taken by one of the Vice-Presidents, or some officer or member of Council.
3. The President shall, in addition to his own vote, have a casting vote when the suffrages are equal.

<sup>1</sup> The rules, as settled in March 1816, are here reprinted by order of the Council. The variations made since that date are introduced, and indicated by notes.

<sup>2</sup> Patrons were omitted in 1850 from the list of Members, and have since been nominated locally for the Congresses only.

<sup>3</sup> Till 1848 six Vice-Presidents, then the number enlarged to eight, in 1864 to ten, and in 1875 to the present number. In 1868 past Presidents made permanent Vice-Presidents.

<sup>4</sup> Formerly seventeen, but altered in 1875 to the present number.

<sup>5</sup> In the earlier years the elections were in March. After 1852 till 1862, the Annual General Meetings were held in April. Subsequently they have been held in May.

## OF THE TREASURER.

The Treasurer shall hold the finances of the Society, discharge all debts previously presented to, and approved of by, the Council; and having had his accounts audited by two members elected at the previous Annual Meeting, shall lay them before the Annual Meeting.

## OF THE SECRETARIES.

1. The Secretaries shall attend all meetings of the Association, transmit notices to the members, and read the letters and papers communicated to the Association.
2. The Secretary for Foreign Correspondence shall conduct all business or correspondence connected with the foreign societies, or members residing abroad.

## OF THE COUNCIL.

1. The Council shall superintend and regulate the proceedings of the Association, and elect the members, whose names are to be read over at the public meetings.
2. The Council shall meet on the days<sup>1</sup> on which the ordinary meetings of the Association are held, or as often as the business of the Association shall require: and five shall be deemed a sufficient number to transact business.
3. An extraordinary meeting of the Council may be held at any time by order of the President, or by a requisition signed by five of its members, stating the purpose thereof, addressed to the Secretaries, who shall issue notices of such meeting to every member.
4. The Council shall fill up any vacancy that may occur in any of the offices or among its own members.
5. The Chairman, or his representative, of local committees established in different parts of the country, and in connection with the Association, shall, upon election by the Council, be entitled to attend the meetings of the Council and the public meetings.
6. The Council shall submit a report of its proceedings to the Annual Meeting.

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

1. The Association shall meet on the third Wednesday in November, the first Wednesday in December, the first and third Wednesdays in the months from January to May, and the second Wednesday in June, at 8 o'clock in the evening precisely,<sup>2</sup> for the purpose of inspecting and conversing upon the various objects of antiquity transmitted to the Association, and such other business as the Council may appoint.
2. An extraordinary general meeting of the Association may at any time be convened by order of the President, or by a requisition signed by twenty Members, stating the object of the proposed meeting, addressed to the Secretaries, who shall issue notices accordingly.
3. A general public meeting, or Congress, shall be held annually in such town or place in the United Kingdom as shall be considered most advisable by the Council, to which Associates, Correspondents, and others, shall be admitted by ticket, upon the payment of one guinea, which shall entitle the bearer, and also a lady, to be present at all meetings, either for the reading of papers, the exhibition of antiquities, the holding of *conversazioni*, or the making of excursions to examine any objects of antiquarian interest.

<sup>1</sup> In the earlier years the Council meetings and ordinary meetings were not held in connection.

<sup>2</sup> At first the meetings were more numerous, as many as eighteen meetings being held in the year; and the rule, as it originally stood, appointed twenty-four meetings. Up to 1867 the evening meetings were held at half-past eight.

## LIST OF CONGRESSES.

Congresses have been already held at		Under the Presidency of
1844	CANTERBURY . . . }	THE LORD A. D. CONYNGHAM, K.C.H., F.R.S., F.S.A.
1845	WINCHESTER . . . }	
1846	GLOUCESTER . . . }	
1847	WARWICK . . . }	
1848	WORCESTER . . . }	
1849	CHESTER . . . }	
1850	MANCHESTER & LANCASTER	J. HEYWOOD, Esq., M.P., F.R.S., F.S.A.
1851	DERBY . . .	SIR OSWALD MOSLEY, Bt., D.C.L.
1852	NEWARK . . .	THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE
1853	ROCHESTER . . . }	RALPH BERNAL, Esq., M.A.
1854	CHETSTOW . . . }	
1855	ISLE OF WIGHT . . . }	THE EARL OF PERTH AND MELFORT
1856	BRIDGWATER AND BATH }	
1857	NORWICH . . .	THE EARL OF ALBEMARLE, F.S.A.
1858	SALISBURY . . .	THE MARQUIS OF AILESBUURY
1859	NEWBURY . . .	THE EARL OF CARNARVON, F.S.A.
1860	SHREWSBURY . . .	BERIAH BOTFIELD, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.
1861	EXETER . . .	SIR STAFFORD H. NORTHCOTE, Bt.
1862	LEICESTER . . .	JOHN LEE, Esq., LL.D., F.R.S., F.S.A.
1863	LEEDS . . .	LORD HOUGHTON, M.A., D.C.L., F.S.A.
1864	IPSWICH . . .	GEORGE TOMLINE, Esq., M.P., F.S.A.
1865	DURHAM . . .	THE DUKE OF CLEVELAND
1866	HASTINGS . . .	THE EARL OF CHICHESTER
1867	LUDLOW . . .	SIR C. H. ROUSE BOUGHTON, Bt.
1868	CIRENCESTER . . .	THE EARL BATHURST
1869	ST. ALBAN'S . . .	THE LORD LYTTON
1870	HEREFORD . . .	CHANDOS WREN HOSKYNs, Esq., M.P.
1871	WEYMOUTH . . .	SIR W. COLES MEDLICOTT, Bt., D.C.L.
1872	WOLVERHAMPTON . . .	THE EARL OF DARTMOUTH
1873	SHEFFIELD . . .	THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, E.M.
1874	BRISTOL . . .	KIRKMAN D. HODGSON, Esq., M.P.
1875	EVESHAM . . .	THE MARQUESS OF HERTFORD
1876	BODMIN AND PENZANCE	THE EARL OF MOUNT-EDGCUMBE
1877	LLANGOLLEN . . .	SIR WATKIN W. WYNN, BART., M.P.
1878	WISBECH . . .	THE EARL OF HARDWICKE
1879	YARMOUTH & NORWICH	THE LORD WAVENEY, F.R.S.
1880	DEVIZES . . .	THE EARL NELSON
1881	GREAT MALVERN . . .	THE VERY REV. LORD A. COMPTON, D.D., DEAN OF WORCESTER



## OFFICERS AND COUNCIL FOR THE SESSION 1881-82.

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DEAN OF WORCESTER.

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EARL OF DARTMOUTH; THE EARL OF HARDWICKE; THE EARL OF MOUNT-  
EDGUMBE; THE EARL NELSON; THE LORD HOUGHTON, D.C.L.; THE LORD  
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JOHN WALTER, Esq., M.P.

## Treasurer.

THOMAS MORGAN, Esq., F.S.A., Hillside House, Palace Road,  
Streatham Hill, S.W.

## Honorary Secretaries.

WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH, Esq., F.R.S.L., F.S.A., British Museum, W.C.  
E. P. LOFTUS BROCK, Esq., F.S.A., 19 Montague Place, Russell Square, W.C.

## Curator and Librarian.

GEORGE R. WRIGHT, Esq., F.S.A., Junior Athenæum Club, Piccadilly, W.

## Draughtsman.

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# THE JOURNAL

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MARCH 1882.

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### INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

BY THE VERY REV. LORD ALWYNE COMPTON, D.D., DEAN OF WORCESTER,  
THE PRESIDENT.

WHEN last I took the chair at a meeting of this kind, which was at Northampton, where I had the honour of presiding over what I may call the sister Society, the Archæological Institute, I chose as the subject of my address the defence of Restoration in opposition to the views of the body which its enemies have dubbed “the Ruinistic Society”, but which, I think, calls itself the “Society for the Preservation of Ancient Buildings”; and I was not a little amused to find that the permanent President of the Institute, who sat beside me, was himself a member of that Society. Probably many of those whom I see before me to-day are so likewise, for it is quite impossible for an archæologist not to feel a strong sympathy with the anti-restoration views I have referred to. We all of us remember the delight of our younger days, when we entered some country church unnoticed by Rickman, and found in it the undisturbed traces of the work of many centuries : here a Norman respond, there an Early English stringcourse broken by a Decorated or Perpendicular window ; then the search for straight joints and other marks by which we might complete our scheme of the history of the building ; lastly, the reference to the county history, and the occasional good fortune of lighting upon some evidence of the true date of one or other of the changes we had noticed. These were the joys of the antiquary in the dirty, untidy, old, unrestored



church. How changed it all is now ! We enter a restored church : all is spick and span : all seems new ; and even if we find a suggestive mixture of various styles, we know not what is due to the Gothic architect, and what to his humble follower, the architect of Queen Victoria's reign. And if the church is one we knew before, we are almost certain to miss something ; perhaps a fragment of decorated glass, perhaps a bit of the Perpendicular screen now for ever swept away. Is it not quite natural that we should regret the change ? Can we wonder that a society should be formed to save the Goths from the Vandals ?

And yet, much as we must sympathise with the anti-restoration movement, there is not a little to be said on the other side. We look back to those archæological delights of our younger days, and we hardly remember how dearly they were purchased. We are so accustomed to the well ordered beauty of our churches now, that we forget the terrible disfigurements of those times. We have in this county, side by side, a restored and an un-restored church at Pershore. One, indeed, is a splendid example of Gothic ; the other a very poor one ; and so it may be said the comparison is hardly fair. But still I would ask any of the younger members of this Association who cannot date back their antiquarian pursuits to the earlier half of this century, when they visit Pershore, after inspecting the Abbey Church to go also into the other parish church close to it, and to believe what we older ones can assure them of, that many a parish church they now enter with artistic pleasure, if not with antiquarian interest, was but little better, say in 1840, than that which seems to them so strange. And since these questions of restoration or preservation chiefly refer to our churches, it is impossible to forget that they are not merely monuments of antiquity serving for the delight of the archæologist. They are buildings intended for use, for a most important, a most sacred use ; and to sacrifice the very purpose of their erection in an attempt to preserve their ancient features, would be something like the action, condemned by the ancient poet, of those who for the sake of life would lose all that made life valuable. If they are now less interesting as monuments, they are much more beautiful, more suited to the purposes of devo-

tion as churches. Nor is there really any reason why both objects should not be attained. It is usually from ignorance or carelessness, it may be of the architect, it may be of the builder, it may be of the committee, that the old and interesting features have disappeared when the important work of restoration has been carried out. If care is taken to preserve as far as possible all old work, restoring where necessary, and not otherwise, just so much as needs it, and no more; and not attempting, by over-careful matching of stone and other like tricks, to deceive the future student, however much the ignorant sight-seer may be taken in, I believe that the antiquary and the devout Christian may be equally well satisfied.

And this course may even be advantageously followed in cases other than those of churches. The well known Queen Eleanor Cross at Northampton has been restored three times, at long intervals; each time most lovingly and carefully; each time, as it happened, with stones from a different quarry. What is the result? The tired wayfarer resting on his journey may still feast his eyes on the same beautiful object which has been the pride of the county for more than five centuries, while the careful student can verify the fact that it is the same in every detail of its design, and can find in it a noble example of the memorial road-side cross. Had the gentlemen of the county in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries not restored it, it would now be a mere wreck, even if it had been thought worth while that such a wreck should cumber the ground.

You will see, during your visit to this neighbourhood, various examples of restored churches; some of unrestored also. I have not resided in this county long enough to pretend to speak to you with any competent knowledge of these, still less of the earlier antiquities you will have your attention called to. As regards the one building I have studied with any care, the Cathedral of Worcester, it is, perhaps, one of the finest examples of restoration you can anywhere meet with. I had almost said of over-restoration; but had I done so I might have been misunderstood. The Society for the preservation of ancient buildings would probably condemn everything that has



been done. I cannot agree with that view. I think the interior of the Cathedral one of the finest I am anywhere acquainted with; I may say the very finest, considering its size; and from the old engravings, and from what I am told, it must be far finer now than it was before the work was begun. The outside of much of this building is terribly new, and, no doubt, much less picturesque than it was; but in an archæological point of view what has been lost? The whole of the outside stone had largely perished in the beginning of the eighteenth century, from the ravages of the weather upon its surface. Mouldings and other delicate features could scarcely be traced. Then came the hand, not of the restorer, but of the men who wished to make it neat and new and tidy. They pared down the mouldings, and reduced each stringcourse to what they looked upon as a more perfect condition; they put on the top of the pinnacles neat spires formed like that of St. Andrew's Church; they repaired the tracery of the east window according to their notions of what we should now call Late Gothic. Was all this worth keeping? Is it not far better that our east window which we see so much from the interior, our pinnacles outside, our drip-mouldings and stringcourses, should be renewed to something like their original Early English character, even though this involved some conjecture, some newness of appearance for a few years? The walls were dangerous: unsightly modern buttresses supported them. Nothing short of rebuilding would suffice. The internal stonework was replaced stone by stone as far as possible. The outside stone was going again as it had gone before. Was it not wise to substitute for it a casing which would stand the weather, and put the Early English Cathedral of Worcester again before our eyes?

So far, then, I think the restoration of Worcester Cathedral was wisely and well carried out; so far I think those with whom the decision rested were perfectly justified in what they did. Still, in some respects, I think they went too far. The large, severe lancet windows of the eastern portion of the building had in most cases been subdivided by a mullion, and their lines filled with tracery at a later period of Gothic art. These features not being original, were removed at the restoration; and I cannot help re-

gretting it, both as they were part of the history of the building in the period of our greatest architects, and also because it seems to me that we have really lost some beauty by the change. I am told, indeed, that this tracery was of a very poor and mean character; and, perhaps, had I seen it, I might have regretted it less than I do. Probably there are other points in which the archæologist may think he would have wished for a different result of the discussion which took place at that time. The Guesten Hall we must all of us regret: we cannot, I think, greatly blame the Dean and Chapter, who, although at the time engaged on the costly work of the Cathedral, offered to find £5,000 (one half of the estimated expense needed for the Guesten Hall) if those who desired its preservation would raise the rest, and received one promise of £5 towards it.

But may not both systems, both restoration and preservation of ancient buildings, be objected to from another point of view? Are not both alike the result—may not both alike be, in some degree, the cause—of a great want of originality in the present day? Who can imagine either the one or the other in the times of our great architects, whether we take William of Sens, or William of Wykeham, or Christopher Wren? It was not only Danish robbers, or accidental fires, or bad foundations, that destroyed our fine early churches. Scarcely was the Norman or semi-Norman Cathedral of Worcester (begun in 1084) completed and consecrated in 1218, when the Bishop laid the first stone of the Early English choir and chapels in 1224. Plenty of money was coming in, and so it was at once resolved to make the building much larger and much more beautiful, as they considered it. They did not think the older work so valuable that it must be preserved at any cost. Their idea was simply to do all they possibly could to beautify the place of God's sanctuary. Later on we do, indeed, find the men of the fifteenth century proud of their noble Norman Chapter House, and carefully and skilfully preserving it from the danger it then ran of becoming a ruin. But still they worked freely in their own fashion. They had to raise its walls, so they put into them what we call Perpendicular windows. They added buttresses outside, of the Perpendicular style.

They left traces of the Norman entrance ; perhaps from antiquarian motives, more probably to save trouble ; but they did not hesitate to put in a Perpendicular doorway. All this they did as a matter of course. It was their way of building. What is ours ? Have we any style at all ? If what we build now lasts five hundred years, will there be anything in it to tell in what century it was built ?

I have said that the want of originality may be partly the effect, perhaps also partly the cause, of our treatment of ancient buildings, whether we treat them after the fashion which began some forty or fifty years since, "restoring" them as far as we can to the design of their original builders, or according to the new plan of "preserving" every scrap of work older than ourselves, without thinking much of the present use or object of the building. Such careful and minute study of old work seems likely at least to check any freshness of artistic thought. It is quite true that in the period of the Renaissance the artists and architects did most carefully study and copy the works of the Romans as they found them in ruined arches and temples, and also in the domestic decorations of Herculaneum and Pompeii. But they were using them for new purposes ; the palaces and churches of modern Italy were necessarily quite different from the houses and temples of the Romans ; and thus what were to them new elements of beauty were worked into architectural designs, of which the essential constructional features, the plans, the elevations, the window-spaces, the roofs, were already in full use ; and from this combination of the old and the new a very beautiful style was soon produced. But the extraordinarily rapid deterioration of this style seems to shew that from the very first it was not based on sound principles. The copying of ancient forms and ancient decorations seems to have had, not immediately, but ultimately, the effect of destroying style altogether. And now we have again taken to this copying, and I fear the result will be even worse than before. Men of artistic taste will now, as ever, design and erect buildings that are beautiful : whatever the style, or the absence of style, of the period, this will be the case ; but as a whole I fear we cannot boast of the Victorian age of English architecture.

I am afraid, in addressing you on the subject of modern architecture, I have wandered away from the proper business of the Archæological Association; and of course I am aware that even if the peculiar effects archæological studies have had upon our architecture are to blame, in some measure, for its want of originality, they are not the only cause of it. For a long time perfection of workmanship, in the sense of neatness and finish combined with cheapness, have been the object of Englishmen, beauty being left out of the question, or looked upon as an occasional extra; and the natural result has been to throw much of our energy into the form of engineering rather than into the fine art of architecture. Still I think archæology is partly to blame. But we cannot help it. The study (for I will not call it a science) our Association is devoted to is far too interesting, far too valuable, to be checked by the thought that in some way it may do, or may have done, mischief. I suppose we most of us pursue it simply for its own sake,—the only effectual way to pursue any study, to seek for any kind of knowledge. But if we are asked what use it is of, we may fairly answer that it is the handmaid of history; that it helps us to fill up the outlines given us by the chronicler of old times; that further back it is the only source of such historical knowledge as we possess; and that it is by its means that we may, perhaps, hope eventually to solve the great questions of the unity or (non-unity) of the human race, of the original condition of man in respect of what, for shortness, we express by the words civilisation and morality, and other such questions which bear upon some of the deepest problems of the philosopher and the man of science, upon some of the most important beliefs of the Christian.

And is there no remedy for the evils I have spoken of? I confess I see none. Some of the elements of advance in architecture, considered as a fine art, undoubtedly are present. There is something new to be mingled with the old. New materials unknown to the great architects of old, or at least new methods of treating the old materials, iron and other metals, glass, artificial stone, ought to give rise to something beyond what they did. There is also a fair demand for new buildings; and not a few men of

ability, of good artistic taste, who embrace the profession of architects. But all this has been true for the last fifty years, and very little has come of it. Nothing has come of it which may be indicated as characteristic of the present day. Perhaps, sooner or later, some architect may arise of pre-eminent genius, and may find some patron who will give him his own way, and let him found a school. Till then we must be satisfied to study the great works of the past.

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# THE ARCHITECTURE OF LEDBURY CHURCH.

BY JOHN JACKSON, M.A., RECTOR.

(*Read August 24, 1881.*)

ON the south side of the church is a paved narrow way leading from the churchyard to the main road, which now bears the rather uninviting title of "Cabbage" Lane, being a corruption of the word "Capuchin", which would indicate that at an early period of English history a body of Capuchin monks was established here. It is shewn, from documents which I am not now able to refer to, that a priest was stationed at Ledbury at the time of the Norman conquest.

Whether any remains exist of a church earlier than the Conquest is doubtful ; but if there be any, the only fragment now remaining is the hagioscope on the north side of the chancel, which until about six years ago was blocked up with stone walling, plastered over, and hid from sight. The rudely constructed arch, built of stone from a neighbouring quarry, might lead to the conclusion that it was Saxon work ; but on this point, on which many opinions have been expressed, I leave you to draw your own conclusion. I am in some degree confirmed in my opinion that this is of pre-Norman date, from the fact that on the north side of the hagioscope, in what is known as St. Mary's Chapel or Chantry, a Norman piscina was introduced without interfering with the hagioscope on the south side of the wall.

There is, however, no doubt that shortly after the Conquest a Norman church existed of the length of the present one, viz., nave, 97 feet, and chancel, 90 feet, with side-aisles of narrow width, and chapels or chantries at the east end of those aisles, with their altars, aumbries, and piscinas, the latter of which are still remaining. The Norman doorway with its rich mouldings, not unlike in character to the chancel-arch of Kilpeck Church in this county, the outline of two Norman windows, and the Norman buttresses with their conical heads, shew this at the west end ; and the Norman arches of the chancel, the

remains of two Norman windows, the two perfect ones in the north and south walls, and the buttresses at the east end shew unmistakably that such church existed. All traces of Norman work in the east wall have disappeared, and a Perpendicular window takes the place of the Norman. An examination of the outside of the west end of the south aisle shews the foundation of an aisle about 8 feet in width, similar to the south aisle of the Priory Church at Great Malvern; and the dripstone in the north and south walls of the chancel, underneath the circular clerestory windows, shews that those windows, during the existence of that church, were in the outer walls of the building. In the north aisle is a Norman pillar and capital, from which sprang the arch which separated the aisle from the chapel or chantry; and at the west end of the dripstone, on the north side of the chapel, is a portion of stone cut out at an angle, which shews the pitch of the roof of that aisle and chapel, which was evidently what is called a "lean-to" roof. From the grotesque carving of that date (forming, no doubt, some of the corbels), which has been fortunately preserved, and inserted in the eastern ends of the north and south arcades, there is sufficient to shew that the Norman church was of no mean pretensions. The pillars of the Norman arches on the north and south sides of the chancel (square to a certain height, and then circular) are singular specimens of Norman architecture. The chapels on the north and south sides would appear to have had a stone screen to separate them from the chancel, for on the east end of the walls, under the capitals, are stones with mouldings, and jambs which have formed one side of doorways to communicate with the chapels and chancel. The chancel-arch is one of the obtuse-pointed or drop-arches which are occasionally found in Norman work of the latter part of the twelfth century. The peculiarity thereof is that the east and west sides do not correspond in their character and mouldings.

The next important change which we find is the removal of the Norman side-aisles. In the early part of the thirteenth century, when the Early English style of architecture changed the form of the windows, and elongated ones with tracery took the place of the Norman, the principal portion of the south aisle was built of a

greater width than its predecessor, and appears to have been built at three different periods. The easternmost part (known as St. Anne's Chapel or Chantry), as appears from a straight joint in the wall, with its three windows and doorway, being the most ancient; then the aisle with its four windows, to another straight joint in the wall, where it probably ended. From that point westward a totally different style prevails in the formation of the buttresses, stringcourse, and inner mouldings of the window jambs, the concave being changed to convex in the heads of the south-west and west windows. A respected parishioner, on whose judgment and authority I can rely (lately taken from us in mature old age), has told me that he recollects the window at the south-west corner and the window at the west end of the aisle with horizontal transoms and upright mullions, which would indicate the Perpendicular style; and in this he is confirmed by entries in the churchwardens' books, in which is recorded, "1818, Sept. 19. By cash received from Mr. Biddulph on account of west window, £20"; and in the year 1824, "Mrs. Myddleton Biddulph, one moiety of expense to window in south-west corner of church, £6"; when the tracery of the old windows was taken out, and new introduced, to correspond with the other windows on the south side, and with the west window of the north aisle, producing the wretched specimens of anachronism we see.

At a later period, while the Early English style prevailed, the north aisle was built, with its beautiful, tall windows at the east and west ends. The porch, or parvise, appears to have been added about that period, as the same character prevails in the outer arch, in the arch of the doorway, and the windows on the north side of the aisle, which have this peculiarity, that the heads are not curved to merge gradually into the jambs, but spring from a point; and the heads take a shape approximating to an equilateral triangle.

In the porch is a lower chamber, formerly connected by a staircase with two upper chambers for the use of the sacristan. One of them has a fireplace and piscina of Early English date. The proportions of the rooms have, however, been entirely destroyed by a fine specimen (I hope the last of its kind) of what is called "churchwardens'



architecture", when, about thirty years ago, the ceiling of the lower chamber was raised, thereby interfering with the windows of the upper chamber as well as with one, or it may be a doorway, in the north wall of the church.

Up to this date the north and south arcades of the nave remained in their Norman shape. In the early part of the fourteenth century, when the Decorated style was introduced, the south arcade was taken down, and the present pillars and arches were built, corresponding in form and moulding with those at Sandhurst Church in Kent, viz., a plain octagonal pier with a simple capital and moulded abacus. I am confirmed in my statement by the fact that when, in consequence of their deflection from the perpendicular, two of the present arches were taken down and rebuilt about three years ago, several Norman corbels like to those still remaining in the south wall of the chancel, and portions of circular clerestory windows, were found in the walls between the arches.

At this same period, when the ball-flower, the ornament most peculiarly characteristic of the Decorated style of Gothic architecture, prevailed, the beautiful chapel known as St. Catharine's, at the north side of the north aisle, was built. The wall was pierced, and an archway was made to connect the aisle and chapel; the original window over the archway was shortened, and left as it appears at the present time; but until a few years ago it was walled up, and plastered over.

It may not be uninteresting to relate the legend of St. Catharine, to whom this chapel is dedicated. Catharine Audley, or St. Catharine as she is commonly called, was a religious woman in the time of Edward II, and had a maid called Mabel; and not being fixed in any settled place, she had a revelation that she should not set up her rest till she came to a town where the bells should ring of themselves. There is a piece of land near Ledbury, to the westward, called "Catharine's Acre", and another near it called "Mabel's Furlong". She and her maid, coming near Ledbury, heard the bells ring, though the church doors were shut, and no ringers there. Here, therefore, she determined to spend the remainder of her days, and built a hermitage, living on herbs, and sometimes on milk, which she sent for to a place called "The Hazle".

The King, in consideration of her birth and piety, or both, granted her an annuity of £30.

The last change which took place in the architecture of the church was the substitution of the present north arcade for the Norman in the year 1619, as appears by a date on the wall-plate of the roof. The meagre capitals, with the lozenge-shaped pillars, shew that Gothic architecture was then on the decline. The workmen who built those arches and columns appear to have had one of two motives for their work,—either to be at as little trouble as possible, or to preserve all that remained of the Norman arcade; for in the easternmost pillar some portion of the moulding of a Norman capital is visible; and in four of the westernmost arches, the Norman hood-mouldings were used which give them their irregular and zigzag appearance; while the two easternmost arches have mouldings of a different character.

The tower, with its spire, next claims our attention. This is, and always has been, separated from the church. The lower portions thereof, up to and including the lower tier of windows, are of strictly Early English character. I recollect seeing a drawing, some years ago, where a shingle spire was placed immediately over the lower tier of windows, without any battlements. In the year 1733, July 18, the spirit moved the good people of Ledbury to take down the shingle spire, for in the churchwardens' books for that year it is recorded, "We whose names are hereunto subscribed do hereby agree that the tower shall be raised 6 foot higher than what is necessary, and the spire 16 foot, and to raise the bells, which shall not be at the parish charge, but by subscription, provided the Brief does not answer the same." The subscription seems to have been abandoned, for on February 20, 1734, there is an entry as follows: "At a vestry meeting it was ordered and agreed that the churchwarden be allowed to make a book towards paying the debt that was borrowed for building the spire, and going forward with the work, and defraying his charges by a book not exceeding forty months; and also order the churchwardens to do their endeavour to borrow money to pay what money was borrowed towards building the steeple." They raised the tower one storey, in which the bells were rehung, and

built the present spire, not 16 feet, but 100 feet high ; which for the time of its erection is a passable work, though the Corinthian cornice underneath the battlements, and the upper windows in the tower, ill accord with the graceful outline of the Early English windows and doorway beneath. The height of the present tower and spire is 202 feet.

In the year 1771 the mutilation of the timber roofs commenced. A resolution in the churchwarden's book for that year is as follows : 1771, Sept. 5th, "Mr. Bridg, the present churchwarden, shall seele the middle ile of the church." No doubt the men of that generation were so well pleased with their performance that the north and south aisles were also ceiled ; and in carrying out this unfortunate work, the mouldings on the timber-work, and wall-plates, and the stone cornices, were recklessly destroyed. Two of these ceilings have disappeared ; and the days of the remaining one, let us hope, are numbered.

The roof of the south aisle, constructed entirely of English oak of massive dimensions, is an exact restitution of the original. On its being repaired, three years ago, under the superintendence of Mr. Haddon, architect, of Hereford, every feature of the old roof was retained. I have little doubt that the settling of the south wall from the perpendicular took place immediately after it was built, as it was found on careful examination and measurement of the principals of the roof, that they had been fitted to the expanded form of the walls. The panelled roof of St. Anne's Chapel at the east end of the aisle is an exact copy of the original, all old work being carefully retained. The roof of the north aisle, hidden by the present ceiling, is exactly similar to that of the south aisle. All the roofs of the Early English character were of very high pitch. Towards the end of the fifteenth century they became much lower. Unfortunately the roofs of this church are placed on walls of a much earlier date, and consequently in the nave and north aisle especially they interfere with the heads of the windows. As we find them so we must leave them.

I have in my possession a report made by an eminent architect in the year 1858 (two years prior to my incumbency), where the grand old oak roofs were pronounced

to be decayed ; sentence of condemnation was passed upon them, and plans, with specification, were given, supplanting them by ordinary tie-beam roofs of red deal. Happily these plans were never carried out ; and the roofs, so far from being decayed, will last for many ages to come.

The doors at the northern entrance have a greater interest attaching to them than their homely appearance would claim for them. About two years ago, when they were cleaned and planed to a fair surface, the workmen found several bullets embedded in the wood ; and I have little doubt that these doors were in existence at the time of the battle of Ledbury, when an engagement took place, on the 22nd of April 1645, between the Royalists and Parliamentarians.

I may also call your attention to the glass sun-dial in one of the windows of the south aisle. I believe there are not many in existence. Curious in their way ; but not to be altogether depended upon for their accuracy in denoting time, as the surface is affected by action of the wind.

One or two monuments also call for a passing remark. The first is a small square brass in the floor at the south-east corner of the south aisle, with this quaint inscription,

“The world’s fashion defied,  
Our Lord’s passion applied,  
His bliss only in this descried,  
Ould Richard Hayward died.  
An. Dom. 1618.”

The other is in a recess in the north-east window of the north aisle, where there is a recumbent figure of a female (unknown), which has evidently been removed from some other part of the church, as the altar-tomb on which it is placed is Perpendicular work, while the dress of the figure is of the time of Edward II. The cushion on which the head reclines being reduced in size, would indicate that it had been originally placed elsewhere, but removed and fitted to its present position.

I think I have now called your attention to the principal parts of this structure, to the various changes it has undergone in the last seven hundred years, and to the objects of interest which are worthy of notice. Ecclesiastical architecture must always be regarded with peculiar interest. A thoughtful mind cannot but experience



melancholy feeling on beholding the barbarous mutilations and additions to which the Gothic piles of the middle ages have been subjected; which, nevertheless, still retain a holy and venerable character, appearing through the land like monuments reared to bear testimony to the genius and piety of our forefathers.

In former times the fabrics set apart for religious purposes were usually built from drawings, under the immediate superintendence of the ecclesiastics themselves, who sometimes even worked for the love of Christ's holy Church; and although no vestige of their plans or their names exist, yet they wrought out for themselves each his own monument, "ære perennius", the wonder and admiration of succeeding generations. The appearance of an ancient Gothic church is often most magnificent and imposing, and even when of a plain and homely description it is impressive and beautiful. There is a spirit in its time-honoured walls, and a reality about the building, that are extremely pleasing; for however rude the materials employed in its erection, there is never any attempt to make them appear other than they really are. The faithful builders, conscious of having exerted themselves to the uttermost, seem to have felt that any false pretensions would be at variance with the holiness of the service to which the building was to be consecrated; and that alone, in their estimation, would invest it with sufficient majesty. The great charm, however, of all the ancient churches consists in their possessing a sacred and devotional character which at once distinguishes them from every other class of buildings; so that notwithstanding the different styles and variety of their architecture, they have a certain similarity of appearance which marks in a very significant and expressive manner that they are alike dedicated to the same holy service. At the Reformation, in the sixteenth century, they were generally despoiled of their sumptuous furniture and costly decorations; but in other respects their appearance was not very materially affected by the alterations that were then made. They were afterwards subjected to many wanton and disgraceful mutilations during the reign of Charles I; but since that stormy and eventful period, the injuries which the buildings have sustained are for the most part the results of shameful neglect or tasteless reparations.

## BOORG EZ ZIFFIR, CAIRO.

BY PROFESSOR T. HAYTER LEWIS.

*(Read Nov. 17, 1881.)*

THE building of which drawings are here given (the only ones, so far as I am aware, that have been made of it) is situate at the north-east angle of an elaborate chain of walls and bastions built outside the present walls of Cairo, and enclosing a space which has been, no doubt, desolate for centuries past, and now occupied only by enormous mounds of rubbish. These bastions combine high artistic work with that of fortification; yet they are so completely buried to their very summits in the rubbish that their existence is scarcely noticed. I found, in fact, that they were scarcely known to many good archæologists in Cairo itself, and I should probably have missed seeing them had it not been for my very kind and active friend Mr. Greville Chester. They are shewn in Bædeker's plan, but not described. There is a good description in Murray, although, by a printer's error, the name of the Boorg is given to the angle of the present wall of the city, though the Boorg is correctly placed on the map.

Murray's description is this: "It is a tower in which the builders lavished their utmost ingenuity. It is partly choked with mud and rubbish, but can still be entered by its slanting, vaulted passage. Various apertures for the admission of air, or communication with the outer passages, are pierced in the walls. The object of this construction must be left to conjecture. It may probably have served originally as the quarter of the commanding officer, and might have also been used as a prison or temporary dungeon. Numerous quaint stories are associated with the place, which has acquired a bad reputation as being the resort of thieves and afrits. Several other towers and chambers constructed in the interior, to the south and west of the Boorg ez Ziffir, are worthy of careful inspection."

The account is, so far, good; but since it was written

the Boorg, etc., have been further explored, and I can now give some more details respecting them. The Boorg is circular in plan, and being built at the external angle of the walls has about three quarters of its circuit disengaged. The upper part is about 54 feet in diameter, externally. The greater part of this, and all the lower part, are quite buried in rubbish. Internally, the chief feature is an octagonal hall about 26 feet in diameter, the level of its floor being about 38 feet below that of the platform inside the walls. The hall is entered by a sloping passage ; but whether by steps or inclined plane cannot be seen until the rubbish is cleared away. This entrance occupies one side of the hall. In each of the other seven sides is a recess, 10 feet deep, in the thickness of the wall.

At the end of most of these recesses there is a niche ending in an arrow-slit, the whole being designed in a very artistic way. As their ends are choked with rubbish, their external finish cannot be seen. All arches are pointed, and the main ones have an ornamental archivolt, above which an Arabic, corbelled stringcourse leads the octagon into a circle, whence springs the dome. This is very well built (as is all the rest of the tower and the other fortifications). of good, squared masonry, unplastered. From the floor to the soffit of dome is about 62 feet ; but the dimensions are not very easy to get accurately on account of the rubbish. I ought to mention that in taking them I was greatly assisted by Mr. Hayes, a well known engineer, in charge of the harbour works at Alexandria, who with Mr. Waynman Dixon has kindly assisted me in such work, years back, at Cairo.

The walls of the hall are about 14 feet thick to the inside of arrow-slits. What their thickness is beyond, the rubbish prevents one seeing. This hall is the chief feature of the tower, but certainly not the most curious, for partly by its side, and partly over it, are three passages winding round it at different heights, all arched with semicircular arches, as carefully built as the hall, but not decorated. The outer one is 3 feet 6 inches wide, and 11 feet high to soffit of arch, its pavement being somewhat below that of the platform. It has recesses over those of the hall. How this passage was entered cannot now be seen, as the part of the tower which opens into the internal



angle of the fortification is destroyed ; but a staircase (J) is perfect, and leads to a wide landing (K, section), whence a staircase (L), part of which still remains, led *over* the first passage to probably a walk defended by ramparts, round the outside of the Boorg. But these, or whatever else was in their places, are gone.

In front of the landing an opening with two very steep steps in it leads to the second passage (A), which, as well as the third, is in the mass of masonry at the haunches of the dome. The second is only 2 feet 3 inches wide. Another opening, facing the last, leads to the third passage, which is only 2 feet 1 inch wide. These two passages are so choked with rubbish that I cannot be quite sure as to whether their floors are level, or whether they partially wind to a higher level. The upper one is so narrow and so low (only 3 feet 9 inches to the soffit of arch, where I measured it) that it can scarcely have been intended for defence. What, then, was the object of this singular construction? Were the two upper passages intended merely to lighten the weight of masonry in the dome? I doubt it, and yet can offer no better solution of the problem. The first passage was, doubtless, formed to aid the defences in some way ; but it must have terribly weakened the walls. The nearest approach to the plan that I call to mind in our island, of mediæval times, is the class of fortifications represented, *p. e.*, by our Launceston castle, in which the keep has a large internal chamber in the centre, and a gallery all round it, covered, and with stairs leading to ramparts. But even this is very different from the Boorg. That the hall was probably a guard-chamber may, I think, be admitted. It would have light from the open passage, also from the arrow-slits, and possibly from an opening in the crown of dome. The entrance-passage, the arches to recesses, and even the arrow-slits, were ornamented with care and taste, and there are distinct traces of colouring on some of the ornaments. The hall, even thus, would scarcely be considered to be a very cheerful room ; but it would be more so under the hot sun of Egypt than with us.

Several of the other bastions present features of great interest, though none are so singular as the Boorg. They are all entered, so far as I could see, by sloping passages,

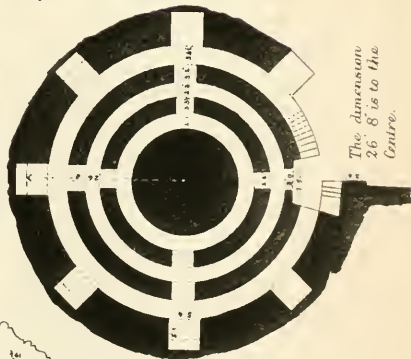
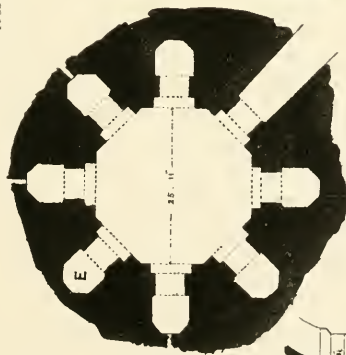
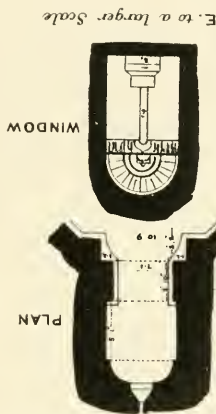
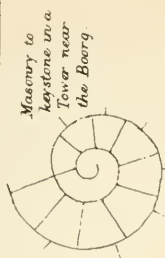
like the Boorg, and at the same level. One of the chambers is domed over by courses of masonry winding round it spirally to the top, where they end as shewn. St. Vitale, at Ravenna, has also its circular dome built over an octagon in the same spiral way; but the construction there is of earthen jars in place of masonry.

A few words now as to the probable date and builder of these curious bastions. The history of the walls of Cairo is by no means clear. The city itself, setting aside Fostat and Boulak as suburbs, consists of four separate quarters, anciently distinct, as shewn on my rough map. The part best known to Europeans, as containing their hotels, is really on the site of the most ancient, having existed before the Arab invasion, and then known as El Maqs. It is the north-west quarter of the city, and the Nile formerly flowed directly to the west of it. The southern part, comprising the mosques Hassan and Tooloon, the Horsemarket, etc., was built by Sultan Tooloon in the ninth century. It was then called El Kataii. *The* city of Cairo, El Káhireh (the Victorious), is to the north-east, and was founded by the Fatemite Caliph Moëz c. 973. It may be worthy of remark that his general, Gowher, was sent on his conquering expedition to Egypt from Kairwan in Tunis, now again famous. The fourth quarter was the great citadel built by the famous Saladin in 1166.

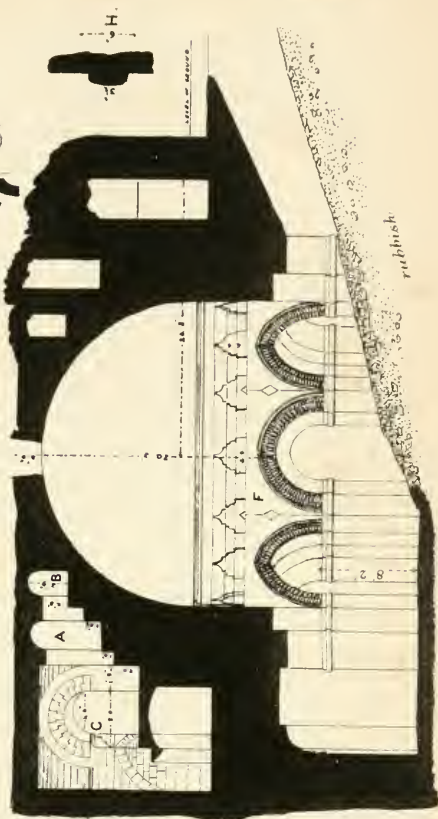
So far is well known; but the time at which the fortifications which I have described were erected, and who were their authors, have still to be learnt. Why, also, was the large space between them and the present walls given up to desolation? As to these points, I have searched through all the Arabic historians whose works, so far as I know, have been translated into English, German, French, or Latin, the total results being these: the three great gates of El Káhireh (the only ones of importance), viz., Nazr, Foo-tuh, and Zweileh, were built under the direction of the Tunisian (Fatemite) General Gowher in the tenth century. At first no walls were built, the height of the houses rendering these unnecessary. In the eleventh century the Sultan Mustansir (or rather his celebrated Vizier, Bedr al Djemely) reconstructed the three gates, and surrounded the city with a brick wall. In the twelfth century Sala-

# CAIRO. BOORG EZ ZIFFIR.

A.B. rough masonry plastered. C. vide sketch also D to G.



The dimension  
26' 8" is to the  
Centre.





din built a stone wall in place of the brick, joining all to the Citadel ; but whether the Boorg formed part of this wall, or whether the present actual wall of the town was his, or why fortifications so extensive and costly were given up to ruin, there is nothing to tell us from these historians.

As to the utter desolation which now reigns in the vacant space, the only solution which they suggest is the terrible series of earthquakes, plague, and famine, which well nigh destroyed inhabitants and buildings alike in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. No details more horrible exist than those given by Abd-al-Latif, who wrote of what he himself witnessed in 1232 ; and we may well believe that such a piece of ground as this might possibly have been desolated by the earthquake, abandoned as a plague, and never afterwards rebuilt. But this is a mere theory, without absolute proof. In absence of historical proof as to the date of the Boorg, we are thrown back on a comparison with any buildings of a like character or of a like architectural style. The only building of Arabic times, with which I am acquainted, whose design at all resembles the Boorg, are parts of the grand fortress of Subeibeh, which occupies one of the grandest positions I know, on a spur of Mount Hermon, commanding the direct road from Banias to Damascus. One of the bastions of this fortress is almost perfect, and is semicircular outside, and semi-octagonal within ; and although not finished with such decorative work as the Boorg, has much of the same style and careful finish.

Now there are numerous inscriptions in this castle which corroborate the statement of Arabic historians that it was built by the Moslems at the end of the twelfth century, and reconstructed in the thirteenth. This gives us some clue, though slight. Were the question one as to a building in the Pointed style, the solution would be one of no great difficulty ; but it is quite different with respect to the early stages of Arabic art. I am ignorant, except from books, of Spanish art ; but I have seen most of the Arabic edifices in Egypt, Palestine, Sicily, and Algiers, and confess my inability to decide with any certainty, from the styles alone, what would be the date of any early Arabic work. Materials of older structures were



so constantly used under Christian architects in this work, that we have a mixture of Roman, Byzantine, Arabic, and Norman, or (as Mr. Street tells me that he thinks) Spanish details and design, that for my own part I always feel very great hesitation at arriving at an opinion. We have some few well dated buildings, as, *e. g.*, the three gates (eleventh century), and they present much such a mixture as one would expect. The Mosque Tooloon is often quoted as a complete example of perfected Arabic work; and if the year 879 be accepted as its date, we have, undoubtedly, as fine a basis for study as we could wish. But the Arabic historians state distinctly that the mosque was largely decorated by the fanatic Hakim, *c.* 1000, quite abandoned by the end of the thirteenth century, ruined by earthquakes, and then rebuilt as it now stands. There are, however, Cufic inscriptions remaining which appear to authenticate the early date.

Finding so much difficulty in the matter, and being anxious to obtain for you all the information in my power, I wrote to Mr. Ronald Michel, who I knew had taken great interest in it, and had studied it on the spot. He kindly answered me as follows, in a letter which I received only a few days since: "I endeavoured, when in Cairo, to obtain information, searching El Makrizi and other works, as you have done, and also consulting persons who might be interested in such subjects, especially Ali Pasha Mubárek, formerly Minister of Public Works and of Public Instruction, but without results. My idea is that the old walls in which the Boorg is situate are of the Fatemite period, dating from the time of El Mustamir and his Vizier, Bedr-el-Gemáli, *i.e.*, of the eleventh century. This quarter was specially exposed to attack, and may often have suffered destruction. When, much later, the inner walls were built, the intermediate space may have been reserved for military purposes. When deserted, it became a resort for thieves and other bad characters, and so acquired its evil name and reputation."

Thus, according to Mr. Michel's opinion, the evidence is in favour of the Boorg having been built in the eleventh century. This is borne out by some notes by El Makrizi (the author quoted), who wrote at the end of the fourteenth century. But he states in another part, as do also



other historians, that Saladin in the twelfth century surrounded Cairo with a stone wall, and that the eleventh century wall was in part at least of brick. After quoting Mr. Michel's letter I could scarcely venture to give an opinion contrary to his ; otherwise I confess that I acquiesce in what is, I believe, the general opinion that the Boorg is not earlier than the time of Saladin.

I trust that this singular work may be preserved. Its position is perilous. It is sad to know that the Mosque Tooloon, to which I have referred, and which has been an object of interest to every visitor of Cairo, is in the last stage of decay; that the beautifully carved ceiling of Kait Bey's tomb has been partly replaced by execrable modern work ; that many an object of exquisite beauty which I sketched in the old Coptic churches only five years since, has vanished; and that some of the houses in the middle of the city, containing the most beautiful studies of ornament and plan, are going fast to ruin. We can almost put up with the modern French town springing up round the old one, as it serves to shew more strongly its beauty by the contrast, though we would fain have the old city framed in, as Damascus is, by foliage and gardens and running streams. But that the old city should be left intact and well cared for, every one, however little he may care for art, must fervently wish ; but seeing how the steady progress of decay is working its will, little checked, in the fine old Arabic buildings, I can only wish, but with somewhat slender hope, that they may be spared to delight future travellers as they have delighted me.

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## THE ANGLO-SAXON CHARTERS OF WORCESTER CATHEDRAL.

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THE Benedictine Monastery of Worcester, attached to and carrying out the religious services of the Cathedral Church, is justly celebrated by many writers for its Anglo-Saxon literary treasures, although, perhaps, most of my readers will become cognisant of this fact now for the first time. I propose, on this occasion, to draw a short and rapid sketch of the principal points of interest which attach to the expression, "a Saxon charter", and to shew how far Worcester Cathedral may be considered fortunate in having possessed, or unfortunate in having (I hope, however, only temporarily) lost sight of nearly a hundred and fifty of these highly valuable relics of our past national history. First, then, let us review the facts which circle round and indicate the value of a Saxon charter.

One of the most intelligent historians of this century, and certainly one of the most painstaking and enlightened, the late Mr. J. M. Kemble, compiled and published for the English Historical Society—a Society which has done some of the best work of its kind—the *Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici*, in six volumes, 8vo., to which he prefixed an introduction with which every antiquary should be familiar. From this and from other kindred sources, and above all from an observation of a large number of the charters themselves in the British Museum and elsewhere, I have gleaned the information which I am about to lay before my readers.

What, then, is a Saxon charter? It is to the Saxon charter that the antiquary points as to the highest and oldest native and authentic record of our insular history. To it we must look for nearly all our information respecting the law of real property, the descent and liability of lands, the nature of tenures and services, the authority of the sovereign, of the nobility and of the Church, and even

the power of popular councils. But however great the light which Saxon charters throw upon the foundations and gradual growth of our laws, their value is not less as illustrating the minuter details of early English history. That which they are to the codes of monarchs in a legal sense, they are also to the annalists in a historical sense. "Too much ignorance", says Kemble, "prevails in England respecting the habits of our Saxon ancestors. Too many of our most polished scholars have condescended to make themselves the echoes of degenerate Greeks and enervated Romans, and to forget the double meaning which lurks in the epithet 'barbarous'. Want of power, too, to comprehend the peculiarities of the Saxon mind, without which no one will comprehend the peculiarities of the Saxon institutions, has led others to describe the ancestors of the English nation as half-reclaimed savages, without law, morals, or religion. To these unfounded assertions it is enough to oppose the fact that nearly all European civilisation went forth from our shores when the degraded remnants of Roman cultivation survived only to bear witness in their ruins to the crimes of the respective nations, and the punishment which national crimes have never yet failed to merit and receive."

It was, as is well known, the appointed work of the Teutonic race to reinfuse life and vigour, and the sanctity of a lofty morality, into institutions perishing through their own corruption, and the Anglo-Saxons were not the least active in fulfilling their share of this great duty. We may rest assured that when the Teutonic tribes first attracted the attention of the south, they already possessed, more or less developed, the principles of that system of polity which has at length found its completion in the institutions of this country: a land that, in spite of all its changes, still of all European nations is the most true to its Germanic prototype. One fact, we are told, common to the Celtic, German, and Wendish tribes, appears to have impressed itself powerfully upon the Roman observer, who could find no parallel to it in the customs of his own country. The typical principle of the Roman law was, "the property or land of the individual citizen, the *AGER*, which was bounded and defined by civil and religious ceremonies." On the other hand, the typical

principle of the Teutonic law was "the land held in common, the German GAU",—a term which to this day, for example, survives as a final syllable in the well known Ober-Ammergau, the home of mystery-play or religious drama, and many other more or less renowned places. Out of this, either in its development or its disturbance, arose the democratic and elective, or the aristocratic and monarchical, power in Europe. In a word, the ROMAN law looked to and considered the individual member of the state, the citizen; the TEUTONIC law based itself upon the family bond.<sup>1</sup> The noble Teutons, like their kings or chiefs, undoubtedly possessed lands; and this very fact of possession necessarily supposes the means and forms of transfer, and the gradual establishment of a system of law based on that of possession and transfer. It is highly probable that the Anglo-Saxons had symbolical means of perfecting a transfer, similar to the Frankish methods at a contemporary age in vogue; and Mr. Kemble, with considerable reason, conjectures that the multitude of methods by which, in the later middle ages, livery of seizin might be given,—nay, even the particular, varying, and unconventional customs of various manors, so many of which are recorded in Blount's *Fragmenta*,—had their origin in the ancient provisions of Teutonic law, and not, as has been sometimes alleged, in the mere caprice of individuals. The red rose, the pair of white gloves, the gilded spur, the clove, the pepper-corn, the pound of spices, the custard-apple, common forms of annual *rent* (in addition to the *personal services*) attached to the perpetual tenure of lands, must in like manner be looked upon as based rather upon some older forms of service than as merely nominal provisions upon the part of the grantor to indicate his paramount tenure, and his claim in case of a failure on the part of the grantee and his heirs to perform the duties which were inherent to a due and legal possession of the property.

With the advent of St. Augustine, A.D. 597, the only

<sup>1</sup> "Possession of a certain amount of land in the district was the indispensable condition of enjoying the privileges and exercising the rights of a freeman. There is no trace of such a qualification as constituted citizenship at Athens or Rome. Among our forefathers the exclusive idea of CITY had no sway." (Kemble, *Saxons in England*, i, 88.)

native writing employed up to that time, the Runes carved on stones and wooden blocks (characters ill fitted for long documents), gave way to the elaborate Roman writing and the parchment or papyrus. Some of our documents<sup>1</sup> (a few, alas! we can only say) belong to this early Augustine period. They are written in uncial characters, and bear marks of a Roman and ecclesiastical origin, differing considerably from forms afterwards current in Europe, and resembling in some respects ancient papyri, more especially in grammatical solecisms and erroneous constructions.

“What is remarkable”, says Mr. Bond,<sup>2</sup> “in the forms of minuscule writing in the earlier characters, is their distinctness from foreign characters of the same period, their resemblance to Irish types, and their beautiful execution. The particular forms of letters have had the same origin as those of the Roman and Merovingian cursive writing, and it is interesting to trace the connection; but the common type has been worked by the caligraphers of these islands into shapes of beauty and clearness strongly contrasting with those of Continental use. That the school of caligraphy first developed itself in Ireland, and thence was introduced into England, may be concluded not only from historical facts shewing close intercommunion of the two countries, and from the earlier civilisation of Ireland, but from comparison of existing MSS.”

Kemble goes on to say that “the extreme importance attached to the destruction of all remnants of heathendom to which the symbolic transfers more especially belonged, rendered it, from the very first, necessary to substitute for them such forms as the Church had sanctioned, since in all times the possession and transfer of land had become one of the deepest foundations of the whole social polity. I therefore see no reason to doubt that land was transferred by documentary forms from the very first introduction of Christianity among the Anglo-Saxons.

“Let us now investigate wherein those forms consisted. Throughout Europe the documentary dispositions of the Latins prevailed. The conquerors readily adopted such portions of the law of the conquered as applied to those

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Cott. MS. Augustus, ii, 2, A.D. 679; ii, 29, A.D. 692-3; ii, 3, A.D. 736.

<sup>2</sup> *Brit. Mus. Facs.*, iv, 8.



new relations of life which the conquest itself had created, and those social wants which had not been provided for in their own unwritten, customary law. The formal study of the Roman law still survived in the seventh century. Aldhelm of Malmesbury remarks upon the time and pains it cost to master it, and declares it to have been a pursuit of his own. Wilfrid of York was celebrated for his proficiency in it, to which, in part at least, he probably owed his unpopularity in England, and the undeviating support he received from the papal court. The peculiar habits and disposition of each individual people, and manifold accidental circumstances, had undoubtedly tended to introduce great variations into the received system; but in the main the formularies were those of the empire and the Church; for amongst the Lombards, Franks, East and West Goths, and other nations that successively prevailed to dismember the enfeebled Colossus of the empire, in spite of all the changes which time, conquest, or opinion introduced, the Church, as a body, continued to live under the “Lex Romana” or Roman system of rights, privileges, immunities, and duties; and in direct proportion to the influence of the clergy was the predominance of Roman and ecclesiastical forms. The Roman law was necessarily in many respects more favourable to the clergy than the national law of the conquering tribes, which could contain but few provisions suited to the circumstances of their condition. It was, moreover, the code of the orthodox; while the German invaders were for the most part tainted with semi-Arian, if not Arian heresy. Add to this that the clerical profession was one of power and dignity, and to which a gentleman might devote himself without impeachment of his gentility, and that all nationality was generally found to merge in the new feelings appertaining to the class. As Savigny well observes, “Whatever nation they might belong to by birth, their priestly character made them belong to *a new nation*, the clergy”: hence, both for themselves and those whom they could influence, they retained as much as possible of *their* national forms, viz., the Roman. The collection of Marculfus professed to embody these for the Merovingian Franks; other collections have retained the precedents of the Carlovingian princes; the still older formularies of



Cassiodorus did the same for the Ostrogoths in Italy ; the *Liber Diurnus* of the Church supplied similar patterns for ecclesiastical instruments, unmixed with national peculiarities. A similar work might, perhaps, be compiled from the Anglo-Saxon charters, so regular and strict are they in form ; and as their authenticity seems capable of being tested in some degree by such internal evidence, it will be advisable to subject these forms to a detailed examination.

With the Anglo-Saxons, the land, wherever it may have been situated, was to be held, generally speaking, on the usual terms : that is, the repair of bridges, fortresses, and military service,—“*nisi pontis constructione, arcis edificatione, et hostium expeditione.*” The terms of these burdens upon the lands granted by Saxon kings are so interesting that the remarks of Kemble upon them may well be introduced here. He says :<sup>1</sup> “The one common and unavoidable duty, called the ‘*communis labor*’, ‘*generale incommodum*’, ‘*trinoda necessitas*’, etc., was the repairing of bridges, fortifications, or other public buildings, and military service. From these no one was excused ; and they were so essentially a part of the ancient and customary law of the land, that the attempt to escape from them casts well deserved suspicion upon any document in which it is found.....It does not appear from the charters whether these burdens, like the *corvée* of the French Feudists, were a personal service, or capable of being compounded for at a fixed sum, a kind of county rate. Whichever was the case, and perhaps both forms may have existed together, the want of any stipulation in the documents as to the amount serves to shew either that there was a fixed and invariable proportion, or that the assessment was made, *pro hac vice*, by all the land-owners in county court assembled, and was not dependent on the will of the grantor. It was ‘*onus commune*’; the advantages of the community superseding all privileges, even those of the clergy. But military service is not susceptible of such commutation in the early stages of a country, when the population is thinly scattered over a wide extent of uncultivated land.”

With these preliminary observations I will pass on to

<sup>1</sup> Vol. i, p. 51.

the immediate subject of my paper, which is (1) an inquiry into the number and value of the Anglo-Saxon charters which have been recorded as extant among the Worcester Cathedral muniments; and (2) an endeavour to shew how far linguistic, literary, and monastic history has suffered by their dispersion.

There is no doubt that when, before the time of William the Conqueror, the literary monk Heming, of whose memory every Wigornian should be justly proud, wrote, or rather compiled, his *Register*, of which the MS., now known as Tiberius A xiii (in the Cotton Collection of the British Museum) is the autograph, and that edited by Hearne<sup>1</sup> (when in possession of Richard Graves of Mickleton) a contemporary copy, between two and three hundred original Anglo-Saxon diplomata were contained in the Worcester *scriptorium* or muniment-room. Heming himself gives a very graphic account of the way in which his interest in them was excited and sustained, which I shall translate here from the original autograph MS. in the British Museum :

“ ENUCLEATIO LIBELLI.

“Hunc libellum, de possessionibus hujus nostri monasterii, Ego Hemingus monachus et sacerdos quamvis indignus, et conservus servorum Dei habitantium in Monasterio sanctæ Dei Genitricis Mariæ, sito in urbe, quæ anglie Wigornaceaster nominatur, multorum antiquorum hominum et maxime domni Wlstani episcopi, piissimi patris nostri, edoctus relatione, et corroboratus auctoritate, quædam etiam ex nostra memoria ipsemet, quibus aut interfui, aut quæ nostra etate facta sunt, intermiscui, utpote de terris, quas Francigeni invaserunt, quæ omnia tanto certius dico, quanto ea nostra memoria recolit facta, ea maxima intentione composui, ut posteris nostris claresceret, quæ et quantæ possessiones terrarum ditioni hujus monasterii adjacere, ad victum duntaxat servorum Dei, monachorum videlicet, jure deberent, quamque injuste vi et dolis spoliati his caremus... ..Noverit autem studiosus lector me hoc opus non mea presumptione, sed plurimorum rogatu, maxime tamen ipsius reverentissimi patris nostri jam dicti et sepe nominandi domni videlicet Wlstani episcopi jussione, incepisse, cujus orationibus suffultus, veraciter credo ad finem usque me perduxisse.

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<sup>1</sup> Hearne appears to have collated the Cotton MS. with the Graves MS. : “ At priusquam prelo committeretur hoc chartularium (*i.e.*, Gravesianum), ut cum autographo in Bibliotheca Cottoniana (*i.e.*, Tiberius A xiii) conferretur, curavimus.” (*Hearnii Prefatio*, lxii.) But I am not able to make out why he continually seems to be transcribing from the Cotton MS., nor am I able to say what has become of the Graves MS.

"Solebat namque, inter jocunda ammonitionis sue colloquia,<sup>1</sup> quæ nobiscum ut pius pater frequenter habere delectabatur, non quidem me solum expresso nomine, sed cunctos fratres, quos forte casus sibi presentaverat, pigritiæ et desidiæ arguere, eum nos, otio torpentes, res, precedenti sive nostro tempore gestas, de possessionibus duntaxat ecclesiæ nostræ nollemus litteris commendare, eum nos et plura oculis nostris facta vidissemus, et ipse, utpote vir venerande senectutis et canicie, multa posset recolere quæ plurimorum non erant recondita memoriæ.

"Aiebat enim non minimum posteritatis nostræ temporibus si litterali memoriæ commendaretur, huic monasterio evenire posse, Deo donante, proficuum, sicut e contrario, si negligeretur, accideret damnum, dum nullus superesset, qui memoria recolere posset, aut ei etati rerum gestarum veritatem vel ordinem narrare nosset. His siquidem adhortationibus plurimum instigatus, ad postremum etiam ejus præcepto constrictus, et auctoritate corroboratus, hoc opus aggredi sum exorsus, in jubentis magis orationibus, quam in propriis viribus confisus. Erat namque idem reverentissimus pater noster, licet secularium rerum minime cupidus, hujus monasterii plurimum studens semper utilitatibus, et ne sua, ut quorundam predecessorum suorum, negligentia, commissi sibi ecclesiæ damnum aliquid posteris temporibus pateretur, pro posse suo precavebat providus.

"Unde et scrinium monasterii coram se reserari fecit, diligenterque omnia antiquorum privilegia et testamenta de possessionibus hujus ecclesiæ perscrutatus est, ne forte custodum negligentia putrefacta, aut iniquorum avaritia forent distracta. Cumque ex parte, ut putaverat, reperisset, curavit studiose et putrescentia reparare, et, quæ inique distracta fuerant, strenue adquirere, adquisita vero insimul congregare, congregataque in duobus voluminibus studuit ordinare. In uno quidem ordinavit omnia primitiva testamenta et privilegia, in quibus manifestabatur, quomodo vel per quos primo terrarum possessiones huic monasterio date sint; in altero vero cyrographa quibus beatus Oswaldus archiepiscopus, cum adjutorio regis Ædgari, terras injuste a viris potentibus aliquanto tempore possedas, ditioni ecclesiæ attulavit, easque regali auctoritate et senatorum consensu et principum patriæ testimonio, data unicuique cyrographi cantione, post duorum vel trium heredum tempora, juri ecclesiæ absque contradictione reddendas, cyrographorum etiam exemplaribus in scrinio sanctæ ecclesiæ ob testimonium collocatis, suis scriptis successoribus manifestavit.

"Quibus ordinatis, precepit, cuncta eodem ordine in bibliotheca sanctæ ecclesiæ scribi, quatinus etiam si, ut assolet, contingeret, quod aliqua negligentia testamentorum scedulæ perderentur, earum exemplaria saltem in ibi conscripta nullatenus oblivioni traderentur. Hoc quoque juxta velle et imperium sancti patrato, præcepit adhuc, omnia privilegia et cyrographa terrarum, quæ proprie ad vietum monachorum pertinent, separatim ex his congregari, eaque similiter in duobus voluminibus

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<sup>1</sup> Wlstan could also shew another and a sterner mood, if we may trust his contemporary admirer and biographer, William of Malmesbury, who has left a highly finished biographical sketch of the great prelate, in which are contained many curious anecdotes that I may not mention on this occasion.

eodem ordine adunari, quod in hoc codicello, ejus, ut predixi, imperio, pro modulo meae parvitatís, studiosus lector fecisse me animadvertere potest.

“Deprecor, ergo, ut si cui hic parvitatís meae labor cordi sedet, orationis mercedem mihi peccatori impendere non deneget. Si cui vero disp[li]cet, aut superfluum iudicat, sciat me non fastidiosus et desidiosus, sed strennis et studiosis laborasse, eisque qui pro sanctae matris ecclesiae proficuo et augmentatione non solum strenue certare, verum etiam, si necesse erit, et semet ipsos impendere non dubitant, hoc opus sacrasse.

“Annuat, quæso, omnipotens Deus, ut sanctae ecclesiae honor et potestas jugiter crescat et augmentetur, ad laudem domini nostri Iesu Christi, qui cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto vivit et regnat Deus in secula seculorum. Amen.” (Tib. A. xiii, f. 130b-132; Hearne, i, 282-286.)

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This work concerning the landed property of this our monastery, I, Heming, although only an unworthy monk and a priest, and a fellow-servant of God's servants who dwell in the Monastery of the Blessed Mary, God's Mother, set in the city which is called in English Wigornaccaster, taught by the relation of many men of the old days, and chiefly by Dom Wlstan the Bishop, our very pious father, and confirmed by his authority, have composed, and have introduced into it certain points which have come to my mind, either because I was present at them, or because they happened in my time; as, for example, that about the lands which the Franks invaded; all which I so much the more assert in proportion as my memory recalls their occurrence. I have, I say, composed them with the greatest care, in order that it may be clear to future ages what manner of landed property by right ought to lie under the rule of this monastery; to wit, for the sustenance of God's servants, I mean the monks, although we are deprived of them, being unjustly despoiled by force and craft.....And I would have the careful reader know that I have undertaken this work not on my own presumption, but by the special request of many persons, and especially by command of the same our most reverend father, already mentioned, and often about to be spoken of, I mean Bishop Wlstan; and I verily believe that it is from being supported by his prayers that I have been led along safely to the end of my task.

For it was his wont, among the pleasant conversations and admonitions which the holy father was often pleased to hold with and bestow upon us, not only to accuse me expressly by name, but all the brethren, as they fortune to be present, of slothfulness and idleness. Why did we, slavishly slothful as we were, shew ourselves unwilling to put together into writing an account of the affairs which had taken place in previous times, or even in our own days, in reference to the landed property of our own church; particularly since we could see more things going on under our eyes every day, and he himself, as was natural with a man of a venerable old age, whose hair was hoary with his long years, could call to mind many things which were not stored up in the memory of many others.

For it was a favourite saying of his that no slight advantage hereafter, in the times of our posterity, would be sure to happen to this



monastery, under God's will, if such things were committed to the memory of letters (that is, if they were written down); and so, on the other hand, if they were neglected, a corresponding loss might happen when it fell out that no one was left living who could recall to his memory, or could know how to relate the truth or the sequence of things which had been done in that age. Spurred on, as I was, by these exhortations to the utmost height of my feelings, and to crown all, especially requested by him, and sustained by his influence, I aroused myself to undertake this work, putting my trust rather in the prayers of my director than in the little power I had of my own. For I may say that this same, our most reverend father, although he was of all the least desirous of earthly things, yet was always excessively desirous of the improvement of the means of this monastery, and prudently took care beforehand, as far as he was able, lest by carelessness (a fault of some of his predecessors) the church which had been committed to his charge should suffer any loss in subsequent ages.

Actuated by these feelings it was that he even ordered the charter-chest of the monastery to be opened in his presence, and diligently examined all the privileges of the old days, and the bequests of landed property of the church, to see lest by chance the documents had become decayed by the carelessness of their custodians, or abstracted by the avarice of designing persons; and when he found that this was the case in some respects, as he had suspected, he studiously took care to repair the decaying documents, and made strong efforts to regain possession of those which had been unjustly abstracted. And when he had thus collected them he arranged them in one set, and studied to put them in order, when they had been arranged, in two books. In one, I say, he arranged all the earliest bequests and privileges, whereby it was made manifest in what manner, or by whom, in the beginning the landed property was given to this monastery; and in the other, the indentures in which the blessed Archbishop Oswald, with the assistance of King Eadgar, established the Cathedral title to lands taken possession of, at some time or other, by powerful men; and in which he manifested to his successors, by his documents, that in accordance with the king's authority, and the assent of the senate, and testimony of the princes of the fatherland, every holder of a lease having had the opportunity of inspecting their title, the lands were to revert, without dispute, into the power of the church after the lapse of two or three lives. And to make this more clear, he deposited copies of the indentures in the charter-chest of the sacred edifice as a witness of the facts.

And when the Bishop had made all these arrangements, he ordered that all the deeds should be transcribed in the same order in the library of the sacred edifice, to the end that if it were to happen, as it sometimes does happen, that by any one's negligence the testamentary documents should be lost, at any rate the copies of them having been thus entered into registers would by no means be delivered over to oblivion. And when this part of the work had in like manner been executed in accordance with his wish and order, he directed still further that all the privileges and leases which belong properly to the sustenance of the monks should be separated out from among the mass of documents, and similarly arranged in their own order in two volumes. And the careful reader of this my little book may observe that I have done all this in compliance with the Bishop's commands, so far as the measure of my insignificance has been able to do it.

I pray, therefore, that if any one is gratified by this work of my smallness, he will not object to give to me, a sinner, the reward of his prayers; but if any one be displeased with it, and thinks it unnecessary, I would have him know that I have not laboured for the proud and idle, but for the hard-working and the studious; and that I have consecrated this work to those who never hesitate not only to strive to the utmost for the advantage and increase of Holy Mother Church, but also, if need arise, to sacrifice themselves in her cause.

May Almighty God, I pray, grant that the honour and power of Holy Church may grow together, and be augmented, to the praise of Our Lord Jesus Christ, who with the Father and the Holy Spirit lives and reigns, God for ever and ever. Amen.

To these sentiments of the Saxon monk let us all heartily agree. What a vivid picture we may imagine of the aged and hoary Bishop exploring the unknown regions of his muniment-chest, and of the ardent gaze of Heming, the literary novice, as the Saxon charters, with their elegant characters and their beautiful *ensemble*, were unfolded one after another, to the number of many hundreds, to his gaze! How prophetic and far-seeing his sentiments have proved to be, with respect to the likelihood of destruction and loss which have befallen all these deeds! One, only one,<sup>1</sup> which would have been exhibited on the occasion of the visit of the Association to the Cathedral during the past Congress in 1880, had it not been lent for a time to the Ordnance Survey Commission. Mr. J. H. Hooper, the Librarian, some years ago allowed me to have a photograph of this sole surviving relic, and I should have been glad to point it out to the meeting. In course of time this great treasure of Saxon charters, a veritable *spolium opimum*, a royal treasure in more senses than one, as it represented the unbroken series of royal favours, grants, and privileges, bestowed upon the rich and powerful centre of Mercian intelligence and influence for the four hundred years preceding the advent of the Norman rule over England, became dispersed. Of the entire number, which I roughly estimate at from two hundred and fifty to three hundred, nearly half are unknown to us, except in the form of transcripts, in cartularies, and registers. Mr. Bond, to whose edition of *Facsimiles of Ancient Charters in the British Museum* I have already drawn attention, refers, in his Preface to vol. iv, twenty original charters now in the British Museum to the Worcester archives. With the exception of Christ Church, Canter-

<sup>1</sup> No. 109 in the ensuing calendar.



bury, from which no less than sixty-two Anglo-Saxon charters have found their way into the collections of the British Museum, no other cathedral or monastic foundation has contributed so many Anglo-Saxon documents to our Museum as Worcester. I have described them all briefly in the following catalogue, in their places, and shewn how far they may be connected with the mislaid charters of the Worcester Cathedral archives.

The indefatigable worker and highly gifted linguist, Hickes, who made a catalogue of Anglo-Saxon MSS. extant in his time, the end of the seventeenth century, describes in brief terms ninety-two,<sup>1</sup> stated by Dugdale, in 1643, to have been found lately missing from the Worcester archives. There can hardly be a more deplorable circumstance than this in the whole history of Anglo-Saxon literature. These *diplomata* would afford, could they only be rediscovered from their hidden locality, material of considerable interest for the monastic and imperial historian, from the large number of internal facts which they would record; and before the scientific eye of the palæographer an unwonted feast would be spread in the shape of dated specimens of our national handwriting, wherewith to compare MSS. of similar characteristics, whose true date is yet awaiting a scientifically accurate solution.

Hickes, in his *Thesaurus*, ii, pp. 301-303, prints a catalogue of twenty-four Anglo-Saxon charters at that time (1703) in possession of Lord John Somers of Evesham, late Chancellor of England. From references made in the Dugdale catalogue of the Worcester charters it would appear probable that Lord Somers became possessed of some at least of the charters that Dugdale had examined while they were among the Worcester archives. Hickes, at any rate, gives references to the Somers charters in sixteen cases out of the twenty-four, and I have made also a tabulation of them.

<sup>1</sup> Dugdale's list of Anglo-Saxon charters at Worcester has the following title and notes: "Catalogus Chartarum temporibus Regum Anglo-Saxonum confectarum, quæ haud ita pridem in Archivis Ecclesiæ Wigorniensis extabant. (Hunc Catalogum texuit D. G. Dugdalius, A.D. 1643.).....Quin et intra tres aut quatuor annos in ejusdem Ecclesiæ Archivis extabant aliæ quædam chartæ, quas quidem jam perditas feliciter publicavit D. Georgius Hickesius Gramm. Anglo-Sax."

Numeration of		Date	Numeration of		Date
Lord Somers	Dugdale		Lord Somers	Dugdale	
1	3	A.D. 692	13		s. a.
2	92	s. a.	14	34	A.D. 967
3	21	s. a.	15	6	969
4		756	16	24	s. a.
5		780	17	37	984
6		825	18	48	1023 bef.
7	74	855	19	75	1015
8	33	866	20		1038
9		884	21	70	s. a.
10	58	s. a.	22	62	1042
11	49	946	23		1045
12	59	962	24	35	c. 1049

In the following calendar of original Saxon charters of Worcester I have collected together, from various sources, descriptions of a hundred and thirty-eight documents either now extant, or stated to be extant in the time of the author who has mentioned them. The marks :

D.=Dugdale's Catalogue of 1643, given by Hickes.

S.=Lord Somers' collection, given by Hickes, p. 301.

H.=Hickes, p. 300, col. 2.

[I] [II]. Two charters mentioned by Hickes to be "in archivis ecclesiæ", A.D. 1689. (*Cat. Lib. Sept.*, p. 171.)

1	Add. 19796	24	D. 5	47	D. 25	69	{ D. 70
2	D. 73	25	S. 6	48	{D. 49	70	{ S. 21
3	D. 86	26	D. 30		{S. 11	71	D. 36
4	D. 89	27	D. 40	49	Add. 19802	72	D. 31
5	Augustus, ii, 3	28	D. 69		{D. 35	73	S. 20
6	D. 63	29	D. 17	50	{S. 24	74	D. 12
7	D. 72	30	{ D. 33	51	H. xvii	75	S. 23
8	D. 32	31	{ S. 8	52	Add. 19801	76	D. 56
9	{D. 3	32	Add. 19797	53	D. 39	77	Add. 19798
	{S. 1	33	D. 1	54	Add. 19800	78	D. 80
10	H. 1	34	D. 2	55	Add. 19879	79	D. 29
11	D. 81	35	D. 14	56	Harl. Ch. 83,		{ D. 21
12	S. 9	36	D. 46 [A. 1		A. 3		{ S. 3
13	D. 82	37	Harl. Ch. 83,	57	D. 28	80	D. 66
14	Cott. viii, 37	38	D. 79	58	D. 52	81	D. 47
15	D. 71	39	H. x	59	D. 27	82	D. 22
16	D. 18	40	D. 65	60	H. vii	83	H. v, vi
17	{ D. 84	41	D. 76	61	D. 43	84	D. 74
	{ S. 7	42	Harl. MS. 7513	62	{ D. 75	85	Aug. ii, 30
18	D. 87		{ D. 24		{ S. 19	86	S. 5
19	{ D. 92	43	{ S. 16	63	D. 7	87	D. 67
	{ S. 2	44	Add. 19793	64	D. 51	88	H. ii
20	D. 11	45	D. 54	65	S. 22	89	{ D. 34
21	D. 85	46	H. xiv	66	D. 62		{ S. 14
22	[I]		{ D. 6	67	Add. 19799	90	19794
23	D. 10		{ S. 15	68	D. 38	91	D. 78

92	D. 57	104	D. 42	116	D. 77	127	II. xii
93	{ D. 59	105	D. 55	117	D. 64	128	D. 91
	{ S. 12	106	S. 4	118	19751	129	D. 53
94	D. 19	107	D. 83	119	D. 41	130	II. xvi
95	S. 13	108	H. iv	120	H. 11	131	19795
96	D. 20	109	D. 4	121	II. viii, ix	132	D. 15
97	II. xv	110	Birch, R.S.L.	122	19788	133	D. 23
98	D. 90	111	D. 61	123	D. 16	134	D. 68
99	D. 26	112	{ D. 58	124	Harl. Ch. 83,	135	D. 83
100	D. 50		{ S. 10		A 2	136	D. 44
101	D. 9	113	D. 88	125	D. 45	137	[11]
102	19792	114	D. 13	126	{ D. 48	138	II. 13
103	{ D. 37	115	D. 40		{ S. 18		
	{ S. 17						

1. A charter by Ælfwerd, Abbot of Evesham, A.D. 1017-23, contains the following clause: "7 thissa gewrita synd .iii. *and lidd on Wiga cestre* æt Scā Marian mynstre", etc. (*B. M. Facs.*, iv, 15.) Cf. Cott. Ch. viii, 37, A.D. 1012: "Nu syndan thissa gewrita threo. *an on wigerna* æt. Scā Marian thaes thaet land to herdh." [*B. M. Add. Ch.* 19796.]

2. "Æthelbaldi Regis de 24 Cassatis in Æstun et Natangrafan. (*Lat. Sax.*) [D. 73]. 716-755

3. "Æthelbaldi Regis de terris in Æthilmore. [D. 86.]

4. "Æthelbaldi Regis de terris in Bradanleag." [D. 89.]

5. "Æthilbalt Rex Marcensium" to "Cyniberlhte Comes", of land near the river Stour, to build a monastery at Husmera. A.D. 736. *Endorsed*: "Norð-Stur." (*B. M. Facs.*, i, 7.) Fine uncial handwriting. (*Dugd. Mon.*, i, 585.) [*Brit. Mus. Cotton. MS.*, Augustus, ii, 3.]

6. "Ethelbaldi Regis de Sture et Wlvardele." *Lat.* [D. 63.] A.D. 700

7. "Æthelbaldi Regis" [? of Wessex, 854-860] "de Wlfardileia." *Lat.* [D. 72.] A.D. 864

8. "Æthelbaldi regis Merciorum de duobus caminis in Wice, et gustario (*sic*) salis." *Lat.* [D. 32.]

9. "Æthilredi Regis" [675-704] "et Egwini Episcopi, de Fledanbyrig." [D. 3.] A.D. 692

Hickes refers here to his description of the charters belonging to Lord J. Somers, Baron of Evesham, late Chancellor of England (p. 301). "Donatio quadraginta quatuor (vox 'quatuor' quæ primitus abrasa erat, recentiori manu restituitur) cassatorum qui dicuntur Fledanburg Ostforo Episcopo; ut quemadmodum primitus tradita fuerat rursus per illius diligentiam Monachorum in ea sub abbate degentium honestissima conversatio recuperatur, per Æthilredum Regem, pro absolutione criminum suorum vel conjugis quon-

dam suæ Osthrythæ. Hac in carta cernuntur cruces diversæ formæ, confecta quoque fuit circa annum domini A.D. 692. In dorso hujusce carte extat commutatio eorundem 44 cassatorum cum Ethilredo Rege."

10. Æthelred, King of the Mercians, to Ostfor, Bishop, 30 cassates in Heanburg and æt Austin. "Printed by Hickes, *Gr. Anglo-Sax.*"; Hickes, *Thesaurus*, i, p. 169; MS. Harl. 4660, p. 1; Dugd., *Mon. Angl.*, i, p. 584. [H. i.] c. A.D. 692

11. "Æthelredi Regis de xxx cassatis terræ in Haenbyrig." [D. 81.]

12. Æthelred, King of the Mercians, to Æthelwulf, of 5 manents in Hymeltun. *Lat. termini Sax.* "Carta suspectæ vetustatis et fidei." [S., 9.] A.D. 884

13. "Æthelredi Regis de terra in Norð Sture." [D. 82.]

14. Æthelstan, Bishop, relating to various lands to Worcester. *Sax.* "+ Her swutelad on dissum gewrite." (*B. M. Facs.*, iv, 14.) [B. M., Cotton. Ch., viii, 37.] A.D. 1012 (?)

15. "Æthelstani Regis" [of Kent, 836-853, or of England, 924-940] "de duabus mansis in Mortune." [D. 71.]

16. Alhuni [Alwine or Ælhu of Worcester, 848-872] Episcopi de Kemesey. *Sax. Lat.* [D. 18.] A.D. 844

17. "Alwini episcopi de terris in Codesvelle et Sture." [D. 84.] A.D. 855

This is evidently the same as S. 7,—Alhwini, Bishop of the Hwiccii, to Æthelwulf, Dux, and his wife Wulfthrytha, of 11 cassates "æt Codeswellan 7 æt Sture." A.D. 855

18. "Aldhuni episcopi de terris in occidentali parte fluminis Sabrinæ." [D. 87.]

19. "Aldredi, Subreguli Hwicciolorum de terris in Fladbyrig." [D. 92.]

This is the same deed as that of S. 2,—Tilhere, Bishop [of Worcester, 777-781], with assent of Aldred, Subr. Hwic., to Æthelburg his kinswoman, of land at Fledanbyrig, with reversion to the monastery.

20. "Aldredi de Tomworðie de consensu Brihtwlfi Regis." [D. 848] A.D. 848

21. "Aldredi episcopi" [of Worcester, 1044; Archbishop of York, 1061-69] "de duabus mansis in Westune." [D. 85.]

22. "Aldredi Episcopi Æthelstano cuidam et Ecclesiæ Wigorniensis." *Sax.* [L.]

23. "Alfredi Regis de terris æt Pendoc." *Lat.* [D. 10.] A.D. 888

24. "Alhuni, diaconi et abbatis, de Stoce." *Lat.* [D. 5.]

25. "Carta Saxonica confecta A.D. 825, Indict. 2, Beornwulfo Merciorum Rege quæ continet Acta Synodici Conventus in Clofeshoas de jure herbagii et glandinationis porcorum in sylva Suthtunensi." [S. 6.]

26. "Beorwlf Regis de Suderton." [D. 30.]

27. "Berthulfi Regis de Breodune." [D. 60.]

28. "Berthwlf Regis de terra in Werburg Stoce." [D. 69.] A.D. 852

29. "Burhedi regis" [of the Mercians, 853-874] "de Beagabyrig." [D. 17.] A.D. 855

30. "Burhedi Regis Wlfrendeieia." *Lat.* [D. 33.] A.D. 866  
This charter is the same as S. 8, Burgred, King of the Mercians, to Wulfferd, of two manents at Soegeslea, called Wulfferdinleh, in exchange for certain possessions and property. With crosses "in diversis formis." *Lat. term.* [five hides] *Sax.* A.D. 866

31. Byrhteh, Bishop, to Wulmære, his "cnihte", of two hides in Easttune, with reversion to Worcester Monastery. *Sax.* (*B.M. Facs.*, iv, 15.) "+ In nomine domini Ic byrhteh." [B. M., Add. Ch. 19797.] A.D. 1033-1038

32. "Charta Ceolulfi postea Regis Merciorum" [819-822] "super concessionem terrarum apud Intanbergum, Bradanlege, et Bremesgrafe." *Lat. and Sax.* [D. 1.] A.D. 789

Printed in Dugd., *Mon. Angl.*, i, 588, *Sax.*; and from the *dorso* of another charter, by Hickes, i, 171; see also MS. Harl. 4660, p. 7.

33. "Ceolulfi Regis de Salewarpe." *Lat.* [D. 2.] A.D. 813

34. "Ceonwaldi de tribus mansis, in Brocton twa, 8riddan in Stoce." [D. 14.] A.D. 941

35. "Ceonwlf Regis de Bremesgraf." *Lat.* [D. 46.]

36. Coenwulf, King of the Mercians, to Suiðnoð, Comes, of one plough-land in Cært. *Lat.* [B. M., Harl. Ch. 83, A i.] A.D. 814  
Inc., "In nomine Dei Summi." (*B. M. Facs.*, ii, 14.)

37. "Ceonwlf Regis, de Cherneseg" (Kemesey?), "terra 30 tributiorum." *Lat.* [D. 79.]

38. Coenwulf, King of the Mercians, exchanges Huntingtun, Speacleahtun, Teolowaldingeato, thirty manents in Weogornealeage, and twenty-five manents æt Ceadresleage for fourteen manents at Sture, with Deneberht Bishop. [H. x.] A.D. 816

Printed in Dugd., i, 588. "Huitingtun." From MS. Harl. 4660, f. 5. *Lat.* See also Hickes, *Thes.*, i, 173.

39. "Coenulfi Regis Merciorum de Salewearpe." *Lat.* [D. 65.] A.D. 816



40: "Ceonwlf Regis." *Lat.* [D. 76.]

41. Charter of Eadgar to Worcester; a twelfth century copy. See Hickes, *Thesaur.*, i, 86, 152. [B. M., MS. Harl. 7513.] A.D. 964

This has not been printed or fac-similed in the fac-similes of ancient charters in the British Museum. It was also passed over by Kemble in his *Codex*, who prints from the even more corrupt copy in Spelman's *Concilia*, i, 432. Incipit: "Altitonantis Dei largi-lua elementia." It resembles Dugdale's 24 and Somers' 16 (as in Hickes); cf. also MS. Harl. 358, f. 48b, and MS. Harl. 3875, f. 751.

42. "Eadgari regis de Libertatibus (Wigorniensis Ecclesiae). *Lat.* [D. 24.]

This may be taken to be the same as S. 16, of which it is said: "Desiderantur cruces et nomina plurimum terrarum quæ ad Wigorniam pertinebant."

43. Eadgar, of fifteen cassates at Æpslea, to Ælfwold, "fidelis minister." "P<sup>x</sup> in nomine domini nostri." (*B. M. Facs.*, iii, 29.) *Lat. Sax.* [B. M., Add. Ch. 19793.] A.D. 969

44. "Eadgari Regis de septem cassatis in Bisantune." [D. 54.]

45. Eadgar, King, to Beorhtnoth, Earl, of two "mansiuuncule" at Culnanclif. Bounds in *Sax.* [H. xiv.] A.D. 964

46. "Regis Eadgari de x cassatis terræ æt Cyngtun." [D. 6.] A.D. 969

The same as S. 15, granted to Alfwold, "fidelis minister".

47. "Eadgari Regis de terris in Wigornia." [D. 25.] A.D. 972

48. "Eadredi Regis de terris in Cyngtun." *Lat.* [D. 49.]

The same as S. 11, "Concedente gratia dei anno domenicæ", etc. Printed in full, p. 302 col. 1. "Cum crucibus diversæ formationis. Termini desiderantur." *Lat.* A.D. 946

49. Edward (Confessor), appointing Wulstane the monk to the bishopric of Worcester. *Sax.* (*B. M. Facs.* iv, 39.) "Eadward kyning gret harold eorl." [B. M., Ch. 19802.] A.D. 1062

50. "Ealdredi Episcopi de terris in Dieford. *Sax.* [D. 35.]

Identical with S. 24. Granted to Wulfgeat for life. c. A.D. 1049

51. Ealdred, Bishop of Worcester, to Æthelstan and two other lives, of two hides of land in Hylle. *Sax.* [H. xvii.] 1049-1057

52. Ealdred, Bishop, to Dodda, minister, of two manses and a perch at Norð-tun. *Lat.* [B. M., Add. Ch. 19801.] A.D. 1058

"P<sup>x</sup> Anno dominice ab incarnatione." (*B. M. Facs.*, iv, 38.)

53. "Ealdredi episcopi de prima mansa in Penedoc." *Lat. Sax.* [D. 39.]

54. Ealdred, Bishop, to Balwine, "religiosus atque fidelis", of

two hides at West-tun. *Lat.* [B. M., Add. Ch. 19880] "In nomine summi salvatoris." (*B. M. Facs.*, iv, 32.) A.D. 1046-1056

55. Eanberth, Uchtred, and Aldred, three brothers, with consent of Offa, King of the Mercians, to Headda, Abbot, of ten cassates at Onnanford. [B. M., Add. Ch. 19789.] A.D. 759

(*B. M. Facs.*, ii, 2.) The writing of this charter strongly resembles that of certain ancient and finely written Biblical MSS. of these islands, such as the Latin Gospels known as the "Book of Kells", the "St. Chad's Gospels", at Lichfield, and others of which the date is uncertain. It may be compared with Cotton. Charter viii, 4, dated A.D. 778.

56. Agreement between Worcester Monastery and Fuldre, concerning land at "æt Ludiutune." [B. M., Cart. Harl. 83, A. 3.]

"<sup>p</sup> Her swutelad on ymb", etc. (*B. M. Facs.*, iv, 43.) Bought by H. Wanley, for the Harley Library, from Mr. Le Neve.

57. "H..... episcopi de Penbylle." [D. 28.]

58. "H..... episcopi de duabus mansis in Tappenhallan." [D. 52.]

59. "Carta de Hallingan." *Sax.* [D. 27.]

60. "Carta Reconciliationis et Concordiæ inter Heathoredum Episcopum (Wigorniensem) et Wulfheadum filium Cussan de hereditate Hemeles et Dudæ, quod post obitum suorum nominaret ad Weogorna-ceastre: facta apud Pontificale Conciliabulum in loco qui dicitur Celchyth", etc. (31 Offæ.) [H. vii.] A.D. 789

Dugd., *Mon.*, i, 587, from MS. Harl. 4660, p. 7. *Lat.* Hickes, *Thes.*, i, p. 171. *Sax. on dors.*

61. "Henrici I Regis de Libertatibus, cum Sigillo." *Lat.* [D. 43.]

62. "Leofsii Episcopi" (of Worcester, 1016-1033) "de una mansa in Biscopstune." *Lat. Sax.* [D. 75.] A.D. 1016

Same as S. 19, Leoffinus Episcopus, with consent of Wulfstan, Archiep. Eboracen., of one manse in Biscopesdun, to his "fidelis minister" Godric, for three lives. *Lat. term. Sax.*

63. "Leofsii Episcopi de Terris in Wlfington tempore Canuti Regis." *Sax.* [D. 7.]

64. "Lyfingi episcopi" (Worc., 1038-1046) "de tribus mansis in Alðryðetune." *Lat. Sax.* [D. 51.]

65. Lyfing, Bishop, with consent of Hearðacnut, King, and of Leofric, Dux Merciorum, to his "fidelis Æthelric", of six manses at Beonetleag. *Lat. term. Sax.* [S. 22.] A.D. 1042

Perhaps same as D. 62.

66. "Lyfingi episcopi de vj hidis in Beverley." *Lat. Sax.* [D. 62] Perhaps same as S. 22. A.D. 1042

67. Leofric, Bishop, with assent of Hearðacnut, King, to Ægelric his thegn, of two hides at Eadmunddescótan, with reversion. *Sax.* [B. M. Add. Ch. 19799.] [A.D. 1042]

“<sup>P</sup><sub>X</sub> In ures drihtnes naman.” (*B. M. Facs.*, iv, 23.)

68. “Lyfingi episcopi de 11 mansis et dimidia in Ealdingcote.” *Lat. Sax.* [D. 38.]

69. “Lyfingi Episcopi de duabus mansis in Elmleia.” *Lat. Sax.* [D. 70.]

This is the same as S. 21. Lyfing, Episc., with assent of Hearðacnut and Leofric, Dux Merciorum, to his “fidelis homo Ægelric”, of two manses in Elnlæh for three lives. *Lat. term. Sax.* A.D. 1042

70. “Lyfingi Episcopi de 5 mansis in Eovinlode.” [D. 36] *Lat. Sax.*

71. “Lyfingi Episcopi de una mansa et dimidia in Hrydmearlean.” [D. 31.] A.D. 1038

72. Lyfing, Bishop, with assent of Harold the King, and of Leofric, Dux Merciorum, to his “fidelis homo Æthelred”, of five manses in Hyleromban and Bocetun. [S. 20.] A.D. 1038

73. “Lyfingi episcopi de duabus mansis æt Lenc, licentiâ Regis Edwardi.” [D. 12.]

74. Lyfing, Bishop, with consent of the Monastery (of Worcester), to ..... of land at Sawertun, for three lives. Imperfect. [S. 23.] A.D. 1045

75. “Lyfingi episcopi de 5 mansis in Suðhan.” *Lat. Sax.* [D. 56.]

76. Lyfing, Bishop, to Earcytel, “fidelis”, of two eassates at Tapen-halan. *Lat. Sax.* [B. M., Add. Ch. 19798.] A.D. 1038  
“<sup>P</sup><sub>X</sub> Anno dominice incarnationis.” (*B. M. Facs.*, iv, 22.)

77. “Lyvingi Episcopi de vj cassatis terræ in Weletun.” [D. 80.]

78. “Mildredi episcopi” (Wore., 743-775) “de Tilsho.” [D. 29.] A.D. 774

79. “Offæ regis” (Merc., 755-796) “et Aldredi subreguli Huicciorum de vico nominato æt Gate.” *Lat.* [D. 21.]

This is the same as S. 3: Offa, King of the Mercians, and Aldred, Subregulus Hicciorum, to Worcester Monastery, of land, “bis quinos mansionis vici æt Geate.” A late copy. *S. a.*

80. “Offie Regis de Grimanleg.” *Sax. Lat.* [D. 66.]

81. “Offie Regis de Norðsnere.” [D. 47.]

82. “Eorundem Offæ et Aldredi de Saggesberne.” [D. 22.] A.D. 775

83. Offa, King of the Mercians, to Aldred, Dux of the Hwicci, of four “mansiones” at “æt Seggesbearne.” [H. v.]

The same as Hickes' (vi). On the dors. regrant of the above by Aldred to Worcester Church. A.D. 775

Dugd., i, p. 587, from MS. Harl. 4660, p. 9; and Hickes, i, 70. Offa to Aldred, "Dux Huiccorum", of land at Segecsbernue, near Esegburna. *Lat.* A.D. 775

84. "Offæ Regis, de Ecclesia de Breodun." *Lat.* [D. 74.] A.D. 770

85. The above may be Cotton. Augustus, ii, 30, "Cuncta labilis vitæ hujus", etc., printed in *B. M. Facs.*, i, 11; dated A.D. 730 for 780 (Kemb.). Offa to the church at Breodune, of ten manents at Wersetfelda and Costune, and five cassates at Wreodanhale (Rednal), co. Worc. Compare Somers, 5.

86. Offa, King of the Mercians, to the monastery founded by Eanulf, his grandfather, at Breodune, of twenty manents æt Wersthylle and æt Costune. [S. 5.] A.D. 780

"Carta longe recentiori manu scripta." Printed in Dugd., *Mon.*, i, p. 586, from Tiberius, A. xiii, f. 25 b. *Lat.*

87. "Offæ Regis de Westbyrig." *Lat. Sax.* [D. 67.]

This is a *Latin* charter in Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 19790, of Offa, granting fifty-five cassates in Vuestburg, in the province of the "Huiccorum", to Æthelmund, his "fidelis minister". "+  $\frac{p}{x}$  In nomine summi tonantis." (*B. M. Facs.*, ii, 5.) A.D. 793-796

88. Oshere, King of the Hwicci, and Ædilheard his son, with consent of Cuthberht, Earl, fifteen tributaries at Penitanham for a monastery to Cutsuida, Abbess. [H. ii.] c. A.D. 692

The same as Hickes' (iii). On the dors.: Sale by Eadilheard and Eadilnead (? Reguli of Hwicci) to Cudsuida, Abbess, of five manents in Ingiun. See MS. Harl. 4660, p. 2; Hickes, *Thes.*, i, 169; Dugd., *Mon.*, i, 585.

89. "Oswaldi episcopi" (Worc., 961-991; Archbishop of York, 972-992) "de duabus mansis æt Bradanbeorh." *Lat.* [D. 34.] A.D. 964

The same as S. 14. Oswald, of two manses at Bradanbeorh and Holenfesten to Osulf, "Germano suo", for three lives, with reversion to Worcester Monastery, etc. *Lat. Sax. cum Adjuratione.* A.D. 967

90. Oswuold, Archbishop, with assent of Æthelred, King of the English, and of Ælfrie, Dux Merciorum, to Cynelm, minister, of two manses at Caldinecotan. *Lat. Sax.* [B. M., Add. Ch. 19794.] (*B. M. Facs.*, iii, 32.) Written in English, rounded minuscules, merging into the foreign hand. A.D. 984

91. "Oswaldi Episcopi de duabus mansis æt Clifford." [D. 78.] A.D. 966

92. "Oswaldi Episcopi de 5 mansis in Cromb." [D. 57.] H., 348, gives Saxon boundaries only.

93. "Oswaldi Episcopi de tribus Cassatis in Cungle." *Lat.* [59]  
 Identical with S. xii. Oswald, Bishop of Worcester, with consent,  
 of two cassates at Cungle, formerly held by the matron Alhthrydh,  
 to the minister Regis Alfwold, with reversions. Lately mutilated.  
 A.D. 962.

94. "Oswaldi episcopi de tribus mansis in Degilsford. *Lat. Sax.*  
 [D. 19.]

95. Oswald, prelat, with consent of Eadgar, Basileus, and of  
 Ælfhere, "Mertiorum finium Ducis", to Osulf his brother, of four  
 manses at Grimanleag, one at Morleage, one and a half at Wican,  
 for three lives, with reversion to the monastery. Imperfect. *Lat.*  
*term. Sax.* [S. 13.] *S. a.*

96. "Ejusdem Oswaldi de una mansa in Meolcoton." *Sax. Lat.*  
 [D. 20.]

97. Oswald, Archbishop, and the Worcester convent, to Biornage  
 and Byrestan, brothers, of two hides of land in Mortune for three  
 lives, "acceptis quatuor libris". *Lat. Sax.* [H. xv.] A.D. 990

98. "Oswaldi episcopi de terris in Oddingalea et Lauuerra." *Lat.*  
*Sax.* [D. 90.]

99. "Oswaldi episcopi de Stoce." *Lat. Sax.* [D. 26.] A.D. 984

100. "Oswaldi episcopi de Stoc." [D. 50.]

101. "Oswaldi Episcopi de Teddington." *Lat. Sax.* [D. 9.] A.D. 877

102. The above, notwithstanding the improbable date given,  
 may be Brit. Mus. Add. Ch. 19792; a *Saxon* charter of Oswald,  
 Bishop, to Worcester Monastery, of some hides of land at Teot-  
 tingetun and Ælsigestun. "x le Oswold bisceop." (*B. M. Facs.*,  
 iii, 28.) A.D. 969

103. "Oswaldi episcopi de 3 mansis in Wlfrintun. *Lat. Sax.*  
 [D. 37.] A.D. 964

Identical with S. 17. Oswald, Archiep. Ebor., Episc. Wigorn.,  
 of three manses in Wulfrintun, to his kinsman Eadwig and his  
 wife Wulfgyva, for three lives. *Lat. term. Sax. in dorso.* A.D. 984

104. "Stephani Regis de Confirmatione, cum sigillo." [D. 42.]

105. "Stephani Regis de Libertatibus, cum sigillo suo, et Gual-  
 leranni Comitis de Mellent confirmata." [D. 55.]

106. Uhtred, Regulus of the Huicceii, with consent of Offa, King  
 of the Mercians, of "bis quaternorum mansionum in australi parte  
 montis qui dicitur Breodun, in aquilonali plaga rivuli qui vocatur  
 Carent", to Ceolmund, minister. [S. 4.] Perhaps=D. 83. A.D. 756

107. "Uhtredi, Ducis Hwicceiorum, de viij mansis in Breodune."  
 [D. 83.] Perhaps=S. 4.



108. Uhtredus, Regulus of the Hwiccei, to Æthelmund, son of Ingeld, of five tributaries at Eastun, near Saluuarpe river. [H. iv.]  
A.D. 76 (sic)

Dugd., *Mon.*, i, p. 586. *Lat.* From MS. Harl. 4660, p. 3; and Hiekes, *Thes.*, i, 170.  
A.D. 767

109. "Uhtredi Reguli Huicciorum de Eastun prope Salewarpe, confirmata per Offam Regem." *Sax. Lat.* [D. 4.]  
A.D. 770

Although it is not very clear what became of this fine series of early documents of Worcester, for the most part relating to a period anterior to the conquest of England by the Normans, it is certain that the late John Mitchell Kemble, when collecting materials, in 1839, for his renowned *Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici* (a work aiming at embracing the accurate text of every known Saxon document), was not able to make use of any of these original Worcester MSS., but was compelled to have recourse either to late—in some instances *very* late—copies of the same deeds, or to omit them altogether.

But a short time ago the Librarian of this Cathedral, Mr. J. H. Hooper, M.A., who was well aware of the former existence of literary treasures relating to his Cathedral, and their unaccountable disappearance, was so fortunate as to recover a very valuable charter; which, however, I am not quite certain was ever included in the catalogue of the treasures already quoted; and it is through his agency that we are indebted for the exhibition, on this occasion, of a photograph of the only original Saxon document now left to the Cathedral out of all the Worcester charters. I shall commence my account of it by giving the text, which I have supplied in some parts (but not throughout), where mutilated, from analogous formulæ found in two other similar documents which will be mentioned and described further on:

"+ In nomine dñi nři ihū xpī. Certissime itaq, absq, dubitatione constat omnia quæ uidentur temporalia esse, Et ea q, | non uidentur æterna esse, Idcirco ego uhtredus dō donante regulus huicciorū cogitani. Ut ex accepta portione terrigenis | regni a largitore omniū bonorū aliquid quamuis minus dignū p remedio animæ meæ in usus ecclesiasticæ libertatis eroga[rem]. Unde fideli meo ministro ædelmundo uidelicet filio ingeldi qui fuit dux et pfectus ædelbaldi regis merçi, cum consi|[lio] et licentia offani regis meř Simulq, episcoporū ac principū eius, Terra .v. tributatoriorū Id; uicū qui nominat[ur] [eastun<sup>1</sup>] iuxta fluuiū in orientali parte qui dicitur saluuerpe iure æclesiastico possidendū libentissime p dño omnipotenti | ..... tenus se uiuente possideat et pos<sup>t</sup> se cuienq, voluerit duob; heredis relinquat Illisq, e sæculo migrantib; reddat | .....[uig]eranens æclesiæ agrū cum libris<sup>2</sup> ad mensā eorū sine

<sup>1</sup> "Hodie Aston infra manerium Stoke Prioris." (MSS. Harl. 4660, f. 3, 4.

<sup>2</sup> A remarkable use of the word *liber* for a charter. A. S. *Boc.*

ulla contradictione mihi atq; omnib; nobis in elemosi[na] .....tis patriæ illorūq; intercessione ad dñm uiuū et uerū Insup digno p̃tio a antedicto æðelmundo suscepto | ..... [sciat unusqui]sq; hanc terrā liberā esse ab omni tributo paruo † maiore publicaliū rerū et a cunctis operib; † regis † prin[cipis præter instructio]nib; pontiū † necessariis defensionib; arcīū contra hostes . Omnimodo quoq; in dī omnipotentis nomi[ne] [ne interdicimus ut si] aliquis In hac p̃nominatā terrā aliquid foraras furauerit alicui aliquid nisi specialiter p̃tiū p̃ p̃tio | ..... augentem hoc meū p̃ceptū . Omnip̃s d̃s sua augere bona In æternū ñ cessat, Minuente qđ ñ | [optamus sciat se ante] tribunal xp̃i rationē redditurū nisi ante ea dō et hominib; satis emendauerit, Conscripta ; | [autem hæc donatio anno ab] incarnatione dñi nr̃i ih̃u xp̃i dec, lxx, Indic, viii, decenoui, xi, Lun, viii.

“[+Ego offa dei dono rex me] rē hanc donationē subreguli mei  
ōsensi et signū sc̃æ crucis inposui.

“[+Ego Mildredus Christi gra]tia ocedente humilis huicē ep̃  
oonseñ et sub’.

“[+Ego Uhtredus ..... di]spensatione donante regulus p̃piæ  
gentis hanc meā libertatis donationē p dño ocessa o robo-  
rans signū salutare oscripsi.

“[+Ego Aldredus subregulus h]uic̃ huic ocessæ donationi fratris  
mei oSENTIENDO subscribo.

“[+Ego Eada consen’ et su]b’

“[+Ego Brorda con]señ et sub’

“+ Ego Eadbald oSENS’ et sub’

“Hii st’ termini donationis istius saluERPæ cymedes halh  
huitun §stan readan solo.

“+Ego<sup>1</sup> cyneðryð regina merč oseñ et sub’

“+Ego Ecgferð filius amborū oseñ et sub’

“+Ego ælflæd filia amborū oseñ et sub’.”

The description of this is that Uhtred, Regulus of the Huuiccas, grants by permission of his superior lord and king, Offa of the Mercians, to Æthelmund his minister (not necessarily an ecclesiastical, but probably a high political personage at his court), the son of Ingeld, who had held the office of Dux, or military leader, to Ethelbald,<sup>2</sup> King of the Mercians (the immediate predecessor to Offa), a quantity of land specified as of five tributaries; that is the *vicus* which is called Eastun, near the river, on the eastern part which is called Salwerpe, for the ordinary Saxon holding of three lives, after which the property is to become the possession of the church at Worcester. It was to be held on the usual terms of a free gift; that is, the repair of bridges, fortresses, and military service.

Of Uhtred, the Regulus of the Huuiccas, and the grantor of the

<sup>1</sup> These on the *dors.*, on which also, in later hands, are, “To Eastune”, “Offani regis”, “.i. Stocce”, “.i. Stocce”, “To Eastune”.

<sup>2</sup> Ob. A.D. 757.

land of Easton to Æthelmund, here contained, very little is known beyond what may be gleaned from the only five charters which exist relating to him, and which I shall now refer to in order of date.

1. The first is a charter which until the last few years was in the possession of the Finch-Hattons, Earls of Nottingham and Winchelsea, and probably formed part of Sir Christopher Hatton's collection of MSS. It was purchased from Mr. Attenborough by the Trustees of the British Museum in 1873, and has been facsimiled by the Museum authorities in their *Facsimiles of Ancient Charters*, Part II, No. 2, 1876. From this charter it appears that three brothers ("tres germani uno patre editi"), Eanberht, atque Uhtred nec non et Aldred,<sup>1</sup> granted land at Onnanford to Headda, Abbot of Worcester,<sup>2</sup> in A.D. 759. They are designated each by the title of *Regulus* in the subscription appended. (See No. 55, *supra*, p. 411.)

2. The second charter, as far as its general import goes, is somewhat similar to the one before us, and enables me to supply a few words that have been torn from the charter under inspection. It is printed by Kemble in his *Codex Diplomaticus*, No. cxvii, dated A.D. 767, and is closely allied to this newly found document in much of its text. Kemble, however, does not appear to have seen the original; but he prints from an eighteenth century copy in MS. Harl. 4660, f. 3, 4, entitled "Cartarum aliquot Pervetustarum quæ extant in Archivis Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Wigorn. Apographa." In the list of contents of this Harley MS., the charter of Kemble's *Codex*, No. cxvii, is called "4, Uhtredi reguli Huicciorum Æthelmundo ministro" and is the same as that one numbered as 4 by Hickes in his *Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon MSS.* already quoted. The title of this lost charter is noticed by Hickes as "Carta Donationis qua dat Uhtredus Regulus Huicciorum fidei suo Ministro Æthelmundo (filio Ingeldi qui fuit Dux et Prefectus Æthelbaldi Regis) cum consensu et Licentia Offani Regis Merciorum, simulque Episcoporum et Principum ejus, terram 5 Tributariorum, *i.e.*, vicum qui nominatur Easton juxta fluvium, in (*loco*) qui dicitur Saluuarpe, A.D. 76 (*sic*). Indict. 6, Lun. 5." The text is not only given in the *Codex Diplomaticus* and in the Harley MS. quoted above, but also in Hickes' *Grammatica Anglo-Saxonica*, p. 170, and in Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vol. i, p. 586.

From inspection of the text of this second charter, it is certainly not the same as the one restored to Worcester, the date and the list of witnesses being very dissimilar to those of the original charter exhibited on this occasion.

3. There is also another charter which bears yet closer resem-

<sup>1</sup> Aldred appears as late as A.D. 777, and seems to have survived his brother. (Kemble, *Cod. Dipl.*, No. cxxxi.)

<sup>2</sup> Headda, Abbot, occurs in Kemble, *Cod. Dipl.*, No. cv, February A.D. 759, and is probably the same as Headda, Abbot of Worcester, between A.D. 781 and 798 in Kemble, No. clxix.

blance to the one under our immediate attention. It is described by Hickes in the *Catalogue of Worcester Charters* already referred to, as "4, Uhtredi Reguli Huicciorum de Eastun prope Salewarpe, A. 770, confirmata per Offam regem. *Sax. et Lat.*" This also, apparently, was never seen by Kemble, who only gives it from the eleventh or early twelfth century "Register of Worcester Charters" in MS. Cotton., Tiberius A. xiii. ff. 145, 146, "De Stoke", Kemble, *Cod. Dipl.*, No. cxviii. But this charter is a grant of the land to the brethren of the monastery of Worcester, and not to Æthelmund, although it is couched in very nearly the same words, and supplies some words for the restoration of the text of the charter exhibited on this occasion. It is, therefore, reasonable to conclude that very shortly after the granting of this land to Æthelmund, the text of which grant I am enabled to describe here, the grantee granted it to the brethren of Worcester.

Kemble unfortunately omitted the boundaries of the land hereby conveyed,<sup>1</sup> which I here supply to complete the history of the transaction; for although the charter is not quite identical with that which I exhibit, yet the property mentioned is apparently the same; and the statement of the boundaries is valuable not only to the county topographer, who can by its means catch up the positions of lost places, and explain the names of modern localities, but it is also of very great importance to the philologist, and it adds a fresh contribution to the *corpus* of Anglo-Saxon texts:

"Ærest fram mýðam in cýrstel mæl æc. Of cýrstel mæl ac in easte ende teoue lege. Of teofe leage in þæt sýrf treop. Of þam sýrf treope in þ̅ ruġ mapel treop in forpeard perdune. Of forepeard perdune oð midde pearde per. Of midde perdune in perdun broc. Of midde per dune broce in middan pearde langan dune. Of middan pearde langan dune in sceap peg. Of scearp peġ in hpæta leage. Of hpæta lege in hens broc. Of hens broce in salparpan. Of seal parpan in holan peg. Of þam peġ in ða-hpitan biricean. Of þære birican in alcherdes ford. Eft of salparpan in þa ifihtan ac. Of þære ac in þa mæc ac. Of hære ac in bennic æcer. Of þam æcere in cærsa bæc. Of þam bæte in pipan. Of pipan in piði broc. Of þam broce in þæt þruh. Of þā þruġ in holan peg. Of þam pege in bridenan brýgge. Of þære brigge in cumb. Of þam cumb in ale beardes æc. Of þære ac in þa heort sole. Of hære sole in þa þisle. Of hære ðisle eft in ða mýþan." (Tib. A. xiii. f. 146.)

4. The fourth document is a charter of Uhtred, the text of which is given by Kemble in his *Codex Diplomaticus*, No. cxxviii; but it has been marked by him as of doubtful authenticity. It has no date; but the editor of that monumental work is probably not far from right in assigning to it a date between the years 764 and 775. The document is a grant by Uhtred, "Subregulus Huicciorum", of

<sup>1</sup> In Anglo-Saxon, and thus bearing out the description, "*Sax. et Lat.*", by Hickes.



land to Worcester Cathedral, "*Ecclesia Beatæ Semper Virginis Dei Genetricis Mariæ, quæ sita est in Uegerna civitate ubi corpora patrum meorum digne conduntur.*" The subscription of Uhtred is appended with that of Aldred his brother, to whom reference has already been made. The original of this is not now extant, and Kemble gives it only from the Worcester Register in the Cottonian Library,—a manuscript, the date of which has already been pointed out.

5. It is worthy of record that in addition to these above mentioned charters, which are grants from Uhtred himself direct, there are the following charters in the *Codex*, where he is mentioned, or where his subscription is appended, in testimony or confirmation of their purport:

1. "Uhtred."—K. cii\*, a doubtful charter of Eanberht of the Hwiccas, A.D. 757.

2. "Uhtred regulus."—K. cv; a charter of Eanberht, Feb. 759.

3. "*Manus Uhtredi.*"—K. exi\*; a doubtful charter of Offa of Mercia, A.D. 764.

4. "Uhtred" ("Uhtredi Germani Mei").—K. cxxv; a charter of Aldred of the Hwiccas, A.D. 757-775.

5. "Uhtred Subregulus."—K. cxxvii; a charter of Ceolfrith, Abbot of Worcester, A.D. 757-775.

To recapitulate, therefore, the important points which have been elicited in the course of these notes, we have found the following facts relating to Uhtred, "Subregulus" of the Hwiccas, viz.:

1. That Eanberht, Aldred, and Uhtred, were three sons born to one father, and that the father and ancestors were buried in Worcester Cathedral.

2. That Eanberht, the eldest brother, grants various charters to Worcester Cathedral in the years 757 and 759.

3. That Uhtred, the third brother, is not styled "Regulus" in 757, but is styled "Regulus" in 759 in two documents; is not styled "Regulus" in 764, but styled "Regulus" in 767, and again in 770; and "Subregulus" in a charter of date between 757 and 775.

4. That the second brother, Aldred, appears to have been the survivor of the three in A.D. 777.

5. That of the five documents purporting to have been issued directly at his command, two only are extant in the form of *charters*, the other three being only found in manuscript registers of far later dates.

6. Of these two, one is in the Manuscript Department of the British Museum, numbered as Additional Charter 19789; the other is that at present before us, in the possession of the Dean and Chapter of Worcester.

7. That the one before us is new to Saxon antiquaries; and the boundaries which probably related to the same land, when registered to the Cathedral, are unpublished.

There is a photograph published by the British Archaeological Association, in the *Journal* for 1876, p. 190, of a charter which is



a grant of Offa to his faithful *minister* Æthelmund : the same, probably, as the grantee of the Worcester deed. This is to be dated, in all likelihood, between 791 and 796, and is valuable as shewing close resemblance of handwriting to the one before us.

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110. "Werfrithi Episcopi de Agnenbyrig." *Sax.* [D. 61.]

111. "Wirfirthi Episcopi de Almundintun." *Sax.* [D. 58.]

Identical with S. 10. Werfrith, Bishop, with consent of the Monastery, to his kinsman Cyneswith, of three hides of land in Almunding-tune. *Sax.* "Eleganti manu scripta." "Cruces diversae formationis."

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112. "Werferthi episcopi de terris in Alemundintun." [D. 88.]  
A.D. 888

113. "Werferthi episcopi de tribus mansis apud Tredington." [D. 13.]  
A.D. 873

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114. "Werferthi episcopi de Sobwaberries." *Sax.* [D. 40.]

115. "Werferthi episcopi de Australi Ueðfeld." [D. 77.] A.D. 892

116. "Werferthi episcopi de terris", etc. *Sax.* [D. 64.]

117. The above may be the Saxon charter, B. M., Add. Ch. 19791, of Bishop Werfrith to Wulfsige, his "gerefa", of one hide of land at Easttune for three lives, and reversion to Worcester Church. (*B. M. Facs.*, iii, 2.)  
A.D. 904

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118. "Willelmi Conquestoris de Culnelif." *Mutula. Lat. Sax.* [D. 41.]

119. Donation of three manents at Hethfeld, and land at Hreod-hall, by the Monastery, to Bishop Werfrith for three lives. [H. xi.]  
A.D. 892

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120. Confirmation of H. vii, by Wulfheard, to Deneberht, Bishop of Worcester, at Clofeshos. [H. viii.]  
A.D. 803  
[ix.] On the *dors.* note concerning further suit regarding the property. *Sax.*  
A.D. 821

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121. Wulfhere, King of the Mercians, to Berliferðe, "propinquus meus", of five manents at Dilingtune. [B. M. Add. Ch. 19788.]  
A.D. 624 (for 674 ?)  
(*B. M. Facs.*, iv, 2.) "From the Worcester archives." Written in the eleventh century."

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122. "Wlfari regis de terra 50 manentium quæ Hænbyrig dicitur." [D. 16.]

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123. "+ Hær is Wulf gates gecwīde æt Dunnintune." *Sax.* (*B. M. Facs.*, iv, 42.) [B. M., Cart. Harl. 83, A. 2.]

This was bought by H. Wanley of Mr. Le Neve for the Harley Library.

124. "Wlfgeati in prima Hida de Terdebigan." *Sax.* [D. 45.]

125. Wlfrici. *Sax.* [D. 48.] Probably same charter as S. 18. Printed at length, pp. 302-303. Wlfrie and the Archbishop (Wulfstan, Bishop of Worcester, ob. A.D. 1023). Marriage of the Archbishop's sister, with endowment of lands at Eabretune, Ribbedford, and Cnihte-wican. *Sax.*

126. Wilfrith, Bishop of Worcester, to the Church of Worcester, of lands "æt Cliffordra". *Sax.* [H. xii.] A. 922

127. "Wlfriðli episcopi de terris in Ugginchalan." [D. 91.]

128. Wulfstan, Archbishop of York, 1003-23, and Bishop of Worcester, to Elfwig, his "germanus frater", and two other lives, of six manses at Beonetleah. *Lat. Sax.* [H. xvi.] A.D. 1017

129. Wulfstan, "Archipontifex", to Wulgyuu, "matrona", of half a manse in Pyriae, with reversion to the Monastery at Worcester. *Lat. Sax.* [B. M., Add. Ch. 19795.] A.D. 1003-1023

"<sup>p</sup><sub>x</sub> Naturæ rerum variæ et labens." (*B. M. Facs.*, iv, 13.)

130. "Wlstani archiepiscopi de tribus mansis in Throemortune." [D. 15.]

131. "Wlstani archiepiscopi de Tidelintun." *Lat. Sax.* [D. 23.]

132. "Wlstani episcopi de iiij mansis in Warreburn." *Lat.* [D. 68.]

133. "Wlstani archiepiscopi de duabus mansis in Wlfrington." *Lat. Sax.* [D. 8.] A.D. 1017

134. "Wlstani episcopi" (II of Worcester, 1062-95) "de Æluestun." Sub sigillo. [D. 53.] A.D. 1088

135. "Privilegium S. Wlstani de Ecclesia S. Elenæ Wigorniensis." *Lat.* [D. 44.] A.D. 1092

136. "S. Wlstani Episcopi de Ecclesiæ S. Elenæ in Synodo diocesis." [II.] A.D. 1092

137. "Carta Historica de S. Wlstano Episcopo Wigorniensis, post obitum ejus exarata." =Dugd. i, 599. [H. xiii.]

Thomas Hearne, in his *Hemingi Chartularium Ecclesiæ Wigorniensis* (1723) prints "E codice MS. penes Richardum Graves de Mickleton in Agro Gloucestriensi Armigerum", about two hundred and fifty charters (besides a collection of miscellaneous matters relating to Worcester Monastery), to which I do not propose, on this occasion, to refer. I hope hereafter to make a calendar of them, and shew how far they may be traced in the above series.

The following MSS. in the British Museum contain collections of Worcester charters of the Anglo-Saxon period, transcribed:—

Tiberius, A. xiii,—a very fine MS., eleventh century; Harley, 66, paper; Vespasian, A. v, ditto; Harley, 4660, ditto; Vitellius, c. ix, ditto. See also Lansdowne, 447; Arundel, 26, f. 49; Harley, 464, f. 17.

Tiberius, A. xiii.—A chartulary of St. Mary's, Worcester, compiled by Heming, in the eleventh century, from the originals at Worcester. Kemble (*Cod. Dipl.*, vi, p. xv) says this is a collection of the highest value. He prints no less than one hundred and seventy-five documents from this invaluable MS.

With regard to the silence of biographers as to Heming, and to the history of Tiberius, A. xiii, Hearne's Preface has the following instructive paragraphs:

"Qua de causa apud biographos nostros non commemoratur Hemingus. § xvi. ..Unde, rogabitur, factum est, ut de Hemingo, tanto equidem viro, siluerint biographi nostri? Hinc, ut arbitror. Etsi nimirum Lelandus auctoritate regia frueretur bibliothecas per regnum cunctas perlustrandi, codicesque omnes MSS. ac membranas inspicendi, chartularii tamen hujus custodes summam curam adhibebant, ne illud adspiceret, timentes scilicet, ne secum auferret, Principique perditissimo (cujus animus impudicis puellarum amoribus immersus fuit) traderet. Adeo ut, quoniam silentio præterit Lelandus, conticuerint etiam alii viri, alioqui celeberrimi, et qui quamplurima, de quibus ne γρύ apud Lelandum, memoriæ prodiderunt. Inde sane neque Balæus, neque etiam Pitseus scriptoribus suis accensuerunt .....

"§ Cujus sane opus, Prioratu Wigorniensis dissoluto, ad manus privatas, tandemque ad Bibliothecam Cottoniensem devenit.

"Non obstante tamen tanta cautela, chartularium hoc tandem sublatum est e scriniis sive pluteis ecclesie Wigorniensis (in quibus tam diu delituerat), et in manus devenit privatas. Nam quum excerpta ex eodem colligerat Antiquarius (quem modo dixi) [*i.e.*, Dugdale] eruditissimus, penes Alderfordios de Salford Abbatis in agro Warwicensi, erat. Et quidem ad hanc familiam paullo post Prioratus Wigorniensis dissolutionem pertinuisse e nota etiam ad finem Codicis clarissime liquet. At quamprimum Monastici Anglicani prodiret volumen in Bibliotheca adservabatur Cottoniana. Forsitan Bibliothecæ illi insignissimæ donavit quidam ex Alderfordiis. Ab ecclesia Wigorniensis subreptum fuisse monuit Cl. Wharton. Id, unde didicerit, me labet. De subreptione enim nulla in Codice Gravesiano nota"..... (Pp. xcii-xciv.)

The Cotton. MS., Nero, E. i.—A fine vellum book, written about A.D. 1000, filled with lives of saints, contains at ff. 387-390 a fragment of a Worcester chartulary. It is described as:

"129. Chartæ concessæ monasteriis de Westbury, Bredune, et Wigornia, tempore Bernulphi, Offæ, Cenredi, aliorumque regum Merciorum, partim Saxonice, partim Latine, fragmentum ejusdam cartarum Wigorniensis ecclesiæ registri: extant hæ chartæ, sed plurimis in locis discrepantes, in Cod. Cott., Tib. A. xiii." (1756.)

B. M., MS. Harl. 4660.—Copies of charters from originals in the

archives of Worcester, probably by Hickes. Kemble prints thirteen documents from this MS. (*Cod. Dipl.*, vi, p. xix).

The new edition of Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum* (vol. i, pp. 584 et seq.) contains the texts of twenty-nine Anglo-Saxon charters relating to Worcester, derived from a variety of sources to which I have drawn attention in the course of this paper.

In concluding my remarks upon these charters I desire to draw the attention of this meeting, and, indeed, of all antiquaries throughout the world of letters, to the following points:—1. Omitting, for the occasion, all thought of Anglo-Saxon literary remains, histories, chronicles, theological, fictionary, and scientific works, the entire number of documentary evidences, such as charters, wills, etc., of the Saxon period in England is very limited,—perhaps, at the outside, to two thousand. Many of these are preserved in public museums or local libraries; some are in private hands; others, again, in the temporary possession or custody of capitular bodies, town clerks, librarians, and the like.

2. These documents, even with the greatest amount of intelligent care that can be bestowed upon them, in many cases, from extreme age, careless treatment in past time, and that gradual influence which “tempus edax rerum” exerts and exercises upon all mundane things, are beginning to shew signs of deterioration and decay, which may be taken to clearly foreshadow that the time must come when a Saxon charter is no longer in existence. The noble volumes of British Museum Facsimiles owe their origin, in the first place, to Mr. Bond's observance of the gradual and insidious decay which affects these records.

3. The printing and publication of the texts has been hitherto carried on in a very uneven and unsatisfactory manner. Kemble's well known *Codex* (a marvel of laborious care), and Mr. Bond's *Facsimiles*, in which palæography and photography combine to produce one of the most representative reproductions of this century, are so far wanting in general scope that the one, while claiming to be a codex, would require entirely recasting, remodelling, collating, inserting half as much more new matter, and indexing, to bring it up to the status of the knowledge which we now have of these precious documents; and the other, a masterpiece of photography, makes no claim to be considered a literary work.

4. What antiquaries and students of early English history really require is a *corpus* of these charters with the text of every known charter collated, the dates worked out, the localities of the lands (where possible) identified, the periods of the personages they allude to assigned, the peculiarities of the language and the terms pointed out and illustrated. This work, which Kemble almost accomplished, and probably would have left easily to be accomplished had not his literary remains been dispersed at his death, I now desire to see undertaken under the auspices of this or any Society desirous of encouraging researches into the literary *incunabula* of English history. After all, thanks to the versatile nature of the

human mind, there is no lack of willing hands for the work ; but the necessary funds for expenses of preparation and publication can only be obtained by appealing to those who are willing to see the work performed, and I take this welcome opportunity of appealing earnestly, while there is yet time, to all antiquaries to hasten the organisation of machinery by which such a monument of the importance of their science may be erected.

*(To be continued.)*

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## THE STAINED GLASS WINDOWS OF GREAT MALVERN PRIORY CHURCH.

BY JAMES NOTT, ESQ.

*(Read at Great Malvern, 1881.)*

IN response to the demand of one of your Local Secretaries, made to me only yesterday evening, I proceed to give you very briefly an account of the ancient painted windows of Great Malvern Priory Church.

Not less than fifteen windows of the church are partially or altogether filled with old glass. Some portions are entire, and beautiful as when first painted; but for the greater part there are nothing but fragmentary remains of former magnificence. The dates are probably, 1st, late fourteenth century glass; 2nd, the middle of the fifteenth century; and one window at least is of the beginning of the sixteenth century. The oldest glass is that in the windows of the south chapel, traditionally called "the Chapel of St. Anne." The most easterly window of this chapel represents very graphically the events of the creation of the world. In square 1 the Almighty is seen with a huge pair of compasses marking out the world. Chaos is all around him; and in obedience to the command, "Let light be", light is streaming down from a great fountain of light in the presence of the Deity. Squares 2 and 3 shew trees coming into existence, and some animals. In the 4th birds are seen; and the Father's blessing is being given to the inhabitants of the waters. In the 5th the creation of Eve is depicted. The bone in the Almighty's hand has drawn upon it the picture of a woman. In the 6th the Garden of Eden, with our first parents walking, and abiding with God without fear or misgiving. Next, in the 7th, the temptation, a human headed serpent deceives the woman, whilst Adam is partaking of the forbidden fruit, represented by a large golden pippin. In the 8th the hiding beneath the trees of the Garden; the cursed serpent, no longer disguised with the human countenance divine, as dragon is prostrate on the ground. In

the 9th the expulsion. Our first parents are by the flaming sword driven from the Garden, Eve looking back as if with desire for the lost inheritance. The 10th and 11th squares shew us Eve, with the infant Cain on her knee, at a spinning-wheel; and Adam, as husbandman, is thrusting a spade into the ground by the aid of his naked and unprotected foot.

The middle window of this chapel gives the history of Noah: 1st, taking the animals into the ark, birds of many kinds, amongst which is the dove, camels, lions, pigs, deer, goats, etc.; 2nd, the ark floating on the waters, Noah looking out at one of its windows, his wife at the other; 3rd, Noah is seen offering sacrifice,—the kid or lamb, with crossed forelegs, is fastened on the altar, as if to symbolise the crucifixion; 4th, Noah, very beautifully painted on glass of the deepest hue, is represented digging in the midst of the vines; 5th, in another part of the window the patriarch is prostrate on the ground in his drunkenness, in the presence of his sons. In the same window are Abraham sending away Agar, Lot in the cave with his daughters, the Babel builders, the marriage of Abraham; and two squares in the centre of the window represent, in most marvellous paintings, Esau and Jacob before their patriarch father.

In the most westerly window of the chapel, in the midst of much that is broken and despoiled, are shields held by angels, containing, 1st, an illustration of the betrayal; 2nd, the club or stave crossed with the bulrush; 3rd, the lantern; 4th, the bloody spear crossed with the sponge and reed; 5th, the Saviour blindfolded, the face lovingly painted, the beard and general contour of the face most delicately outlined; 6th, the three hands, one plucking off the hair, the other with the open palm smiting the blindfolded Saviour; 7th, the sacred monogram; 8th, Judas' purse overflowing with the thirty pieces of silver; 9th, the pierced hands, the pierced heart and feet; and 10th, St. Veronica holding her legendary veil, on which is impressed the Saviour's likeness.

In other parts of the church there are several more of these memorial shields, containing in the following order: 1st, the cock crowing; 2nd, the crown of thorns in a flood of holy nimbus; 3rd, the two pikes crossed; 4th, 5th, and

6th, the ladder, the seamless coat, the scourges, the club, and bloody spear, and the scourging-post in form of a cross. In the great north window, on other shields, are represented the hammer and nails, the pinchers, and the cross.

The great east window, the windows of the clerestory of the choir, the great west window, and others in different parts of the church, are more or less filled with glass dating, without doubt, from the middle of the fifteenth century, marking the time of the reconstruction of the church in the Perpendicular period. Prior John, of Malvern, helped greatly with these windows, and a legend in Latin, believed to be his motto, is on most of them.

In the most westerly of the north clerestory windows of the choir, belonging to this period, is recorded the famous legend of St. Werstan, about which so much has been said and written. The window is still, for the most part, unbroken. This St. Werstan window has been so often described, and was so fully delineated by the late Mr. Albert Way,<sup>1</sup> that it is quite unnecessary to do more than to call attention thereto. It forms a most interesting link in Malvern's history, and but for it the story of St. Werstan (who was, in fact, the founder of Malvern) would be almost a blank.

The lower part of what is known as St. Werstan's window is filled with paintings illustrative of the dedication and early history of Malvern's Norman church. The window also contains what are believed to be large full-length portraits of the following eminent personages:—King Edward the Confessor, the good St. Wulstan, and King Henry I. Others of these clerestory windows have fine paintings of bishops and archbishops, the why and the wherefore of whose appearing is matter of conjecture; but probably they represent eminent ecclesiastics who were in a way unknown to us connected with the monastery. Large figures representing the Annunciation are very choicely delineated in the most easterly of these windows, as are also four representations illustrative of the legend of Joachim and Anna, containing, 1, the altercation in the garden; 2, the meeting under the golden gate; and 3, the birth of the blessed Virgin Mary.

<sup>1</sup> *Archæological Journal*, March 1845.

In the most easterly of the south clerestory windows are designed illustrations of the four Latin doctors, and scenes connected with the history of the Israelites, such as the gathering of the manna and the smiting of the rock, the manna being represented as falling in the shape of loaves of bread. In the middle window is the crucifixion, in which angels are shewn catching the shed blood. On one side St. John supports the fainting Virgin; and on the other, the centurion, looking on the crucified One, exclaims "Truly this is the Son of God!"

The great east window, also of fifteenth century date, though sadly broken, has many a charming picture. A beautiful Annunciation is at the top. A little lower down there are the twelve Apostles and the emblems of the Evangelists. The entry into Jerusalem and the Last Supper are both very finely depicted. Following these are the betrayal, the nailing to the cross, and the appearance amongst the Doctors. The last picture is surrounded by the Scriptural quotation of "Wonderful, Counsellor, the mighty God, the everlasting Father". All these pictures are unbroken, though in some cases they have been displaced. The confused mass of broken fragments of other pictures, filling up the remaining portions of this great east window, gives but a faint idea of its former magnificence.

In the great west window are unusually large figures of the Blessed Virgin and Child, and St. John the Baptist, St. Michael, St. George and the dragon, St. Christopher, St. Nicholas, and St. Catherine, with a great deal of fragmentary glass of interesting character.

In the great north window, the date of the construction of which is 1501 or 1502, and which has been said to have been given by Henry VII, there are still remaining very bold representations of the Most Noble Prince Arthur and Sir Reginald Bray. There are traces also of pictures formerly existing; of Henry VII, his Queen, and the Princess Elizabeth; but all, except those mentioned, have long since disappeared. This window also contains the Nativity, which as a picture is quite a study;<sup>1</sup> the Saluta-

<sup>1</sup> The holy Virgin is attired in queenly robes of ermine and crimson. Her luxuriant, golden tresses are represented as hanging down below her waist; holy nimbus surrounds her head. A grey-headed and very



tion ; the visit of the Magi ; Christ in the household of Martha, Mary, and Lazarus, the opening of the prison house of Purgatory, and much of very fine fragmentary remains.

In the west window of the north transept is a Nativity, a beautiful Last Supper, large full length figures of St. Paul, St. John, St. John the Baptist ; a Pope's head, probably that of St. Gregory ; a very beautifully designed Annunciation ; Christ healing the sick, lame, and blind ; the Presentation in the Temple ; and much besides of beautiful broken remains.

These are but a summary of the beautiful paintings still remaining in Malvern Priory Church. Any one desirous to know more may consult a little book published some years since on the subject. But no mere description can afford anything like a clear conception concerning them, or do them justice. To be understood they must be carefully examined.

From various causes these windows did in former times possess to the then beholders a magnificence and importance they never can possess to us, regarding them, as we are apt to do, as mere works of art, or even as mere historical remains ; for they had a religious significance. The rime of age may charm these windows to us, and the saintly mythology with which they are invested gives to them a poetic significance ; but all this can be as nothing compared with the religious reverence with which in former times they must have been regarded.

aged looking man, supporting himself by a crutch, represents Joseph. The blessed Saviour, surrounded by a profusion of holy nimbus, occupies the centre of the picture. In the background are two figures, the ox and ass. The former animal, with bowed head, seems to be imparting the warmth of his breath to the infant Saviour. The stable, a dilapidated looking building, exhibits its thatched roof partially denuded of its covering. On the Virgin's mantle, and in other parts of the picture, are etched, very beautifully, small white, emblematical lilies. Over the whole picture the Almighty Father is represented with out-spread hands, as if in the act of blessing, and golden-winged angels on each side appear as if diligently inquiring into the mysterious transaction.





## MERMAIDS.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A. SCOT.

*(Read June 1, 1881.)*

THE following notes are suggested by a drawing of a mermaid traced by Mr. Watling from a piece of painted glass formerly in the window of St. Nicholas Church, Yarmouth, and now in that of the Rectory of All Saints, South Elmham, near Halesworth, Suffolk. In this example the damsel has a profusion of long hair, one lock of which she holds in her left hand, whilst in her right is placed a large, square, double-toothed comb. Her breasts are well developed, and the lower or fishy portion of her person, commencing at the hips, is covered with large scales. This painting is apparently referable to the end of the fifteenth or early part of the sixteenth century.

This is a good typical representation of a class of sea-monsters, a belief in the existence of which may be traced back into ages of remote antiquity, and who figure conspicuously in the Pantheons of many nations: witness the Dagon of the Philistines of Ashdod,<sup>1</sup> the Dercetis or Atergates of the Syrians, the Sirens, the Oceanides, the Tritons, and Nereides of the Greeks and Romans, which are nothing more nor less than the mermen and mermaids of later days.

Apollodorus has preserved a fragment of Berosus which furnishes an early notice of a merman. We gather from his statement that there appeared in the Erythræan or Persian Gulf a creature called Oannes, which resembled a fish; but under the fish's head was that of a man, and to its tail were conjoined women's feet; and further, that it spoke a language which the Chaldæans understood. Oannes taught them many useful arts during the day, and when night came on he plunged into the sea. Five such marine monsters visited Babylonia at different periods, and were denominated "Annedoti", *i.e.*, coming out of or

<sup>1</sup> Can this name be connected with *Dugong*, the designation of a cetacean of the Indian seas?

proceeding from. The first was named the "Musarus Oannes"; the last, "Odacon". Berosus also records that their effigies were preserved in Chaldaea down to his time. Sir Henry Layard discovered at Khorsabad a bas-relief of a bearded merman, the upper half perfectly human in shape, and the head protected with the sacred helmet, the lower half of the body being perfectly fishy in form.<sup>1</sup> This figure is undoubtedly a marine deity, and reminds us of the Hindu god Matsyavatare, the first of the ten incarnations of Vishnu, who, it is well to note, at times holds in one of his hands a drawn sword.

Gervase of Tilbury, who flourished at the commencement of the thirteenth century, asserts that mermen and mermaids live in the British Ocean; and there is no lack of indications that our ancestors were well acquainted with the form of such creatures. Mermaids are occasionally seen on old seals. There is in the possession of the Corporation of Chesterfield a grant of the time of King John, from William Briwer, to which his seal is attached, bearing the image of a mermaid with a very long up-turned tail, having the right arm akimbo, and the left hand raised to the head.

Mermen and mermaids found a place in heraldry in early times. Guillim, in his *Display* (ed. 1724, p. 271), gives a delineation of a sea-nymph with this notice: "He beareth *argent*, a mermaid *gules*, crined *or*, holding a mirror in her right hand, and a comb in her left. By the name of Ellis." This red lady's golden tresses descend below her waist, the comb is double-toothed, and the oval glass which reflects her fair face has a pearly edging. Arms similar to these are given in Kent's *Grammar of Heraldry* (ed. 1716) to Ellis of Yarmouth in Norfolk, the place where the painted glass with our mermaid was originally set up. Ellis of Cornwall and Ellis of Merionethshire, whilst displaying different arms, have each for crest a mermaid proper; in her dexter hand a mirror, in her sinister a comb. The mermaid is also adopted as a crest

<sup>1</sup> See Layard's *Nineveh and its Remains*, 3rd ed., vol. ii, p. 466. In Brayley's *Graphic Illustrator*, p. 384, is an engraving of an idol in the Soane Museum, which may be compared with this Khorsabad sculpture. It belongs to the class of objects described in this *Journal*, xxii, p. 444; xxv, p. 393.

by the families of Byron, Phené, Sheffington, Foster, and others.

The Worshipful Company of Fishmongers have for supporters to their arms a merman and mermaid, the latter of whom has a mirror in her hand, but no comb. The companion figure has a helmet and cuirass, and holds a mighty sword. Some may ask whether there be any authority for equipping a merman like a warrior. We have already seen that Oannes at Khorsabad wears a helmet, that the Hindu god Matsyavatara wields a sword, and an old chronicler tells us as follows: "About this time (1202) fish of strange shapes were taken, armed with helmets and shields like armed men, only they were much bigger." After all this, who will dispute the propriety of the Fishmongers having harnessed their brave merman as if ready for battle? The Royal Fishery Company have a merman and mermaid for supporters to their arms; but both weapon and comb are dispensed with, and each figure holds a Union banner. Mermen or mermaids are likewise found as supporters to the arms of the Earls of Caledon, Howth, and Sandwich, Viscounts Boyne and Hood, Lord Lyttelton, and Scott of Abbotsford. A merman is the sinister supporter of the arms of Liverpool.

English heralds have been pretty well content to delineate the mermaid with a single tail; but those of France and Germany have frequently endowed the damsel with two, thus following the teaching of the illustrations of some of the early works on natural history. In the *Margarita Philosophica*, printed at Basle in 1508, is a little woodcut of various fish swimming in the sea, and among them a mermaid without arms, but with two tails; one rising up on either side as high as the lady's head, which, by the by, is crowned or coronated. Another double-tailed mermaid may be seen in one of the plates in Ptolemy's *Geography* (Basle, 1540). I have a silver-mounted, revolving seal of steel, on one face of which is a profile bust of Shakspere; and on the other a crest, a two-tailed mermaid holding a heart in one hand, and a couple of straight trumpets in the other.

Some of the classic poets describe the Sirens with wings, which they are said to have lost in consequence of having been worsted in a contest with the Muses. Ali-

ferous mermaids are rare creatures in art ; but I have a heavy stand for some object, wrought out of a block of alabaster, at either end of which is a very graceful mermaid with large wings. This curious piece of seventeenth century sculpture was formerly in the collection of the late Mr. Sams.

The mermaid was a very favourite sign with the old London traders. In the sixteenth century the printers John Rastall and John Gowyhe, in Cheapside, near Paul's Gate, John Baynes and Nicholas Ling of St. Paul's Churchyard, and Henry Bynneman of Knight rider Street, all dwelt under the sign of the Mermaid.

In the seventeenth century tokens were issued from Mermaid taverns in Bow Lane, Cheapside, Cornhill, Fetter Lane, and Red Cross Street, Cripplegate, all of which display effigies of the fishy damsel. There was likewise a Mermaid Tavern in Carter Lane. Mermaid Court, Southwark, derives its name from the old sign ; and the Old Mermaid at Hackney will not soon be forgotten. There was once a Mermaid Court, Charing Cross, and another in Paternoster Row, but they have both long since passed away.

Pliny<sup>1</sup> and other old writers relate that Tritons and Nereids, or in other words, mermen and mermaids, have been seen both alive and dead, and in both states have been captured and exposed to public gaze. Two mermaids were exhibited in London in the years 1775 and 1794, which proved great attractions ; but the most noted one was that which drew such crowds of visitors to the Turf Coffee House, St. James' Street, Piccadilly, in 1822, and of which George Cruikshank has left an exact portrait. This mermaid, though professed to have been caught alive in the Eastern Seas, was in truth made up in London by a person named Norman, who ingeniously concealed the lower part of a dried monkey in the body of a salmon, varnishing the whole over so as to hide the union of the two creatures. Norman is said to have been the father of two or three other like monsters of the deep.

Mermaids are not nearly so plentiful on our coasts now as they were in the days of Gervase of Tilbury ; but in the year 1845 a small shoal of little ones appeared in a

<sup>1</sup> *N. H.*, ix, 4.

shop-window at Hastings; but grave naturalists declared they were nothing but young ray-fish (*Raia clavata*) bent and twisted out of form; some having black beads for eyes, and two bits of wood fixed in the gums for teeth. These Hastings damsels are not a thousandth part so beautiful, elegant, and attractive in aspect as the pictorial mermaid at South Elmham which has suggested and called forth these few remarks.

Popular belief declares that to dream of a mermaid forebodes ill to the dreamer, and it is therefore to be hoped that the subject of this paper, if remembered at all during the hours of wakefulness, will find no place in the sleep-thought, but that the rest may be as calm and blissful as if the wave had never been tossed up by the finny tail of the ocean nymph, or fancy spread its net, and secured her as an adornment of the pagan temple, the heraldic shield, the traders' sign-board, and the wild story of the fabulist.

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THE  
ECCLESIASTICAL STATE OF THE DIOCESE OF  
WORCESTER DURING THE EPISCOPATE  
OF JOHN CARPENTER, 1444-1476,

ILLUSTRATED BY HIS REGISTERS.

BY REV. CANON A. H. WINNINGTON INGRAM.

*(Read at Malvern, August 24, 1881.)*

My acquaintance with the unpublished Registers of John Carpenter, Bishop of Worcester, I owe to the courtesy of the Rev. T. P. Wadley, who has assisted me to unlock the historical information included in their small, difficult writing, and almost hieroglyphical abbreviations. These documents, comprised in two large volumes, contain a record of the official transactions of that prelate during the thirty-two years of his episcopate, from 1444 to 1476; and from them I intend to read such extracts as may throw light on my subject.

Bishop Carpenter, on his consecration to the see at the commencement of 1444, had to deal with a clergy who committed flagrant breaches of their vows of celibacy. The bad example of the dissolute Protector, the Duke of Gloucester, who had wedded Jacqueline of Holland in the lifetime of her husband, and afterwards discarded her to marry Eleanor Cobham, had encouraged a laxity of morals which had crept over English society during the French wars. In this profligacy the clergy shared, and were much given to revelry and debauchery. Our Bishop set himself vigorously to repress these clerical scandals. He delivered commissions to the Deans of Gloucester and Bristol, and to the Rector of Slaughter, not only to cite, but "to seek out and cause to be safely conveyed to his Palace all clerks who had been convicted of offences." A commission for the same purpose, relative to the clergy in the city and deanery of Worcester, issued August 6th, 1444, to the Rector of St. Martin's and Sir Thomas Cooke, parish chaplain of St. Helen's in that city. The Bishop's

activity is signified by dates which shew that in 1444 he was, Nov. 9th, at Blockley, in the following month at Alvechurch, and in January 1445 he was at one time in his Palace at Worcester, and another at his Castle of Hartlebury, and soon afterward in the Monastery of Pershore. On February 6th following he is found at the Priory of Llanthony; in a fortnight after that date in the Monastery of Cirencester, in the next week in the Abbey of Winchcombe, and within a few days in the College of Stratford-on-Avon, and a little later on at Bromsgrove. He dates during the months of May and June from London, where his probable attendance at the coronation of Margaret of Anjou interrupted the inspection of his extensive diocese, comprising the counties of Worcester, Warwick, and Gloucester.

The record of the admission of priests to livings vacant by resignation, seems to indicate that some of the clergy preferred retiring from their parochial cures to facing the inquisition of their new Diocesan. It was difficult, however, for him to stop at once the irregularities and non-residence of his clergy. These and the practice denounced by Archbishop Stafford, of holding fairs and markets in churches and the adjoining burial-ground, and tumults arising among the parishioners irritated by news of the loss of territory in France, when they met for religious service in the churches, created a desire in the gentry to have private worship in their own houses. This privilege, however, from the fear of the secret spread of Lollardism, was not permitted without episcopal sanction.

January 14th, 1445, Bishop Carpenter granted to his auditor, William Pyllesdon, and Elianor his wife, a license to have divine offices celebrated in their own presence only, "within their mansion house in the city of Worcester, so that no prejudice accrue to their own parish church." The same right was conceded, January 20th in the same year, "to Thomas Lyttelton and Johan his wife, and their servants, the license to remain in force during the Bishop's pleasure." March 11th following, a similar leave was granted "to Nicholas Poyntz, Esq., and his wife, and their children also." Sept. 30th, 1445, Thomas Rouse, Esq., and Elizabeth his wife obtained permission "to have divine service in their oratory within their mansion of Rouse

Lench, so that no prejudice be done thereby to their parish church." March 31st, 1450, the year of the Duke of Suffolk's murder and Cade's rebellion, "John Clopton, Gent., lord of the manor of Clopton, within the parish of Stratford-on-Avon", sought and was granted a similar privilege.

Another evil which the Bishop set about to remedy was the dilapidated state of the roads and bridges in his diocese, arising probably from the diminution of labour in consequence of the drain on the population to supply soldiers for the army in France. The method adopted by Bishop Carpenter for the improvement of these indispensable adjuncts of social progress was the same by which Pope Leo X raised money for the erection of the great church of St. Peter at Rome. He issued grants of indulgence to all who would contribute towards the repair of certain roads and bridges; that is, he held out hope of repayment for such assistance by a temporary remission of the penalty of their sins in this world and the world to come. As early as March the 11th, 1445, he granted "forty days' indulgence to all who aided the reparation of the King's highway between Bristol and Wootton-under-Edge, persons being allowed to avail themselves of this privilege within the lapse of two years." The same indulgence of forty days was accorded, August 25th, 1445, to those who helped to repair the bridge called the West Bridge, near Gloucester; and May 22nd, 1448, to those who should be willing to contribute to "the amendment of the King's highway between Worcester and Pershore, especially from Thornton Heath to Lough Mill beside Pershore"; on May 31st, 1448, to all who assisted in improving the King's highway leading from the town of Gloucester to the hamlet of Newport; on Oct. 27th, 1449, to persons "who would, within one year, aid in the reparation, reconstruction, and sustentation of the bridge at the east side of the town of Bidford in Warwickshire"; and in May 1464 to all who would better the condition of the road between Gloucester and Bristol. It will be observed that such grants (which in later times, shamelessly sold by auction for private profit, accelerated the Reformation) were confined by Bishop Carpenter to serving as inducements to public spirit, works of charity,

and religious devotion and sympathy with good persons. Sept. 25th, 1445, letters of indulgence were issued "to all people contributing to the support of Elizabeth, widow of Sir John Holt, who had suffered misfortune in the parts of Normandy"; no doubt in the disastrous war carried on there; and in 1463 a similar reward was extended to all who subscribed to the aid of the Hospital at Dunwich, in the diocese of Norwich, probably St. James's Hospital for Lepers. An interesting entry, June the 11th, 1466, testifies that the Reverend Father granted "forty days' indulgence, available for all future times, to such as should devoutly say the Lord's Prayer and the Angelic Salutation (*i.e.*, Ave Maria) at the time of the tolling of the great bell called the Bell of Jesus Christ, hanging in the tower of the Monastery at Tewkesbury, with a view to the good estate of brother Robert Newent, almoner of that Abbey, while he shall live, and for his soul when he shall have departed, and for the souls of his parents and benefactors."

The Lollards accused the bishops of not employing, for the edification of the people, the apostolical ordinance of preaching; but if Bishop Carpenter did not preach himself, or deliver what is now called a charge at his visitations, yet he generally commissioned some learned clergyman to discourse on a text from the Bible. On the second day of his visitation at Bristol, July 18th, 1467, he called upon William Mogys "to expound the Word of God". The same office was performed on the 21st of that month, in the same city, during his inspection of the House of St. Mark, by Master Hugh Chesenall; and on the 24th, during his visitation of the collegiate church of Westbury, by Master Philip Hyett, Sub-dean.

It is pleasing to notice how, in the midst of the Wars of the Roses, the spiritual functions and ordinances of the Church went on under the supervision of the good Bishop. Churches and chantries and altars, as in the case of those of Great Malvern Priory Church, were consecrated. In that terrible year, the year 1461, at the commencement of which 60,000 Englishmen, within three months, had been slain in the fiercely contested battles of Mortimer's Cross, St. Alban's, and Towton, the Bishop, as soon as the coronation of Edward IV had given some tranquillity



to the country, commenced a general inspection of his diocese. On Tuesday, Sept. 22nd, he visited in person the Cathedral and Monastery of Worcester. Sir Thomas Musard, the Prior, "was vexed with a serious illness"; but the bells sent forth joyful peals, and the Sub-prior and the monks went in procession to meet their Diocesan. During his stay in the Convent till Thursday, much conversation was, no doubt, carried on between the monks and his attendants concerning the young cousin of the Earl of Warwick, Sheriff of Worcestershire, Edward of York, whose gallantry and good generalship had made the White Rose flourish again, and had won for him the throne of his ancestor, Edward III. Our official documents are, however, silent on such points, but duly record that Master John Lawern, professor of sacred theology, monk and sacrist of the church, set forth the Word of God; and kindly inform us that his text was "Qui est misit me ad vos"; in our English Version, "I am hath sent me unto you."

On Tuesday the Bishop visited "the clergy and people" in the mother church of the diocese, the church of St. Helen at Worcester. October 3rd, Master William Vance was commissioned to hold a visitation for him at the parish church of Halesowen, and Master Robert Symbrygge at the church of Tardebigge. On Wednesday, Oct. 14th, the Diocesan was received into the Monastery of Pershore with due marks of honour, the ringing of bells, and a procession. During his stay there, which continued till Friday morning, "Master William Mogys duly set forth the Word of God." Oct. 20th, the Priory of Little Malvern was visited by Master William Vance as deputy for the Bishop, and afterwards other churches in the counties of Warwick, Worcester, and Gloucester, were submitted to episcopal inquiry, and so concluded the visitation of the Bishop in that memorable year.

His reception cost the convents and parishes considerable expense. We are told that while he resided in the Monastery of Worcester "the said Reverend Father was furnished with meat and drink for himself, his officials, ministers, and servants, and their horses." Procurations of meat and drink were supplied to himself and retinue during his abode for four days in St. Augustine's Monas-



tery at Bristol, which convent he entered with monks in procession, and bell ringing, July 17th, 1467; and to his deputy, William Vance, when he inquired, Sept. 25th of the same year, into the state of the House of St. Mary Magdalene in that town; but were commuted for five marks when the Bishop visited, July 20th, 1467, "the clergy and people" of the Deanery of Bristol and the Church of the Holy Trinity there. These facts are interesting as shewing the origin of the fees required from the clergy and churchwardens at episcopal and archidiaconal visitations at the present day.

But episcopal supervision and the continuance of religious rites and ceremonies could not prevent the spread of lawlessness engendered by the cruel wars for the succession of the English crown. Affrays, assaults, and murders, took place in the churches and churchyards of the diocese of Worcester. These outrages were branded by the ecclesiastical authorities as shocking sacrilege. In the parishes where they occurred, holy offices seem to have been suspended until the church or burial-ground had undergone rededication to their sacred uses. The Abbey Church of Tewkesbury, we are told, was rededicated after pollution by the blood of those slain there at the great victory of Edward IV on May 4, 1471. On March 14th, 1469, a commission was appointed "for the solemn reconciliation of the parish church of Northfield after violence and shedding of blood." One Richard Baker of that parish was the offender. His father Thomas Baker paid 40 shillings, part of the procuration fee due to the Bishop; the remaining £3 were remitted by the considerate Prelate at the request of William Berkeley, Esq. Feb. 23rd, 1470, an inquisition was holden respecting the pollution of the churchyard of Bisley by violence and bloodshed. "A certain David Jones had made an assault therein upon Thomas Dolman of Bisley aforesaid." The burial of the dead was prohibited till the churchyard had been "reconciled". For this process the parishioners paid five marks. June 27th, 1472, an inquiry under the authority of the Bishop took place concerning the desecration of the interior of the parish church of Didbrooke, "notoriously polluted by violence and shedding of blood." Other records tell us the circumstances under which the

church had been contaminated. In the previous year some of the Lancastrian fugitives from the battle of Tewkesbury took sanctuary within its walls, and were there basely put to death. So dreadful did this sacrilege appear to the monks of the adjoining Abbey of Hales, who, perhaps, had sympathy with the party of the Red Rose, that Abbot Whytechurch in 1478 built at his own expense a new church in the place of the one in which the barbarity had been committed.

But while "the ruthless wars of the White and Red" encouraged a lawless and profane spirit in some persons, they deepened the religious sentiments of others. June 3rd, 1465, during a solemn service in the collegiate church of Westbury, our Bishop gave his blessing to Isabella Seymour, a widow, "devoting herself to perpetual chastity". On March 12th, 1468, William Canynge the younger, a widower, a great owner of ships, five times Mayor of Bristol (so rich that he could lend his sovereign, Edward IV, 3,000 marks), the builder of a great part of the church of St. Mary Redcliffe, knelt meekly before the Bishop of Worcester in the chapel of his Palace at Northwick, in the parish of Claines, and was admitted by him to the humble order of subdeacon. It is said he desired to avoid a second marriage with a lady of the Woodville family proposed to him by the King. He was soon afterwards, in the same chapel, ordained deacon; and on April 16th, 1468, received in the same place, at the hands of the Bishop, the order of priesthood, and was collated on the same day to one of the five canonries of the College of Westbury-on-Trym, and on June 3rd, 1469, promoted to be its Dean. There he spent five years, engaged, among other works of mercy and devotion, in praying for the souls of Richard Duke of York and his son Edmund Duke of Rutland, both slain at the bloody battle of Wakefield.

Bishop Carpenter was a great benefactor of the religious institution which became the retreat of the royal merchant of Bristol, and rebuilt and beautified the edifice, adding to it, as he did to his Palace at Hartlebury, a magnificent gateway. He had so great a partiality for the College situated in the parish where he is supposed to have been born, that it is said he affected to be styled Bishop of Worcester and Westbury; and it is noticed in

his Registers that on one occasion of his visiting it, he kindly remitted his procuration-fee of four marks. He was at Westbury College, August 22nd, 1474, a short time previous to Canynge's death, and no doubt imparted spiritual consolation to his friend in his last sickness.

But before I conclude my paper I must refer to some other actions of our Prelate recorded elsewhere, which will help to complete my picture of his character and the ecclesiastical state of the diocese under his rule. In these disorderly times, when justice was pursued precipitately and in a revengeful spirit, he thought it prudent to cast the shield of the Church's protection even over criminals, and obtained a stricter charter of sanctuary for the churchyard and precincts of the Monastery of Worcester, so that no one could be arrested within their limits except for the crime of treason. Having been Provost of Oriel and Chancellor of the University of Oxford, and appointed to his see by Henry VI (the munificent founder of King's College at Cambridge and Eton College, where our Bishop had been consecrated), he was not insensible, amid his arduous official duties, to the claims of learning. In 1464 he established a library in the charnel-house near the north porch of the Cathedral of Worcester, and endowed it with £10 for a librarian. It was to be open daily, two hours before and two hours after nine, to any person wishing to consult it for the purpose of erudition. But as he grew older his affection grew stronger for his College of Westbury. The Registers inform us that he held an ordination, Sept. 19th, 1472, in his oratory there; but after that time he suffered the Bishop of Down and Connor to perform such ceremonies in his stead. The last ordination held by that Prelate for him was at Worcester, June 6th, 1476; and Master Arnulph Colyns transacted business for the Bishop of the diocese on Sept. 6th and 10th of the same year in his manor of Northwick.

Soon after that time our eminent ecclesiastic closed his active and well spent life in his Palace there, a few months before William Caxton set up in the Almonry at Westminster the printing press which was to realise, far beyond the Bishop's expectation, the spread of secular and religious knowledge. His will, which, no doubt, was a reflex of his noble and generous character, though men-

tioned in the Index of the Worcester Probate Office, cannot be found. He was buried in the church of his beloved Westbury, but not near his friend William Canynge, who preferred "to be laid by the side of Johan his wife" in his beautiful church of St. Mary Redcliffe. A plain altar-tomb, with a skeleton carved upon it, commemorated in Westbury Church the Bishop from whose minutely kept Registers I have endeavoured to draw and throw light on the ecclesiastical condition of the great and important diocese over which he presided in the most troublesome and sanguinary period of the existence of our English monarchy, and amid events of which contemporary chronicles afford only a bare and meagre description.

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# British Archaeological Association.

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## THIRTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL MEETING, GREAT MALVERN, 1881,

MONDAY, AUGUST 22ND, TO SATURDAY THE 27TH INCLUSIVE,  
(With THREE EXTRA DAYS to the 31st).

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## Proceedings of the Congress.

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MONDAY, AUGUST 22, 1881.

THE thirty-eighth annual Congress of the British Archæological Association was opened at Great Malvern. The meeting has been one of considerable interest, and in regard to the numbers attending it may undoubtedly be reckoned amongst the most successful ever held; and if it had not been for the cold and rainy weather which has prevailed during the last ten days, it would have been also most pleasurable. The area visited has been more closely circumscribed than usual, owing partly, perhaps, to the obstacles to locomotion presented by the great chain of hills lying to the west of the meeting-place; and partly to the fact that carriages were used in preference to the railways more largely than has been customary in these excursions,—a choice which the unpropitious weather rendered somewhat unfortunate.

The special feature has been the diversity of objects seen. Numerous earthworks upon the hill-tops were examined, and caused warm discussion, as a matter of course not resulting in uniform agreement. Only one mediæval castle, Branshill, a mere fragment of outer tower, was seen. Of the many churches examined, a large number were cruciform in plan, with central towers, and retained in their low arcades, carried on cylindrical columns with plain heads, and in their deeply splayed windows, extensive remains of work executed at the Transition period, when the highly elaborated Norman was merging into the simpler, more refined, and less massive Early English style.

The opening meeting was held in the Malvern College Council Room at three o'clock. There was a large attendance both of members of the Association and of ladies and gentleman of the town.

Sir John Hawkins, Chairman of the Malvern Local Board, said that in behalf of the inhabitants of Malvern he was deputed to give the British Archæological Association a hearty welcome. The Association had twice before met in the county, in 1848 at Worcester, and in 1875 at Evesham. Sir John referred to the interest taken in the Association by the late Mr. Chance.

The President, Lord Alwyne Compton, then delivered his inaugural address, which has been printed at pp. 1-8.

The Rev. I. Gregory Smith, Vicar of Great Malvern, in proposing a vote of thanks to the Dean, said the Honorary Secretaries, who had spared no trouble in making the preliminary arrangements, had in no point been more successful than in securing the services of the President. The wise words which they had heard about restoration and preservation applied to questions of greater importance than archaeology, and came with especial force from one whose association with archaeology was hereditary.

Mr. G. R. Wright, *Congress Secretary*, seconded the motion, which was unanimously adopted.

The Dean briefly replied.

Before leaving the College the party inspected some beautiful specimens of the wooden carving of the old Guesten Hall of Malvern Abbey, which were temporarily exhibited in the corridor, having been removed from a local building for the purpose.

The bells were ringing a merry peal as the archaeologists wended their way to the Abbey Church. Quite a large audience was assembled together, and Mr. W. Jeffrey Hopkins, F.R.I.B.A., of Worcester, read his paper. The Abbey of Malvern was, he remarked, founded in the eleventh century, according to Dovecote in 1085; but there had previously been an Oratory of St. Werstan at the place, near St. Anne's Well, still known as "The Hermitage", where bones, coffin-lids, and other proofs of interment have been dug up. Of this St. Werstan, to whom the Priory as well as the Oratory was dedicated, we knew little, except that he fled from Deerhurst to Malvern in the time of Edward the Confessor, and was martyred here about 1056. No mention of Werstan existed in the *Calendar*, and the only record of him were the miracles depicted on the shattered glass of a much more recent date, still to be seen in this Church. The earliest part of the structure around them was built by Prior Alwyne, a monk, who had served under Wulstan of Worcester. Alwyne founded this, with the aid of thirty monks of the Benedictine order, to which belonged the great neighbouring Abbeys of Worcester, Pershore, Tewkesbury, and Gloucester. There were grounds for believing this Priory Church, like all the others just mentioned, had a double apsidal eastern termination,—a very rare feature in England, and probably imported from the banks of the Loire. The Clerk of Works engaged in the restoration of Malvern Priory, under Sir Gilbert Scott, found that although the eastern end was now square, there were foundations of a semicircular aisle prolonged into an apse; and Mr. Nott and others now present had seen these remains. Beneath the chancel were remains of a crypt; and it was a singular coincidence that all the Norman towers erected over the

crossings of great abbey churches, with crypts to the east of them, fell at about the same time, from the failure of the range of columns, in each case crushing the eastern part of the church. Winchester tower fell in 1079, Worcester in 1084, Gloucester in 1080, and Canterbury in 1096, while this one also failed about that time; and at the present time they could see the tower-piers leaned to the east, especially on the north side. Mr. Hopkins asked the audience to look around them and picture the great Norman church as it appeared when completed eight centuries ago. The great circular piers and arcading of the nave and aisles still remained; but there was then no lofty clerestory, as at present, but a low roof. The tower piers, although recased, and the transepts (the southern one) largely restored, yet existed; and also the outline of the eastern portion, except its apse. The walls were not bare, as now, but covered with distemper-paintings. Yet, while the Norman fabric could be reconstructed internally with little difficulty, a hasty observer would say that the exterior was entirely Perpendicular, except the Norman door on the south side of the nave. They might notice that the western portion of the nave was of a slightly later date than the three eastern ones. The piers, instead of having a plain chamfer, had sub-bases and bases composed of a torus and hollow moulding. One or two traces of Early English existed in the capitals at the crypt-entrance, below the east window; and of the Decorated period there were worked into the same blank arch a series of bosses, still gilded in places, and probably removed from the groined roof of the former Lady Chapel; and the tiled floor might still be seen projecting from the east end; but the remains of this period were poor in character. Coming to the Perpendicular period, they saw extensive works excellent in their style; and the dates 1453 to 1456 on the tiles set in the east wall above the altar, and the fact that the high altar and six other altars were reconsecrated in 1460, gave a very probable period of completion. The soffits of the great tower-arches, on Norman piers, shewed great judgment and skill in the architect who altered them; but the same could not be said of the great nave clerestory-lights, and he was inclined to think another man must have carried them out, from the unsightly interval of bare walling left between the arcade and clerestory, possibly intended to be decorated with paintings. In the choir they saw vaulting-piers and springers carried up to receive groining, never added except in wood. At the back of the altar, between it and the east window, was a singular raised passage, semicircular in form, and with the wall pierced by four deeply splayed squints, two of which looked into the former Lady Chapel, and the others into the north and south aisle eastern chapels. The glass in this church was not excelled anywhere in England in its skilful arrangement of cusped panelling and disposition of lights in connec-

tion with blank panelling, especially in the west window of the south chapel. The fragments of many windows were, however, thrown together; and although it might be best to let them be, he would suggest that they might be restored if careful tracings or drawing in colours were made of every light, and the copies then cut up into subjects, and sorted like a child's puzzle, until the corresponding pieces were properly rearranged. Of the Abbey buildings, which all lay to the south, few traces remained. The line of the cloister-roof could be seen on the south side of the nave. The Priory-gate, occupying a corresponding position to that at Bristol, still existed; and so recently as 1841 the beautiful refectory, which had long been used as a barn, was wantonly destroyed by a builder. Drawings of the roof were now on view at the College hall. This church was that of the Priory, not the old parochial one, which was dedicated to St. Thomas, and measured about 92 feet by 36 feet. A few remains existed. This Priory Church was bought, soon after the Dissolution, for a parish church; and in 1788 it was reported ruinous, the result of wanton folly, ignorance, and neglect. Boys were allowed to use the windows as targets, the roofs went to decay, the parson used a portion of the fabric as a dovecot, and the room over the great north porch was a servants' hall. In 1812 the fabric was partially repaired, and again in 1815, and recently it had been thoroughly restored by the late Sir Gilbert Scott.

Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, pointed out the analogy in date and construction between Malvern and Gloucester churches. The church of Gloucester was dedicated in 1100, and the tower was built about 1450. The capitals of the Norman pillars of Gloucester agreed in the smallest details with those of Malvern. He knew of no large Norman church without the apse. It was, from the earliest times, a sign of Latin influence. The little Roman church unearthed at Canterbury had the apse. The apse was not found in the old Irish churches and many of the Saxon churches. The fact that Malvern Church was dedicated in 1239 had puzzled some writers. Matthew Paris threw light on the subject, shewing that it was in obedience to Constitutions made in London in 1237 by the Papal Legate. The inference was that many churches had remained unconsecrated for a long time, and it was probable that many old churches were never consecrated at all.

A rapid perambulation of the building, under the conductorship of Mr. Hopkins, was then made; the grotesquely carved misereres under the stalls, which have been picked out in chocolate colour upon the naturally blackened oak ground; the dated tiles in the choir; the passage behind the altar; the alabaster altar-tombs to John Knottesford, his wife, and daughter; and the confused stories in the stained glass, receiving most attention within; while outside the traces of con-



ventual adjuncts on the south side, and the resettings of Decorated fragments in the east wall, provoked some discussion.

In the evening the members dined together at the Imperial Hotel, under the presidency of the Dean.

#### TUESDAY, AUGUST 23.

A night of soaking rain, and a morning shewing the Malvern Hills buried in vapour, were not a cheerful prelude to a day of which two leading features were to be visits to a hill-side camp and a battlefield. But the archæologists were not daunted by the unfavourable appearances. More than a hundred members and visitors had assembled by nine o'clock at Malvern Railway Station, whence they journeyed by special train to Ripple.

On the way to the parish church the party halted at the village Cross, which is of oolite, and very much resembles the cross in Malvern churchyard. Beneath the Cross still stand the stocks. Although the age of punishment by the stocks seems a distant one to the imaginations of the younger generation, one of the party (himself not an old man) recalled the time when he saw a woman locked in the stocks in Devonshire.

At the church the Rector, Mr. Holmes, was in waiting, and delivered from the pulpit a little history. There was a monastery at Ripple before the year 800; and probably an older building stood on the site of the present church, which was largely of the thirteenth century. Some very curious oak carvings, evidently the miseres of some collegiate church, attracted much notice. Probably, as they were once in the hands of Bishop Hough, they came from Worcester. Most of them represented agricultural pursuits, such as binding corn or driving animals. Another shewed a couple of monks cooking. In the vestry an Elizabethan Book of Common Prayer, lent by Mr. Empson, was shewn. The church is chiefly of Early English character, having arcades carried by piers of four-clustered, circular shafts with scalloped caps of semi-Norman character. In the chancel is late plate-tracery to the windows. The church was restored twenty years since, when a beautiful thurifer of beaten copper was found at the east end. This, Mr. Brock pronounced to be an excellent example of middle fourteenth century period. It has on the cover a model of a cruciform church, pierced by holes for the hanging chains. In the south transept-arch the Rector shewed a Bible, Psalter, and Service, of the closing years of Queen Elizabeth's reign. Having seen the shaft of a second cross in the churchyard, the carriages were resumed.

A heavy storm was bursting over the valley of the Severn as the

travellers set out, in seven or eight brakes, from Ripple. There was a temporary cessation of the rain as the village of Twynning was driven through; but unluckily, just as Twynning Fleet was neared, the rain was again coming down in torrents.

Bredon was the next point to be gained; but between Twynning and Bredon the Avon was swollen by the heavy rains. A few of the party were a little timid in trusting themselves, in vehicles, to the ferry-boat over the Avon, and got out; some of the horses, too, slightly shied; but at length the ford was crossed by all, and amid the descending rain the party hastened on to Bredon. Even some of the older archæologists declared that they had never known a worse day.

Some of the party, in descending from the carriages, alighted in pools of water, and all were glad to take refuge from the drenching rain in so fine a church as that of Bredon. The Rev. Mr. Adye, Curate in charge, read a short paper giving an account of the history of the church, referring, among other things, to the residence in Bredon of John Prideaux, Bishop of Worcester. Prideaux was a man of lowly origin, and was at one time candidate for the office of parish clerk of Ugborough. He was unsuccessful, and used to say that if he had been appointed parish clerk of Ugborough, he should never have been Bishop of Worcester. Driven from his see during the civil wars, he was allowed an income of 4*s.* 6*d.* a week. He retired to Bredon, where he lived and was buried. The church possessed two altar-candlesticks of the time of Elizabeth or James I. A peculiarity of the church was its great ascent from west to east. This church, like the last, is a cruciform edifice, but has a lofty spire upon the tower, at the intersection, and contains, as Mr. Brock said, an assemblage of the characteristic features of the churches in this district. The nave is transitional Norman, the three entrances being under round-headed arches; and to the south a chapel or *quasi* aisle of two bays was thrown out about 1230. The two-light windows have two plates of trefoil cusping, the inner one supported by Purbeck marble shafts. The chancel was rebuilt in the Decorated period; and a little later a second *quasi* aisle, with flowing tracery to windows, and clustered piers and shallow mouldings to arcade, was thrown out on the north of the nave. The west window and spire are Perpendicular additions; and in the south chapel, which has a piscina, is a sumptuous mural monument adorned with obelisks, scrolls, and other Jacobean ornaments. It is to the memory of Giles Reede, A.D. 1611. In this chapel are also three low recesses, two containing floriated stone coffins, and the third a shield having upon it two forearms and hands bearing a heart. In the south side of the chancel are three fourteenth century sedilia; and next them, set upright, is a coped tombstone having upon it a carving of a crucifix; above the arms of the cross being a pair of doves, and the busts, in high relief, of a man

and woman. The risers as well as the treads of the altar-steps are paved with fifteenth century tiles similar in character to those in Malvern Priory, but having armorial bearings. At the foot of the steps is a brass to John Prideaux, Bishop of Worcester, who after the sequestration of his see returned to this parish, and died here in great poverty.

Mr. Brock remarked that during a restoration in 1842 the back of the sedilia was pierced for purposes of ventilation; and as it now resembled a low side-window, its position might furnish a *crux* for future archæologists unless the fact were recorded.

The well known Tithe Barn at Bredon was afterwards visited. It much resembles one at Avebury, Wilts, in which this Association dined on one of the Congress days last year, but has outer walls of stone, and a roof of thin slabs of stone. The interior, some 135 feet long, is divided into a nave and aisles, with projecting double porches or transepts, by massive timber supports. In each of the nine bays of the main roof a pointed arch supports a collar and curved struts, and is itself tied in by a second collar; and the aisle-bays are also of single-pointed arches with cross-ties in the transverse section. On the north side is an upper chamber having a good octagonal stone chimney with pyramidal cover supported by little shafts. The immense original key is still preserved, and has double wards on either side. The Barn is a highly interesting, and at present singularly perfect, specimen of the larger kind built about 1450; but the roof admits the rain in several places, and requires the proverbial "stitch in time".

Overbury Church was next inspected. The building is cruciform, being the third seen during the day's excursion; in this case with a central tower of Perpendicular character, having a richly carved and perforated stone belfry. The west end has good Early English lancets, and the chancel windows are good specimens of Early English work. The Rector, the Rev. Charles Glynn, stated that the church had just been restored by Mr. R. Norman Shaw, R.A., to whom was due the stone groined roof which now covered the chancel. Considerable discussion took place with reference to the font, which has a tapering, cylindrical bowl (on a fourteenth century base) rudely carved in high relief. Some local sculptor has restored it in ludicrous fashion in cement, the missing side of a bishop being reproduced with a second staff in right hand. Several contended that this bowl was coeval with the present church, and of the eleventh century; but others held that it was as early as the Confessor's date, and called attention to the model of Christ held in the hand of a priest's figure, and the costume, as corroborative of this opinion. Prebendary Ingram contended it was Danish in origin.

It was announced that Mr. Martin of Overbury Court had prepared

luncheon; but time was pressing, and with a deep sense of Mr. Martin's kindness the party were obliged to drive on to Tewkesbury, where they partook of luncheon at the Swan Hotel, which was a true "guesten hall" to the drenched and weary travellers.

At Tewkesbury the Abbey was visited after luncheon, the members being received by the Vicar, the Rev. Hemming Robeson, M.A., for whom an elaborate descriptive paper was read, by Mr. J. R. Sergeant, on the early fortunes of the Abbey from its first foundation by its reputed founder Theoc, and the Dukes Odo and Doddo of Mercia, and its refoundation in Norman times by Fitz-Hamon. This paper entered fully into the connection of the Abbey with the Hamons, the Clares, the Beauchamps, and the De Spencers, and with several successive Dukes of Gloucester, to very many members of whom noble monuments with recumbent effigies, and rich in heraldic blazonry, are erected in the chancel and its side-chapels. These were pointed out in detail; and the manner in which both these exquisite memorials have been repaired, and the fabric itself has been restored, under the advice of Sir Gilbert Scott, was much admired. The Norman nave with its huge, tall, round pillars; the Decorated chancel; and the coronel of side-chapels, grouped after the French fashion, round the eastern end of the Abbey, and the Lady Chapel at the end of the north aisle, were inspected in turn. The great Norman arch at the western extremity, and the remains of the old Abbey gateway, came in for their share of admiration.

At the conclusion of the paper Sir J. Allanson Picton, F.S.A., proposed a vote of thanks to the author and reader, remarking that the manner in which this noble Abbey Church had been restored reflected high credit on all concerned in the work.

It had been intended to extend the programme of the day by a visit to the battlefield of Tewkesbury; but owing to the heavy rains, the visit to that interesting spot, and to the earthworks hurriedly thrown up by Queen Margaret, had to be given up. Many of the members, however, paid visits to the ancient bowling-green of the Abbey, the Abbot's House, and to several of the old timber houses in the town, many of which, no doubt, saw the flight of the defeated army from the battlefield already mentioned. The return journey to Malvern was made by train.

In the evening a meeting was held in the council-room of Malvern College, under the chairmanship of the Rev. Prebendary Smith, Vicar of Malvern.

Mr. J. Tom Burgess, F.S.A., of Worcester, delivered an address on "The Ancient Encampments of the Malverns", illustrated by a series of plans and sections drawn by Mr. H. H. Lines of Worcester. Having first shewn the direction of the lines of fort drawn, as Tacitus tells us,



in an oblique direction across England, along the banks of the rivers Nene, Avon, and Severn, by the Roman General Ostorius, Mr. Burgess said that the bold range of hills below which the Congress was being held, marked the disputed boundary-line where the Belgic wave ceased and the Celtic began. Every crest and hill in the line of the Malverns, from the Bristol Channel to the banks of the Dee, was still crowned by the earthworks and encampments used by the Silures and Ordovices, the two kinds being distinct from each other in their traces at the present day. Those in the immediate neighbourhood he presumed to be Silurian defences; and when these were formed, the fertile, cultivated plains now at the eastern foot of the Malverns were marshy districts often flooded, and the out-cropping hills were then easily defended islands. The entrenchments at Meon Hill, on the opposite side of the eastern plains, covered some 30 acres, and in them had been found Roman javelins, now distributed in the Warwick, Worcester, and Sir Henry Dryden's collections, while close by was a tumulus which had yielded undoubtedly British remains. The hill seemed to have been held alternately by the opposing forces. On Bredon Hill, still nearer, was a camp of somewhat different character; and a third island in the plain of Evesham, Elmby, contained also the mediæval earthworks thrown up by the Beauchamps. Two years since he aided in carrying out excavations with Mr. F.G. Hilton Price, F.G.S., at the great remains on the Herefordshire Beacon. The fortified area involved the whole summit of this great hill and the adjacent one of Midsummer, and consisted of an oval, deep ditch with rampart round it, having a circumference of 6,800 yards, the longest diameter being 932 yards. The ditch was 7 feet deep, and broad enough for one chariot; and there was but one ancient entrance, that to the south, although a modern one, injured the line at the north-east point. In the centre was a strongly fortified citadel, and outside and below this, other and larger walled-in spaces. All over the area were pit-like depressions, which appeared to be permanent dwellings, averaging 15 feet by 9 feet, and 6 feet deep. Outside the citadel, at Hollow Bush, were walled enclosures, which may have been for cattle-pounds in times of danger, and others for sheep; and within the protected area was St. Anne's Well, as it was now termed. Amongst the remains found were many specimens of red pottery of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, some dated; and below these, flint flakes, hone-stones, iron fibulæ, a bronze ferrule, broken bones of the pig and other domestic animals, enough to prove the continued occupation and use of these dwellings. The so called Druids' sacrificial stone appeared to be a boulder removed by natural means to its present site; and the traditional carthen Druids' seats were but rabbits' burrows, which had occasioned several of the minor irregularities of the surface.



Mr. Brock read a letter upon this chain of forts, written by Mr. M. H. Bloxam, who was unable to be present through ill health, and added that it was to the patient investigations of Mr. Roach Smith, Mr. Price, Mr. Burgess, and others, that archæologists had been able to establish that these earthworks were no mere summer encampments hastily thrown up and abandoned; but the permanent dwelling-places of races of people who dwelt in pits on the hill-tops, and kept flocks and herds, folding them on the sides of the hills when danger threatened.

Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., *Hon. Congress Secretary*, referred to the hardship and waste of archæological spoils occasioned by the existing barbarous law of treasure trove; and Mr. Burgess, in his reply, said that he had been a victim of this law of Edward III's time, for the silver and gold ornaments found in a Saxon lady's grave were required by the Treasury authorities, who paid compensation for value of metal, not to the explorer, nor to the owner of the soil, but to the labourer who actually dug them up and then sold them. Such proceedings led, as Mr. Wright had said, to melting of priceless antiquities by the finders.

The Chairman said that they had all gained much information from Mr. Burgess's address, and they were also indebted to Mr. Lines for his beautiful sketches.

Mr. John Nott, of Malvern, read a paper upon "The Stained Glass Windows of Great Malvern Priory Church", which has been already printed at pp. 55-59.

Mr. Johnson Cope said that in these windows of the olden time there were a gem-like appearance and soberness of colouring which were very charming.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock referred to the great loss of painted glass which had taken place in the past, owing to carelessness. All they knew about St. Werstan was from the four little pictures in glass in Malvern Abbey Church. He should ascribe the glass to English artists.

Votes of thanks were passed to the speakers and the Chairman.

#### WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 24.

Better fortune favoured the archæologists who on Wednesday set out to see Ledbury and some of the Herefordshire churches. Starting by train for Ledbury, carriages were taken there, and the party proceeded to Bosbury, where the Early English church and its detached tower were examined.

Bosbury Church is remarkable for a massive, detached, square tower standing some 180 feet to the south of the church, much resembling that at West Walton, North Norfolk, visited by the Association in

1878. The church is chiefly of transitional Norman character, with a Tudor chapel with fan-tracery at the east end of the south aisle. The rood-screen still retains its position, and is late fifteenth century in style, with fan-coving above the open work supporting a heavy cornice. The pulpit contains four carved panels representing the Adoration, the Flight into Egypt, the Crucifixion, and the Resurrection of Our Lord. These are said to have been brought from Flanders. The font in use is square, with shallow bowl supported on five columns; the whole being of a local conglomerate, and about 1230. At the west end of the church is a second font, dug up near, of much earlier character, rudely shaped.

The Vicar, the Rev. S. Bentley, read an exhaustive paper in the church, in which he mentioned that the tower was one of seven detached ones existing in Herefordshire, and from its narrow windows and thick walls seemed to have been used as a place of refuge.

In the churchyard is a perfect specimen of a cross of red sandstone, 12 feet high, and an oaken lych-gate.

The Vicar afterwards shewed the remains of the Palace of the Bishops of Hereford (now part of a farmhouse), which has just come back into the possession of the Bishops. The only original portion is a panelled room crossed by heavy beams. Near by, in the out-buildings, is the fourteenth century gate-house described by Mr. J. H. Parker in his *Domestic Gothic Architecture*. The outer face is of stone, and the inner one has two large oak beams carried the whole height of the structure as an oggee-arch, and filled in with masonry.

The Crown Inn, formerly the residence of the Harford family (two of whose Elizabethan monuments had been seen in the chancel of the church), was next seen. The principal room has oak panelling surrounding the wall, and at the intersections of the beams in the ceiling and over the fireplace are oak shields carved in relief with armorial bearings.

Some other houses and foundations on the site of the Knights Templars' House were seen, and the party returned to Ledbury. One of the first objects that attracts the attention of a stranger in Ledbury is the timbered Market House. As Herefordshire is peculiar for its detached church towers, so again it can boast of its peculiar town halls or market houses, either as existing or as preserved in sketches. Two of the most beautiful, those of Hereford and Leominster, have disappeared within the last half century. Ledbury Market House, elevated on its sixteen oak pillars, remains.

The members peeped into one of the picturesque seventeenth century half-timbered cottages which line the Church Lane.

At the parish church, a very large and lofty edifice kept in admirable repair, but still retaining low pews, the Vicar, the Rev. John Jackson,

read a descriptive paper upon its architecture. If any remains of an older church than the present one still existed, they were to be found in the hagioscope on the north side of the chancel. Shortly after the Conquest a Norman church existed on this spot, as was still evidenced by the Norman doorway, the chancel-arch, and other remains. It was curious that the east and west sides of the chancel-arch did not correspond. In the early part of the thirteenth century the Norman side-aisles were taken down, and in the early part of the fourteenth century the south arcade was taken down. It was also in the fourteenth century that the beautiful Chapel of St. Catherine was built. St. Catherine was a religious woman who in the time of Edward II settled at Ledbury. The lower part of the tower, which had always been separate from the church, was of Early English character. In the doors of the northern entrance the workmen, a little time ago, found several bullets, which were probably embedded in the wood at the time of the battle of Ledbury in 1645. Mr. Jackson directed attention to the glass sundial in one of the windows of the south aisle; which, however, was not to be depended upon, as the surface was affected by the action of the wind. He also referred to several of the monuments, including the curious little brass in the south aisle:

“The world’s fashion defied,  
Our Lord’s passion applied,  
His blisse only in this descried,  
Ould Richard Hayward died  
Anno D’i 1618.”

Mr. E. P. L. Brock said that it was not improbable that Ledbury Church was a school of architecture to the district in which it was placed. It was a very unusual thing for a Norman church to exist of so great a length. The capitals of the arches of the chancel agreed with those of Overbury Church. He attributed the whole of the Norman work to the close of the twelfth century. There was a fragment of an older church at the back of one of the piers, as was shewn by the jointings of the stone.

A vote of thanks was given to Mr. Jackson for his paper.

After luncheon at The Feathers Hotel, carriages were resumed to Much Marele Church, which, with its alabaster monuments, was described by Mr. G. H. Piper, F.G.S., of Malvern; Helen’s House, the seat of Mr. R. D. Cooke, being visited *en route*.

Kempley Church, where a number of interesting mediæval frescoes still exist in good condition, was shewn by the Rector, the Rev. J. Crowley Weaver, and the members returned to Ledbury. Malvern was reached by special train.

At the evening meeting, the Rev. I. Gregory Smith in the chair, Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., read a paper on “The alleged Assassination

of Prince Edward after the Battle of Tewkesbury." He said his endeavour would be to remove the doubt which enwrapped the death of the unfortunate son of Margaret of Anjou. A French MS. was still preserved at Ghent, giving an account of the battle by one of the King's followers, who probably witnessed it. The writer placed the Prince among those killed in the battle. Other writers had expressed their doubts of the truth of the murder of the Prince. Mr. James Gardner of the Record Office, in a recent work, also said that the story of the murder of the Prince by the Duke of Gloucester rested upon very slender evidence. He also quoted other writers in support of this, including Mr. Symonds, who in his recent work, *Malvern Chase*, had said that he could hardly believe that the Princess Ann, after the death of her affianced husband, would have coolly married his murderer.

The Rev. Canon Winnington Ingram expressed his agreement with Mr. Wright, referring to various other authorities. Andreas said that the Prince died at Barnard's Field. It would be interesting to know whether any field in the neighbourhood of Tewkesbury still retained that name.

Mr. C. H. Compton said that, remembering a powerful scene in Shakespeare, it might be supposed that if Ann did marry the murderer of her affianced husband, it was after persuasion, and not in cold blood.

The Rev. Canon Winnington Ingram next read a paper on "The Ecclesiastical State of the Diocese of Worcester during the Episcopate of John Carpenter, 1444-1476", already printed above at pp. 65-73.

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## Proceedings of the Association.

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WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 4, 1882.

W. H. COPE, ESQ., IN THE CHAIR.

THOMAS GLAZEBROOK RYLANDS, Esq., F.S.A., etc., Highfields, Thelwall, Warrington, was duly elected an Associate.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the respective donors of the following presents to the library of the Association :

*To the Society*, for "Report of the Council of the Art-Union of London, 1881."

" " for "Archæologia Cambrensis", 4th Series, No. 48, October 1881.

" " for "Archæological Journal", vol. xxxviii, No. 148A, 1881.

" " for "The Journal of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland", vol. v, 4th Series, No. 46, April 1881.

" " for "The Journal of the East Indian Association", vol. xiii, No. 3.

" " for "Proceedings of the Royal Institute of British Architects", No. 5, 6.

" " for "Erdélyi Muzeum", viii Eufolyam, Kolozsvár, 1881.

*To Henry Phillips, Jun., Esq.*, for a tract on "Old-Time Superstitions", 1881.

Mr. Worthington G. Smith exhibited a series of neolithic, holed hammers, and stone spindle-whorls and spindles, from Ireland; an unusually small flint celt, weighing less than an ounce, from Icklingham in Suffolk; and a hemispherical quern, a foot in diameter, made of lower tertiary conglomerate, of Roman age, recently found near Thetford in Norfolk. Mr. Smith also laid on the table a series of views taken by him, of a fountain or well with an architectural edifice, about 20 feet in diameter, upon it, at Ludlow; and a drawing of a mermaid from one of the misereres in the church.

In the discussion which ensued, Mr. J. R. Allen pointed out several facts of interest with regard to the exhibition of the early stone remains.



Mr. Charles D. Sherborne exhibited on behalf of Mr. A. Chasemore a collection of seventeen London tradesmen's tokens of the seventeenth century. The following is a list of them. The last two, also in the possession of Mr. Chasemore, were not exhibited.

1. *Obv.*, a tasselled bag tied with cord also tasselled; leg., FREEMAN FANN AT Y<sup>E</sup> PYRSE. *Rev.*, within circle, "His | Half | Penny | 1669"; leg., "In West Smithfield".
2. *Obv.*, an anchor on left of field, a dot on right half; leg., "John Fullerton in Old Street". *Rev.*, a chequer; "John Sandsbury in Old Street".
3. *Obv.*, five gloves on pole; leg., "Joseph (Gauntner) Gleen". *Rev.*, I<sup>C</sup>R; leg., "Aly in Tuly's Streete".
4. *Obv.*, a three-mast vessel at half-sail; leg., "At the Ship without". *Rev.*, "W<sup>S</sup>M. Temple Barr 1649".
5. *Obv.*, three geese proper; leg., "Will. Geese at y<sup>e</sup> Gees". *Rev.*, "W<sup>G</sup>E Kinges Street Westmin".
6. *Obv.*, "James | Holland | his half | penny". *Rev.*, a shield bearing a pair of scales held by a hand in clouds, between three weights, the chief wavy; above shield, 1668.<sup>1</sup>
7. *Obv.*, a man standing in crescent; leg., "William Holden at y<sup>e</sup> In St." *Rev.*, "His | Half | penny | Martins neere Aldersgate".
8. *Obv.*, "His | Half | penny Arthor Prior 1667". *Rev.*, "AP. in Westminster".
9. *Obv.*, a shield wavy, over which an anchor is supported around by emblems. *Rev.*, "ADIS'S | FARTHING | 1669", with emblems.
10. *Obv.*, design of fruit; leg., "Iames Beech in Bow Streete". *Rev.*, "His | Halfe | Penny in Westminster 1667".
11. *Obv.*, a shield quarterly, two leopards' heads and two cups, etc. (probably Goldsmiths' Company's arms); leg., "Richard Lucas Grocer". *Rev.*, "His | Half | penny in Bishopsgate Street".
12. *Obv.* (in italics), "Henry | Hurl-in | t.... Street | Westmin | ster". *Rev.*, a bag of nails bearing a face, on the forehead of which appears to have been punched a crown; leg., "At y<sup>e</sup> Bag of Nails His Half penny".
13. *Obv.*, a lion rampant; leg., "Tho. Armitage In". *Rev.*, "T<sup>A</sup>I St. Martins lane".
14. *Obv.*, a man with spear; leg., "William Rackany". *Rev.*, "W<sup>R</sup>I. in Petty France 66".
15. *Obv.*, "This | was | the | Kinges | Armes | 1656". *Rev.*, F<sup>S</sup>S. in Fullham".
16. *Obv.*, a dagger; leg., "The Dagger in Nevrents". *Rev.*, "I<sup>P</sup>S T...INS Aldersgate".
17. *Obv.* (in italics), "Samuell | Hawkins | of Yewell | in Surry". *Rev.*, "Chandler | His Halfe | Penny".
18. *Obv.*, two lasts; leg., "Sam<sup>l</sup> Mansell at y<sup>e</sup> 2 lasts". *Rev.*, "His | Half | penny | S<sup>M</sup>G | 1660 ALSAVO.... COCK HEAD".
19. *Obv.*, St. George and Dragon; leg., "At the George In". *Rev.*, W<sup>B</sup>A Thomas Apostle 1649".

Our Associate, Mr. J. T. Irvine, of Lichfield, sent the following com-

<sup>1</sup> Probably arms of Brown-bakers' Company.

munications, which were read by Mr. W. de G. Birch, F.S.A., F.R.S.L., *Hon. Secretary* :

1. "With regard to the stones presenting cup-shaped sinkings, which are found in Scotland, in certain places around the coasts of the Shetland Islands sinkings of a similar description are found. These are found, it has been said by a good local authority, at points where in general a boat could run into and land a person on the rock at certain times of the tide. Those I have seen were in each case more than one in number, and irregularly placed: speaking from memory, about, it might be, 2 to 2½ inches deep, and wide enough to turn round three fingers in. Instances are found at Funzie or Finyie, in Fetlar and in Yell, on the north side of the Gioe called Cogie Gioe, below Backhouse; in Unst, on the rocks on the north side of the Voes of Snarravoe, and at or below Palyabag, Clivocast, Uyuasound. A singular notice of certain cup-marks which I have not myself seen, is found in the account of the Scattald Marches of the Island of Unst, a transcript of which is here added :

" 'Skā Scattald, being Outer and Hamer Skā, begins with Norwick at the North Sea, at a knowe in the middle of Liddadaal, thence with Norwick, Scattald on the right hand, southward, up to Sodersfail, *where is a stone standing endlong, with three holes in it, the middle hole whereof is broke out*, to a great grey stone, near which stands a stone endlong, with a small stone set upright to the top of it; and thence, with Norwick still on the right, stretching to a great heap of stones or ancient building, called Housen-ward, and from thence to Clifts of Skā and Norwick to a place called the Catthouse, right beneath which, at the foot of the banks, is a *solid rock into which three holes, near each other, are artificially made*, which is the southmost sea march separating Skā from Norwick.'

2. "A sketch of a leaden seal for wool-packs or bales of cloth, found in a slight excavation made on Barrow Cap Hill, Lichfield, in 1881, and now preserved in the Lichfield Museum. It is about 1½ inch in diameter, and embossed or moulded with a device which appears to be a rosette of eight cusped points within a cabled border.

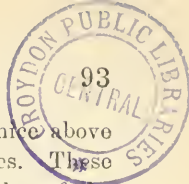
3. "A sketch of a latten plaque, 1½ inch diameter, found in Northamptonshire, and now in the possession of S. Sharpe, Esq., of Dallyngton Hall. The device upon this relic is a shield of arms,—per pale dancettée and *ermine*, a chevron fretty. The spaces outside the shield are replenished with branches of foliage. The date appears to be of the end of the fourteenth century.

4. "During my last visit to Bath I took the opportunity of further inspecting the excavations made in the neighbourhood of the King's Bath Spring. I find that the tank of the Roman period, into which the hot springs of this spring discharged their water, has been found and

cleaned out. Its walls have been of a very irregular shape, and thus far differ from all other tanks or baths discovered here, which are invariably of regular shapes. Probably the cause is that here the old outline of the pond or tank of the Britons had been, from respect for its supposed sacred character, retained when the Roman works were added. A thick stone pavement surrounded it. On the ends of these slabs next the water rested a low but very solid stone fence, having its top moulded into a half circle in section; under which a shallow, sunk panel had ornamented that side next the tank. Mr. Mann tells me also that while the junction of the stone-work with the ground round the open space had been protected with sheets of lead, the whole of the general bottom of the tank had been left open, for the springs to discharge their waters. There were found no remains of steps down, nor did it seem that there ever had been any intention to use this for bathing purposes. Blocks much resembling pedestals for figures were found placed inside, he said; both north and south sides. A fine, large bronze sluice, in a very perfect state, was discovered.

"During the course of the excavations many large stones with moulded edges, and with slots in their sides for metal cramps (lead or bronze), have been found. Some of these belong to the great temple, enabling the depth to be fixed of courses of that building, before unknown. Of these, two stones belong to the lowest course of its horizontal cornice (side walls), and one to its moulded plinth; another probably to the upper part of a pillar. There are also two or three which seem to belong to the architrave-mouldings of its entrance-door. Others formed parts of that building which in a former Number of our *Journal* was conjectured to have been the entrance-hall to the baths. Of these, a fresh stone of its moulded plinth is one; and two or three connected, perhaps, with its cornices; while three at least, if not more, were probably parts of the plain pilasters of its back or end-walls, corresponding in position to the enriched ones of its front. These stones are of considerable interest as suggesting the source from whence the origin of Saxon pilasters arose; corresponding, indeed, so closely with specimens of these, that had they been found elsewhere they would almost certainly have been ascribed to that period.

"Besides some caps and other fragments of pillars, not referable to any one place, two singular and richly carved stones turned up. These had occupied, when in their original positions, such a place in the building to which they belonged as to enable both of their sides to be seen. That face to the back, or less exposed side, was carved with scroll-foliage, bounded at top and bottom by a plain fillet; but the outer and most exposed side had been divided into sunk panels containing figure-subjects in fairly bold relief. From sundry causes I am led to suspect that they either must have had to do with a cornice, or



at least formed the top of a wall which finished with a cornice above them, and had behind it an open space roofed with flat stones. These reasons arise from the fact that it is evident a certain number of the figure-panels were always divided by a narrower one filled in with foliage, which had centred either with a supporting pillar or pilaster under it. Secondly, that while that best preserved, which is 1 foot  $7\frac{1}{4}$  inches high, had on its back side the scroll-foliage quite perfect, *inclusive* of the plain top and bottom bounding fillets, on the front side it can be easily seen that that dimension would not have permitted the completion of the carved figure-panel nor the plain fillet over; so that the stone, when in place, must have had its top notched at the back to receive the flat covering slabs, while in front the cornice-block had set over, and covered the joint of both below. The destruction of this had in a great measure, therefore, taken place while the block yet stood on its original site, and while yet the large, flat covering stones retained it in place. The carving presents so close a similarity in treatment as leaves little cause to doubt its execution was by the sculptor of that of the temple. The extreme thickness of these stones was 1 foot  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inches.

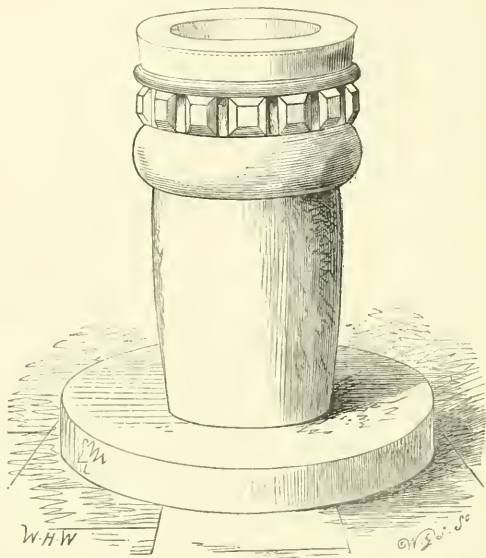
“Of small finds, one of much interest was part of the working stores of a jeweller, if we may so name one whose materials, so far as found, seem to have been only strips of bronze, the ornament on which was formed by stamps precisely in a similar manner to that produced on the remains found at Cuerdale.

“The size and magnificence of the stone pilasters based on the great steps of these baths, and laid open in these ‘Bath Catacombs’, as they are seen to project from the walls of the various baths opened, is astonishing; remaining, as they do generally, in a perfect state to about the height of a man. For much of the way a floor formed of the great leaden slabs or sheets was found remaining as laid down upwards of 1,400 years ago.

“It is, as regards the local history of these discoveries, a piece of singular good fortune that the excavations were placed under Mr. Mann’s direction to execute. To which circumstance it is owing that not only has every small fragment found been preserved, but that most painfully accurate plans and sections to scale have been carefully made of every wall or remain either seen or laid open over the whole space.”

5. Note by Mr. W. H. Wood, architect, at Durham, on the church and font at Ebechester, from which we extract the following: “The village of Ebechester is in a large degree constructed of Roman materials, and one may frequently detect pieces of moulded stones built into the walls of the houses. More than one has been noticed, with inscriptions, enclosed in a panel or label with triangular or wedge-shaped projec-

tions at the side, like those in front of Roman busts. The church stands in the centre, or nearly the centre, of the Roman camp, and is also largely constructed of Roman stones. This is particularly noticeable in the lower parts of the walls, which are composed of a course of square stones about 2 feet diameter. These Roman stones are easily distinguished from the local sandstone by being of a large, coarse-grained millstone-grit, somewhat crystalline. This must have been brought from a considerable distance, there being no local stone of that kind. The bowl of the font is of this stone, and very shallow, being



only about 5 inches deep inside, and without the usual hole at the bottom for the water to escape. In its dimensions and general shape inside, the font very strongly resembles the Roman handmills which have been dug up in the camp, one of which is in the possession of Mr. Linthwaite, the Rector, who was the suggester of this theory. The outside of the bowl has been carved apparently in Norman times. The stem of the font is also of this Roman stone, rudely cylindrical in form. It is difficult to determine if it was cut into its present form by Roman or Norman sculptors. The circular step is of the local sandstone."

In the discussion which followed the reading of these communications, Mr. E. Walford, Mr. J. W. Grover, and Mr. E. P. L. Brock, took part, the latter speaker pointing out the Saxon character of the work.

Major Alexander Palma di Cesnola exhibited a selection of terracotta statuettes, between 5 and 10 inches in height, from his extensive collection of relics obtained by him at Salamina and other sites in the



island of Cyprus, at a depth of from 3 to 10 feet below the present surface. Among the statuettes were, a pensive figure seated with the knees crossed; a travelling actor wearing a tragic mask, and carrying a pack on his back, and a water-bottle and wallet in his hands, as in



the accompanying sketch; a female, probably a portrait-figure, with a curious head-dress; a harper; a female with a harp; a finely modelled figure of the Venns of Milo; and a figure of Cupid or Eros, winged and draped, riding upon a horse pacing to the right, of fine execution, and in a Greek style of treatment. These terra-cottas have small holes at the back, in order to admit of the escape of steam during the process of firing. The three accompanying illustrations are drawn to a scale of one-third the actual size. Major di Cesnola also exhibited three terra-cotta masks, probably votive offerings, and found in tombs which may have contained the bodies of deceased members of the Cypriote stage.



In the discussion which ensued, Mr. Brock, the Rev. A. Taylor, Mr. W. H. Cope, and Mr. J. W. Grover, took part.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, exhibited four seventeenth century Dutch tiles from recent London excavations. They are adorned with elegant and bold arabesque and floriated patterns. Mr. Brock also laid on the table a fragment of a Roman pavement from the site of Leadenhall Market, now in course of rebuilding.

The following papers were then read:

## ON A METAL CHALICE FOUND AT CHEADLE HULME.

BY A. C. FRYER, ESQ.

Early in the present year, soon after the frost had left us, a labourer at Cheadle Hulme, in Cheshire, found a metal chalice in one of those deep, square pits which abound in this part of the country. The little sketch, made by a friend of mine, shews the shape of the cup. It is much injured, and there is a long crack in one side of it. At no great distance from Cheadle Hulme is the ancient Hall of Bramall, and I at first conjectured that this cup perhaps formed part of the Communion plate of the chapel there, and had been hid in this pit at the period of those troublous times when the neighbouring town of Stockport became noted in the civil war, and the owners of Bramall were full of fear and consternation. But this conjecture gave place to another, for I find in the churchwardens' accounts for the parish of Prestbury the following: "1703, August y<sup>e</sup> 18. Spent then and att other times in goeing to Bramall and other Places about y<sup>e</sup> Church Plate w<sup>ch</sup> was stollen out of y<sup>e</sup> Parish Chest in y<sup>e</sup> Vestry in y<sup>e</sup> year of our L<sup>d</sup> 1684, was this year found againe (one of the flaggons) in a Pitt in Cheadle Hulme. Paid for Horse Hire & other charges to seu'all men for searching y<sup>e</sup> Pitt where y<sup>e</sup> said Plate was found...03:18:10."

In the above extract there is no mention of a chalice being lost; but some twenty-three years had elapsed between the time when "y<sup>e</sup> Church Plate was stollen out of y<sup>e</sup> Parish Chest", and the time when one of the "flaggons was found againe in a Pitt in Cheadle Hulme". There exists a document made in 1548, which contains a full list "concerning the Implements of the said Parish Church." In this document we find "one chalys" (chalice) mentioned; and in a later paper, drawn up in 1602, and headed "An Inventory of all the Churchgoodes belongynge to the paryshe church of Prestburye", we find mention of "one comunyon cuppe of syluer and one of pewter". Here a pewter chalice is spoken of; but in the list of church goods made out in 1692 there is no mention of the "pewter cuppe"; but the silver one has a companion, for we read "2 silver chalices w<sup>th</sup> patents" were then part of the church property. I therefore venture to conclude that the pewter chalice found by the labourer at Cheadle Hulme may be the pewter one referred to in 1602, but apparently missing in 1692.

"SOVERAYGNE."

BY A. C. FRYER, ESQ.

In the church of Mottram-in-Langdendale, in the county of Cheshire, is a tomb with two recumbent figures upon it. These figures represent a knight and a lady, and judging from the dress and general

character of the armour we should imagine that they belong to the reign of Henry IV or perhaps Henry V. The pointed bascinet of the knight rests upon two small, flat cushions, and his hands are crossed upon his breast. From his baldrick is suspended his long sword, on the left side, while his thighs and legs are cased in plate-armour. The chief interest of this monument, perhaps, rests in the fact that, hung round the neck is a collar of SS. This is believed to be one of the examples of the badge which was introduced by Henry IV. The effigy of the lady is represented in a simple, square headdress. The long robe is fastened at the chin with a high collar, and a broad belt encircles the waist. The sleeves are buttoned at the waist, and are close-fitting. Above this robe is a mantle which falls in folds on either side. The collar around her neck is composed of SS, and is among the very few examples to be found in England. Another example, however, is to be met with in Cheshire; and this is in Over Peover Church, on the effigy of Margaret, wife of John Mainwaring, who died in 1420. A similar collar is found on the effigy of the Queen of Henry IV, Jean of Navarre, who died in 1397.

#### DISCOVERIES AT REDENHAM, NEAR ANDOVER, HANTS.

BY THE REV. C. COLLIER, F.S.A.

Many years ago an interesting tessellated pavement and other remains of Roman occupation were found near Redenham Park, Andover; and about two miles or less from the spot was found a fine villa, at Thruxton. The present resident at Redenham, C. F. Wood, Esq., having from time to time been led to believe, from certain peculiarities on the surface of the ground in the woods of the park, that remains of buildings were underneath, made several excavations, and soon found that his surmises were correct.

In the midst of one of the woods in the park is a rectangular plot of ground enclosed by an earth mound of the same shape. This mound Mr. Wood opened at one of the angles, and found beneath it the foundations of a round tower, evidently Roman, as tiles were laid here and there as bonds to the masonry. Within the area of the rectangle is a well lined with ashlar; and near the spot was found, on digging beneath the surface, an immense mass of ashes or slack. Amongst this were found a silver spoon of very ancient type, and bits of Roman tiles and pottery.<sup>1</sup>

About a hundred yards from this spot, and just outside the park-

<sup>1</sup> A small Roman coin, evidently a *minimus*, was found in the ashes. It is difficult to make out the head with correctness; but it seems to be radiated, and on the obverse is a large cross with the ends joined. A great number of Roman nails were found, and a fine stone celt, and also pieces of slag. The place where these things were found has long been called the "Chapel Copse."

gates, in an adjoining field, and at least half a mile from any habitation except a modern cottage and lodge, workmen are making the new railroad from Marlborough to Andover, and while cutting through the chalk have laid bare what appeared to be the remains of old British pit-dwellings; but their contents are undoubtedly Roman. The pits, or rather excavations, are of somewhat unusual construction. The sketches sent herewith give the pits as they appear to a spectator looking at the railway-cutting while standing upon the temporary iron rails. The depth of the cutting where the pits are found, sinks gradually to a depth of about 10 feet, as from A to B. The pits are not, however, so near to one another as given in the sketches. A to B (about a foot) is a section of the soil of the meadow; from B to C is the solid chalk; and from C to D is a well cut, hollow arch in the chalk, filled with black earth, clay-ashes, and pieces of black pottery, while at the bottom are bones and charred wood. The arches might be radiating passages cut in the chalk from the sides of a central pit which was found near the centre of the cutting. I may remark that not far from these pits a skeleton, with a vase beside it, was found some years ago by a man who was working in the Redenham Woods, and great quantities of bones are found in them.

I send you a sketch of portion of a skull of a large deer which was thrown out by the navvies a few days ago. The horns have been cut off with a rough saw, and it will be seen that an attempt had been made to cut them off nearer the skull. I found a piece of fine, black pottery which had formed evidently the bottom of a vase. It is smooth, and intensely black.

I may remind you that these relics are in the neighbourhood of several British *oppida*, and of the remains of Roman camps and villas. On the north-east is the Roman road from Winchester to Cirencester, and on the south the grand British camps of Bury Hill and Quarley Mount. The wonder is that more remains of our early forefathers have not been found in this neighbourhood. Since writing the above, the workmen have found the bones of a roebuck, the skull of a horse, and two human skeletons. One of the skeletons was found as in the sketch. The skull was taken away by the contractor; but the bones I had an opportunity of examining. They appear to be those of a young person. They were found about 3 feet under the surface, in a place dug in the chalk.<sup>1</sup> Many kinds of pottery have been found, some of the New Forest type; numerous pieces of black vases, and portions of Samian ware. Seven peculiar, triangular masses of hard composition were also thrown out of one of the holes. The sides were about 6 ins.

<sup>1</sup> The burial of a body in a sitting or crouching posture is a mark of a very early interment. It is strange that Roman remains should be found in the same grave.

in length. Each side was pierced with two holes, as in the sketch. These have been preserved by Mr. Wood.

Since writing the above I have read an article in the September Number of the *Archæological Journal*, describing a somewhat similar find at Nursling, near Southampton. In the latter place, however, the remains discovered were of a more diversified character.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 18, 1882.

T. MORGAN, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the respective donors of the following presents to the library :

*To the Society*, for "Transactions of the Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society", vol. xxvi. New Series, vol. vi.

" " for "Proceedings of the Royal Institute of British Architects", No. 7. 1881.

" " for "Journal of the Society of Arts", Nos. 1520, 1521.

*To Rev. B. H. Blacker, M.A., the Author*, for "Gloucestershire Notes and Queries", Part xiii. Jan. 1882.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon Sec.*, exhibited a series of engravings of Romano-British mosaic pavements: among them the pavement at Wellow, near Bath; the Hawkstow pavement; and that found at the East India House, Leadenhall.

The Chairman exhibited an engraving of a Roman pavement found at Bucklersbury; also, on behalf of Mr. Greenshields of Lanark, the carved ivory hilts of two dress-swords; one of which has a shield of arms, of which the bearings appear to be *sa.*, a lion rampant, crowned; the other a lion's face, and at the top a lion's head.

Mr. J. F. Hodgetts stated that the sword-hilts appeared to be parts of an ornamental state chair for an admiral's cabin, and that they were probably of the time of Charles I.

It was announced that a vote of thanks had been passed by the Council of the Association to J. J. Colman, Esq., M.P., for the extensive and systematic excavation, at his own expense, of the site, and discovery of the buried ruins, of Carrow Nunnery, near Norwich, thereby contributing liberally to the cause of archæology, and forwarding the scope of the British Archæological Association.

Our Associate, Mr. A. C. Fryer, forwarded for exhibition a Roman silver coin found at Nazareth. It was reserved for further examination.

Mr. Arthur Cope exhibited a small series of tiles of the twelfth century, picked up on the site of the monastic buildings at Chertsey. One of them has three heads, with parts of the draped bodies; perhaps



portion of a representation of a Biblical scene. Two smaller tiles had cusped and foliated ornamentation. Mr. Cope read some notes concerning the foundation, fortunes, and almost total destruction of the Abbey, a portion of the wall of the precincts alone being left.

Mr. Park, of Russell Square, exhibited a collection of ancient Egyptian remains obtained by him from a mummy which was being ground up by colour-makers for the pigment known to artists as "mummy brown". The collection is valuable as shewing the complete set deposited by the priests or embalmers with one mummy. The objects are as follow: 1, a pure gold mouth with the lips finely modelled; 2, four wax figures of the Amenti, or Genii of the Karneter; 3, a wax model of a heart; 4, a *tat* or *sistrum*, generally called a Nilometer,—blue glazed porcelain; 5, another, jasper; 6, a scarabæus, glazed steatite; 7, another, of lapis lazuli, with the symbols, *neb* (lord), *nefer* (good) *neb*; 8, an eye, finely modelled, of ivory with black glass or obsidian pupil, full size; 9, a figure of the *ankh*, or emblem of life, jasper; 10, a papyrus pendant, in form of a sceptre, blue glazed porcelain; 11, a pendant hawk, lapis lazuli; 12, a pendant figure of Thoth, ibis-headed, with disk-shaped headdress, blue, glazed porcelain; 13, a waxen duck, red legs and crest, the head recurved along the back; 14, three symbolic eyes, agate,—a waxen plaque with radiated ornament; 15, the heel-bone of the right foot of the mummy, on which is plastered a piece of mummy-cloth with a ritualistic inscription; 16, a red leathern strap or brace for the body; 17, two sepulchral figures, called *shabti*, representing the Osirified, or defunct, person, who, from 18, the long wrapper or winding-sheet, also inscribed with a chapter of the *Ritual of the Dead*, appears to have been a priest named Ha, of the period of the twenty-second Egyptian dynasty, about B.C. 900.

Mr. Birch, who described these objects, requested Mr. Park to lay them before Dr. Birch of the British Museum, with a view to obtaining a short paper upon them for a future evening.

The Chairman read a paper on "Romano-British Mosaic Pavements", accompanied by a series of sketches and engravings, some of which had been shewn to the members at an earlier hour. It is hoped that the paper will be printed hereafter.

Mr. Brock read a paper on "St. Agnes", by H. S. Cuming, Esq., V.P., F.S.A. Scot., which will also be recorded, we hope, in a future part of the *Journal*.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 1, 1882.

T. MORGAN, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

Rev. R. Milburn Blakiston, M.A., Ashton Lodge, Tavistock Road, Croydon, was duly elected an Associate.

Thanks were ordered to be conveyed to the donors of the following presents to the library of the Association :

*To the Society*, for "Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian and Archæological Society", vol. v, Part 2.

„ „ for "Erdélyi Múzeum", 1882.

„ „ for "Journal of the Society of Arts", 1881.

„ „ for "Proceedings of the Royal Institute of British Architects".

*To the Author*, M. Ad. de Ceuleneer, for "Déconverte d'un Tombeau Chrétien à Conixheim-les-Tongres", and "Diplome Militaire de Trajan trouvé aux Environs de Liège", 1881.

Mr. R. E. Way exhibited a collection of objects recently exhumed on the site of the King's Arms' Yard, Southwark, consisting of fragments of pottery of Roman black or Upchurch ware ; Samian ware with potters' stamps, [OF. SEVEI] and [OF. CALVI] ; white Roman ware strainer ; handle of a large amphora with uncertain inscription ; fragment of a flanged tile for a roof ; a pitcher of the Norman era, or middle of the twelfth century, of very large dimensions, and richly flashed, having a raised fretty pattern in green glazed clay, laid on with a boss or roundle, in each interstice.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock exhibited a heavy bronze, metal plaque of rectangular form, with a design of three half-length figures under a canopy, with festoons of foliage. In the frieze overhead the word LAMBADIORVM. This object appeared to be of the Roman period. Purchased at a sale in London.

Mr. W. de G. Birch, F.S.A., F.R.S.L., *Hon. Sec.*, said that he did not like the appearance of the patina upon this bronze ; and that in his opinion it looked more like a cast from an antique than the antique itself, on account of the roughness of the surface.

Mr. Brock promised to submit the relic to Dr. Birch.

Mr. C. H. Compton exhibited an Egyptian scarabæus set in gold as a scarf-pin. It was of glazed porcelain, bearing a figure of Thothmes seated in a Boat of the Sun, with figure-heads of the god Mentu Ra, the name of the king being placed on a cartouche or royal oval.

The Chairman exhibited, on behalf of Mr. H. J. Swayne, a screw-dollar of the Emperor Ferdinand III, containing a miniature portrait alleged to be that of Lord Herbert of Chirbury.

Mr. S. I. Tucker, *Somerset Herald*, after comparing the portrait with the well known engraved portraits of that nobleman, shewed that this assertion was untenable.

Mr. Swayne's exhibition called forth the following observations from Mr. H. Syer Cuming :

"The largest collection of screw-dollars, or 'rose-money' as they are sometimes denominated, I have ever seen was in the possession of the late Mr. Benjamin Nightingale, and the next in extent belonged to our late Associate Mr. Walter Hawkins. Both collections contained nothing but German examples of the seventeenth century. Our *Journal* (xxx, p. 370) records the unexpected discovery by our Vice-President the Rev. Dr. Simpson, of a charm within a box fashioned out of a dollar of Leopold Archduke of Austria ; and I exhibit a screw-dollar of Leopold as Emperor of Germany, which formerly belonged to Frederick Prince of Wales, the father of King George III, and which was presented to me by the late Lord Boston. The obverse bears the laureated bust, in armour, looking to the right ; legend, LEOPOLDVS D. G. ROM. IMP. S. A. G. H. B. REX. Rev., imperial arms ensigned by a crown ; legend, ARCHID. AVST. DVX. BV. CO. TYR. 1683. This fine dollar contains two miniatures of figures painted in body-colours on paper, and twelve on round pieces of mica, representing headless figures of a male and female in various poses and amount of attire, to place over the two first mentioned, the faces of which complete the effigies laid on them ; but their lack of decency forbids their production at a public meeting, or anything like a detailed notice to be furnished, and they are merely alluded to to shew the varied nature of the contents of the old screw-dollars.

"The sale Catalogue (p. 112) of the treasures of our former President, the late Ralph Bernal, Esq., gives the following description of two examples of German box-money : 'Lot 1365. A round silver medal which opens, and contains a male and female portrait painted in colours. On one side are engraved the figure of a saint (bishop), and coat of arms below, and inscription, *Sanct. Rudbertus Eps. Salisb.* 1625. On the other, the holy father, etc., with a cardinal's hat, and a lion rampant below ; inscribed *Paris, D. G. Archieps. Sali. Se. A. P. L.*, and an inner inscription, *Sub tuum præsidium confug.*' The second specimen was lot 1366 : 'A round silver medal which unscrews, and contains twelve miniatures on tale and two on paper, with the life of a saint. Each one has a blank for the face of the saint to fit over the painting at the bottom. The medal has on one side the effigy of Frederick III, Emperor of Germany, who reigned from 1637 to 1658.'

"The sale catalogues of other collections, though less diffuse in description than the above, gives us evidence of the existence of screw-dollars, and the character of their contents. In the Catalogue of the

collection of Marmaduke Trattle, dispersed in June 1832, we find under the head of 'Silver Coins of the Empire of Germany', lot 629, consisting of seven 'screw-dollars, five of which have paintings in them'; and lot 1372 is entered as 'a box-medal containing well executed paintings commemorative of the Reformation in Germany.' The stock of the late Matthew Young, sold in 1840, had in it several examples of screw-dollars, as we learn from the Catalogue. Thus on March 7, lot 1086 was 'Switzerland, three,—a screw dollar, a screw-medal containing a series of water-colour paintings, and two others, 7.' On July 6, lot 835 consisted of a screw-dollar of Ferdinand III, the Emperor Joseph, and five others, 7'; and on Nov. 7, lot 761 contained a 'crown of Charles II hollow as a box'. This crown, and that of William and Mary, in the cabinet of Mr. Henfrey, attest that English money was at times, though rarely, formed into boxes of the screw-dollar type; and in recent days a taste for such practice seems in some degree revived in the boxes occasionally hawked about the streets by toymen, which are made in imitation of the copper and silver currency of King George III and Queen Victoria, of which I possess a few specimens."

Mr. Worthington G. Smith exhibited a bone object marked on both sides, and on one edge, with rude geometrical scratches or cuts; also a round disk of stone, concave on both sides, recently found in an excavation of gravel at Bedford.

Mr. Brock read a paper on "Duloe Stone-Circle", by C. W. Dymond, Esq., F.S.A., accompanied by a carefully measured plan. This will, it is hoped, appear in the *Journal* hereafter.

In the ensuing discussion, Mr. Brock, Mr. Way, Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., and the Chairman took part.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 15, 1882.

REV. S. M. MAYHEW, M.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The following Associates were duly elected:

Miss Barrow, 23 Frederick Street, Gray's Inn Road

Thomas Edward Jones, Esq., Broadway House, Hammersmith

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the author, through Bernard Quaritch, Esq., for "Punjab Customary Law", by C. L. Tupper, Esq. Calcutta. 3 vols. 1881.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, exhibited a collection of *fictilia* from recent excavations at Cripplegate. Among them were two glazed pipkins; one large bowl or pipkin with two handles, of the sixteenth century; and several fragments of glazed and decorated tile.

Mr. C. Sherborn exhibited an Egyptian scarabæus made of dark blue glazed porcelain; the base engraved with a cynocephalus, a feather of the goddess Truth, the symbol *neb* or lord, and other hieroglyphics.

Mr. E. Walford gave an account of an ancient processional cross in his possession, bearing a date thus expressed, *MXIXCCCC*; also a portrait, on a panel, of John Milton, believed to have been painted by the poet himself at a time when his eyesight was beginning to fail.

Mr. W. G. Smith exhibited a dark blue glass implement of mushroom shape, used in the manufacture of straw-plait at Dunstable.

Mr. G. R. Wright exhibited for our Associate Mr. Th. Kerslake, of Bristol, a *couteau-de-chasse*, or hunting-knife; the hilt embellished with a plume of feathers and other heraldic bearings, and bearing the inscription, *OWEN. BYRGENT. M. T.*

Mr. Hodgetts stated that a similar knife was in the possession of Sir Samuel Meyrick at Goodrich Court.

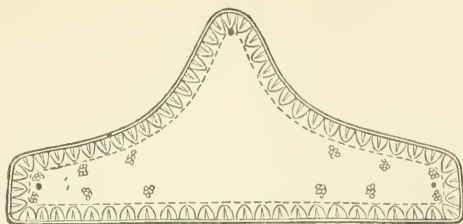
Major di Cesnola exhibited, from his collection of Cypriote antiquities, a large series of gold leaves,<sup>1</sup> frontals, mouths, eyes, mortuary earrings,



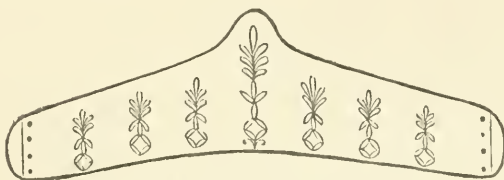
and chaplets; also several very fine ancient Greek terra-cottas: among them Eros or Cupid upon a hillock, holding out a bunch of grapes to a cock, as in the accompanying illustration, which is one-third the full

<sup>1</sup> For the loan of the woodcuts of the Plate of gold-leaf work we are indebted to the kindness of Major di Cesnola.

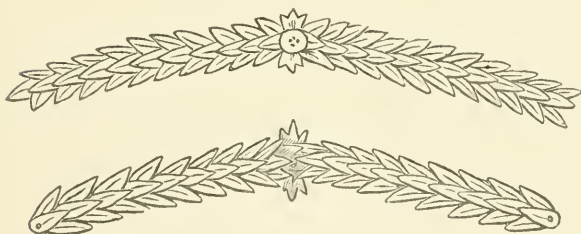




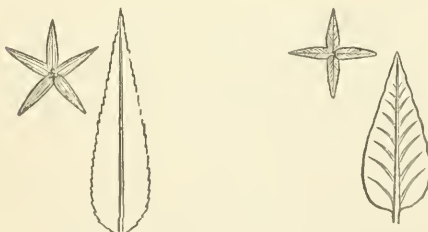
Frontal with Ornamental Border.



Frontal with archaic Ornamentation.



Fillets.



Groups and Details of Leaves of Fillets.

size; and a finely modelled, full-length portrait of a female in an elegant posture (see woodcut, one-third size), evidently the work of an artist of considerable reputation. These were obtained at Salamina, the site of the ancient city of Salamis, founded, according to the legendary histories, by Teucer.

J. S. Phené, Esq., V.P., LL.D., F.S.A., etc., read a paper on "Recent Researches and Excavations in Scotland", which was illustrated by a large number of carefully drawn and coloured diagrams. In the discussion which ensued, Mr. T. Morgan and Mr. Hodgetts took part. It is hoped that the paper will appear in a future part of the *Journal*.

Rev. W. S. Lach-Szyrma, M.A., read a paper on the "Antiquities of the Church and Churchyard of St. Hilary, co. Cornwall", and exhibited several photographs in illustration of his remarks. This paper also will, we hope, be printed hereafter.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 1, 1882.

REV. S. M. MAYHEW, M.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for the following presents to the library:

*To the Author, Henry Grey, Esq.*, for "The Classics for the Million, being an Epitome in English of the Works of the principal Greek and Latin Authors." 8vo. 1881.

*To the Society*, for "Archæological Journal", No. 152. 1881.

„ „ for "Journal of the Society of Arts", Nos. 1526-27.

Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., *Hon. Curator and Congress Secretary*, announced that the Council had great pleasure in accepting the kind invitation of the Mayor and Town Council of Plymouth to hold the Congress this year in that town.

Mr. W. G. Smith, F.L.S., *Hon. Draughtsman*, exhibited three very fine large flints of the polished neolithic style, from recent diggings at Holloway, about 18 inches below the surface.

Major A. P. di Cesnola, F.S.A., exhibited two chalcedony bracelets from Salamis (Cyprus), with phallic pendants, and a collection of ornaments in the same material. One of them was in the shape of a cuttle-fish, with an illegible inscription; another was in form of a small cup or goblet, about 1½ inch high, probably an *unguentarium*.

The Chairman exhibited and described—

1. A drinking-cup of Caistor ware, 4½ inches high, bearing the usual characteristics; but of a pinkish coloured clay. London.

2. A Roman silver vessel for pouring. It was found with ashes, broken Samian, and Upchurch funereal ware. The vessel is a depressed

round; the diameter greater than its height,  $1\frac{3}{4}$  inch, by a diameter of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches. It is beaked, without handle; but on one side bears a label, once apparently set with a stone or jewel. This spot would have received the pressure of the thumb. This precious little vessel has been subjected to considerable heat, ashes being fused on its surface. The shape is novel, somewhat resembling a small, squat cream-cwër. The beaked spout is also novel for a London find, the nearest approach being amongst familiar *mortaria*. Very possibly it played a part in the cremation of a Roman citizen. It may, however, be a crucible.

3. Portions of large Samian patera found with the above; also a portion of a black olla with rim, but not exhibited.

4. Two Samian medallions: one, a soldier in action; the other, Diana seated, and wearing buskins; the right arm raised, as having loosed an arrow from the bow held in the left hand.

5. A card with three pins of bone, Celtic and usual type; a second, bodkin or needle of ivory (Roman); the third, a needle of fishbone, perhaps walrus, found with Samian ware; together with a glazed clay roundel,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches diameter,—a whorl, or loom-weight, or sinker.

6. Objects in Norman and mediæval bronze, found also in London: 1. The spear and haft, or socket, of a Norman standard; the former of hard, compact bronze; the latter with its collar of brighter, softer, and folded metal. It is not possible to give the length of the staff; but judging by examples in MSS. it was of no great length. 2. Two scales for weighing: one oblong and peaked, for a frame; the other for suspension, and round, of hammered metal. Found near Brooks' Wharf. 3. Two bridle-bosses: one of the ordinary shape, round, on a flat plate; the other a gored hexagon on bosses, resting upon a flat plate. Sixteenth century. 4. The cover of a tankard (fifteenth century), flat, of reddish bronze. 5. A very fine house-key of iron,  $6\frac{1}{4}$  ins. long, and sixteenth century work. All found in London.

7. The body of a dog, red earthenware, with deep brown glaze,—a child's toy; time of Elizabeth. A very rare specimen. Found in London.

8. Glass, Spanish: 1. A chalice on foot, bossed, and cut in facets, 9 inches high; the cup engraved, cut, and decorated. 2. A drinking-tumbler covered by designs, scrolls, foliage, and drops, with a buck and doe running. 3. Two amphora-shaped vases with arms of opal, 5 inches high, hand-painted, with bouquets and rings of flowers. The Spanish factories of La Granja, Barcelona, San Ildefonso, made and exported vast quantities of glass; some artists rivalling Venice in shape, quality, and colour; some approaching our own Bristol; and a third retaining the primitive shapes of Spanish drinking-vessels, derived sometimes apparently from the *uskos*, others from the Romans.

9. An extremely fine and true ruby drinking-cup, Germano-Venetian,

set in modern ormolu, of beautiful pattern. This cup is cut in octagon form.

10. A hexagon drinking-cup,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches high, of eighteenth century German art, coloured to resemble sapphire (smalt), and thickly enamelled on each face with scrolls, foliage, flowers, birds, and Cupids in gold. A fine specimen.

11. A Germano-Venetian duplex cup, crystal and ruby, 9 inches by 6; the whole thickly engraved, by diamond, with a representation of a combat between panoplied German knights and Norsemen. The spirit of the engraving was caught from representations of the chase upon German hunting-horns, where figure crowds on figure. Here also the knight cleaves his enemy, carries his standard in triumph, or reins his furious steed. The enemy, on foot, sturdily stand the charge, but more than one grovel in the dust. A mere description can do but scant justice to the accuracy and spirit of the engraver. By one true pressure lines of every curve are cut through the ruby to the crystal, and the effect is a brilliant etching. But what of the artist? How confident of his line, its curve of beauty, and wonderful expressiveness! No pattern could have been used. No false lines appear to have been made. Here and there, under an inspired stroke, the picture grew to perfection. Two clusters of arms and banners appear, with Medusa's head on the upper margin; but long flamboyant swords, military maces, and spears are the weapons of the mailed knights. The banners bear the eagle of Germany; the northern soldiers, the dragon and other emblems. In the year 1800 this cup was in the possession of "St. Jacob", who has scratched his name thereon, and it is to be feared enriched (?) the cup with a scratched border. The body of the cup appears to have been submitted to the action of a wheel or horn, for the roughened traces of diamond cutting are visible interiorly or externally.

12. A lovely cameo of thick crystal glass, 4 inches, cut in dog-tooth pattern, with lucid points, and containing a silvery, standing figure of classical form holding a wreath. This art was partially revived by the late Mr. Pellatt, and died with him; but the origin is Venetian. The exhibitor has also two other specimens, long in his family, and four were lately in the South Kensington Museum, in crystal.

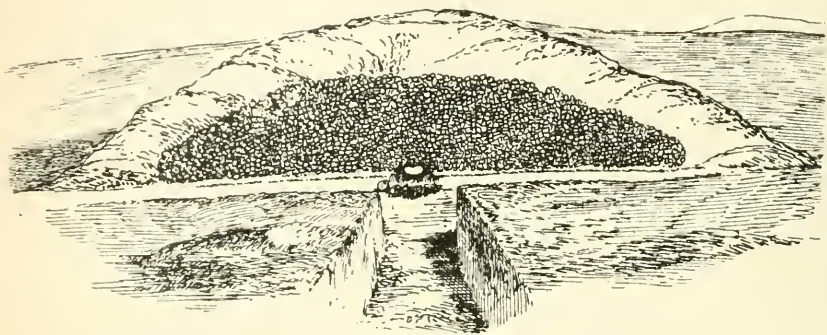
13. The badge, in silver and gold, of the Venetian order of St. Mark. This badge is of seventeenth century work, an oval, displaying the winged lion in gold on silver ground, with the legend, "Pax Tibi, Marce, Evangelista Meus." At the back is a movable, bevelled glass, a reliquary. The upper portion is seventeenth century scroll-work with a loop for suspension.

The Chairman also read the following :

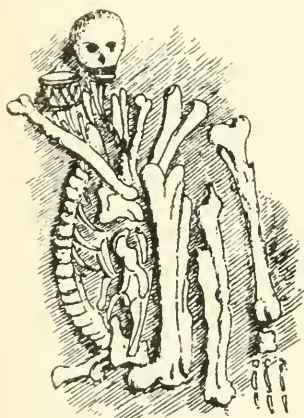




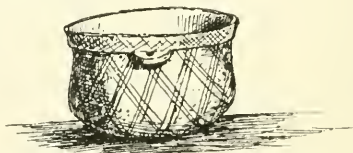
BRITISH BARROW AT BRADING. I. W.



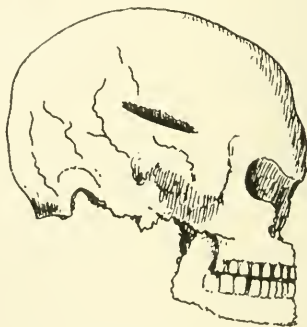
*Sketch of the Barrow as opened  
Nov<sup>r</sup> 28. 1881.*



*Skeleton in the  
position as found.*



*URN found with the interment.*



*Sketch of the Skull  
showing mark of  
flint implement.*

DESCRIPTION OF AN ANCIENT BRITISH BARROW IN THE ISLE  
OF WIGHT.

BY CAPTAIN J. THORP.

On the Middle West Down beyond Nunwell, Isle of Wight, facing the north and east, by kind permission from Lady Oglander, the owner of the estate, I removed about 15 inches of earth from the present surface, on a spot I had previously marked, feeling convinced, from its peculiar shape (once, no doubt, an extensive mound or tumulus, but now flattened), and its faint outline of *minced* chalk, forming a large circle, barely perceptible to the ordinary observer, on the ground ploughed up for cultivation, that something worthy of investigation lay hidden.

By compass I trenched due north, south, east, and west, when I quickly came upon a most compact body of flints so placed that when the whole surface was uncovered it bore the exact shape of a huge mushroom; for upon examination I found it equal on all sides, from the apex to the outside of the circle; well put together,—in fact like a solid, paved causeway,—measuring in diameter  $22\frac{1}{2}$  feet, and nearly 2 feet 6 inches in depth in the centre of the flints, narrowing down to 12 inches. Under this extraordinary mass of flints (*vide* sketch), and exactly in the centre of the circle, there was a round stone (*not* flint), as if placed to mark the centre, and act as a guide, round which the flints were to be placed to form a proper circle. Close to this stone was an urn or “passing cup” with two handles placed horizontally, the holes in each handle being so small as to suggest the idea that it was intended to pass a string through for suspension. It only contained earth and a few chips of flint, stood upright, and is  $5\frac{3}{4}$  inches high, and 8 inches in diameter, apparently of unbaked clay, with very rude, diamond-shaped markings scratched over its outer surface. On the left side of this cup I found a human skull, the jaws and splendid teeth of which touched the rim of the cup; and on the right side of the skull, above the ear, a wedge-shaped hole, 2 inches long, and nearly half an inch wide at spots marked X, cleanly cut in the bone, as if by a sharp weapon.

Upon further removing the earth I laid bare the skeleton of a well grown man, apparently more than 6 feet high, and buried in a sitting position. Most of the ribs and other small bones, together with a portion of the jaw, had crumbled away, the body being so placed and doubled up as to bring the knees level with the chest. This fact suggests the idea that it is the grave of an ancient Briton. Close under the jaws I found a flint flake corresponding with the shape of the hole in the skull, and which I consider might have caused the death-wound,

having, as it were, fallen out of the skull as the body mouldered away. The skeleton lay or sat east and west. I could not discover any remnant of metal of any description. On either side of the skeleton were two smooth stones, the size and shape of an egg; one a flint, the other a horn pebble.

One of my labourers, an experienced man in measurements, computed, with myself, that the amount of flints over this grave could not be less than one hundred tons in one compact mass.

I excavated in various directions of this barrow, but could only find the one skeleton.

In the discussion which ensued, Messrs. Brock and Wright took part, and the Chairman remarked that prehistoric burials were by cremation, or the body was placed in a prone or sitting posture, the knees bent upwards, and the arms often extended. Notable examples were those of Monsal Vale, Derbyshire, and Hitler Hill. Frequently after cremation or burial a circle of stones was made the boundary of a mass of flints covering or arching the underlying deposit. An urn or cup of clay, marked by lines, has in every case been found accompanying these early burials.

Mr. W. H. Cope read a paper on "Ancient Painting on Glass", which it is hoped will be printed hereafter. The paper was accompanied by the exhibition of a large number of coloured drawings of painted glass windows from English and foreign cathedrals and churches, the Chairman shewing in illustration pieces of glass from destroyed windows at Crowland Abbey, Ely Cathedral, Newdigate, and St. Nicholas near St. Alban's.

The discussion which ensued was taken part in by Mr. Morgan, Mr. Brock, and Mr. Wright.

Mr. C. Brent, F.S.A., communicated the following:

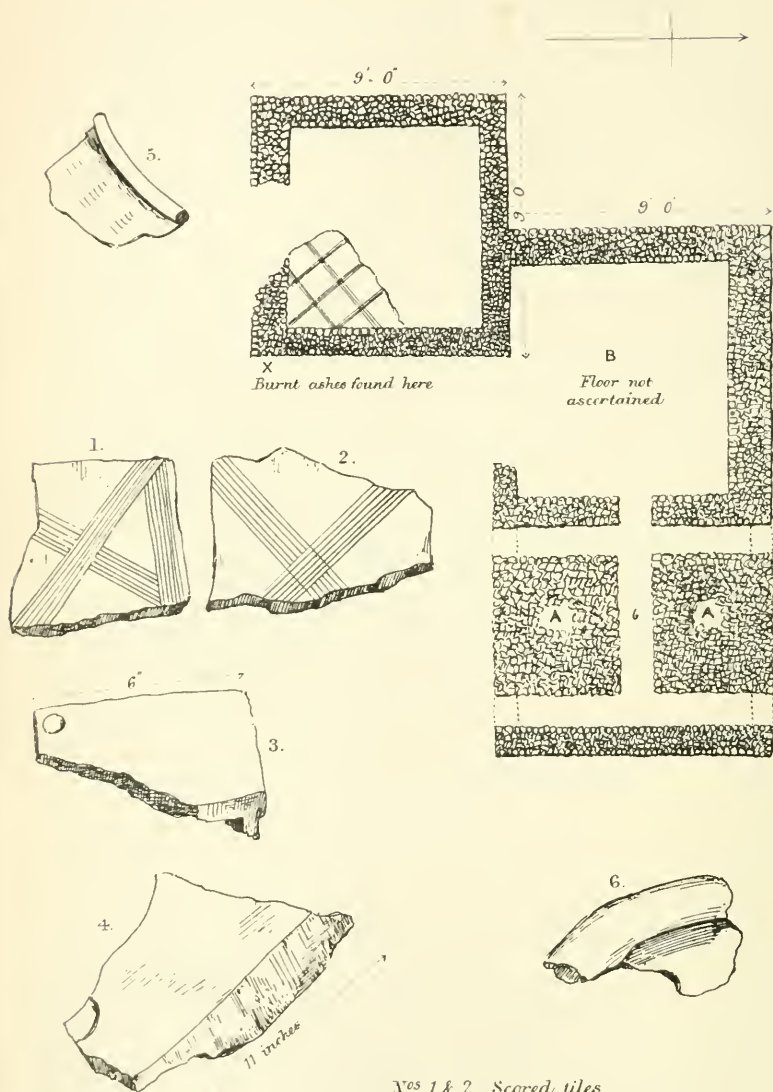
#### A ROMAN VILLA AT METHWOLD.

BY REV. C. DENNY GEDGE, M.A., VICAR.

I exhibit a plan of the excavations made on the site of some Roman remains at a spot known as "Little Holmes", in the parish of Methwold, with sketches of specimens of the tiles, which are very numerous, and of the fragments of an amphora; together with a plan of the parish, on which the position of the site of the excavations is marked. The parish contains a great deal of the old nomenclature, though in some instances greatly modified by time. The line of the Roman foss way runs between the Little Ouse and Wissey rivers; thence their line went down the Wissey for four miles, up a tributary known as the String River (*stringere*) to Beachamwell, whence the fossway is continued to Narford, the line thence to Lynn following the course of



# ROMAN BUILDING AT METHWOLD.



Nos 1 & 2 Scored tiles

. 3 . 4 Roofing tiles.

. 5 . 6 Fragments of Grey pottery.



the river Har. Thus the parish of Methwold lies outside the Roman line of demarcation, which fact gives some interest to the discovery of Roman remains on this site. Another thing that gives still greater interest thereto is that a spot rising but some 4 feet above the Fen-level should have been at that early date chosen for a residence. This is an additional testimony to the fact, often stated, that the Fens were more habitable in A.D. 400 than in A.D. 1400.

The actual locality is one of the Holmes (called Little Holme), of which a string extends down either side of a small natural stream called the String Dyke. It lies just in a corner formed by the confluence of another small stream known as Haggard's or Hoggard's Dyke, which drains a pool known as Humble (Holme Hill) Pit. For years large numbers of tiles have been turned up on the mound of which this little holme is composed, the level of the pavement of the house being within reach of the ploughshare. The tenant had supposed that some brick-kiln must have existed here, till the turning up of certain pieces of fine-grained, grey Northamptonshire sandstone induced him to search further.

The foundations, which are placed immediately on the subsoil of sand, are, so far as we traced them, of great hardness and solidity, and built in alternate bands of flint rubble and the grey flagstone before mentioned.

The chamber A, apparently an *apodyterium*, has a floor of solid masonry intersected by flues 15 inches wide. Tiles 1 and 2, with abundance of others like them, probably formed the flooring of *cubiculum* (B), which has been entirely raked up by the ploughshare. The other tiles are roof-tiles. A small portion of the concrete flooring of chamber C, lined to represent tiling, remains *in situ*. At D probably there was a furnace, as there are many remains of burnt matter. Further investigation has not been made.

The Chairman read the following note on Mr. Karslake's *couteau-de-chasse*, exhibited on a previous occasion: "It belonged and was known as belonging to the Vaughan collection, nominally 'the sword of Owen Glendower', but really as a hunting-knife presented by a Stuart, the Vaughans being devoted Jacobites. At the sale wherein this knife was sold, Sir R. Brook, of Norton Priory, bought for £25 a ring with miniature of the Young Pretender. A number of Carolean relics were also dispersed. When the great oak in Nannau Park fell, the skeleton of Howell Seele (Owen's cousin) fell out from within the decayed bole, together with his sword. Owen Glendower murdered Howell, and concealed him in the hollowed oak, where the skeleton remained until the fall of the tree."

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 15, 1882.

T. MORGAN, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the respective donors of the following presents to the library :

*To the Society*, for "Proceedings of the Royal Institute of British Architects", No. 11, March 1882.

" " for "Journal of the Society of Arts", Nos. 1528, 1529.  
*To C. R. Smith, Esq., V.P., F.S.A., the Author*, for tracts "On a Hoard of Roman Coins found at Deal", and "On a Roman Leaden Coffin discovered at Canterbury".

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, announced that the arrangements for the Congress at Plymouth were in progress. He also exhibited a drawing shewing part of the wall of the old gate of Ludgate, as revealed by setting back some of the houses, at a spot nearly opposite St. Martin's Church. The wall appears to have been built of squared ragstone, and at one part there are traces of a window.

The Rev. Prebendary Sir Talbot Baker exhibited two pieces of rough, hard pottery in the shape of U, found on the prehistoric camp five miles to the south of Weymouth. They shew traces of friction at the bend, and have been conjectured to have been used as pounders or pestles for *mortaria*, or for grinding corn, as was suggested by several of the speakers.

In the discussion which ensued, Messrs. J. Brent, F.S.A., G. R. Wright, F.S.A., C. Brent, F.S.A., and J. Blashill, took part.

In the unavoidable absence of the author, Mr. J. R. Allen, Mr. W. de G. Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, read the paper entitled "Notices of Sculptured Rocks near Ilkley, with some Remarks on Rocking Stones." This was illustrated by several drawings to scale and photographs. It will probably be printed in a future place.

In the discussion which followed the reading, Mr. J. Brent, F.S.A., suggested that the configurations seen upon stones marked with cups and rings represented in a rude way the position of barrows containing the bodies of members of the tribe, who thus sought to preserve a record of their resting-places.

The Chairman accepting this theory, suggested in advance of it that these stones were thus marked to indicate the relative position of the village houses or dwellings of the people, who had thus, as it were, mapped out their holdings.

Mr. Brock then read Dr. Hooppell's paper on "The Ruins of an early Church at North Gosforth, near Newcastle-on-Tyne." This was illustrated with a sheet of drawings, and it is hoped it will be printed in a future Number of the *Journal*.

## Antiquarian Intelligence.

*The Plymouth Congress.*—We have great pleasure in announcing that the Council have accepted an invitation from the Mayor and Town Council of Plymouth to hold their thirty-ninth Annual Congress at that celebrated old seaport town in August next. Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., *Hon. Congress Secretary*, it is expected, will shortly proceed to Plymouth to make arrangements with the Mayor, Mr. Francis Brent, *Hon. Local Secretary* of the proposed Meeting, and a Committee already appointed, of which Mr. Brooking Rowe, F.S.A., Mr. W. C. Dymond, F.S.A., and other old members of the Association, form part, for the various excursions and proceedings of the Meeting, which bids fair, from the interest with which the locality abounds, to be one of the most useful of the Congresses of the Association.

*The Kent Kistvaen.*—The Rev. Francis T. Vine of Patricxbourne, Kent, describing the discovery of an ancient kistvaen in Gorseley Wood, states that the tumulus first opened was the largest of three tumuli, the circumferences of which touched each other, their centres being in one straight line, and the mounds being progressive in height. The two other tumuli have since been explored. The second (next to the largest) contained a kistvaen, the dimensions of which were exactly the same as those of the first, namely, length, 4 feet; breadth,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet; depth,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet. The earth of the mound had fallen in, and nearly filled the chamber. Two small pieces of charred bone and a few minute fragments of thin glass were all that could be discovered amongst the *débris*. The third mound was nearly on a level with the surrounding ground. In it was a third kistvaen, quite perfect, but of smaller dimensions: length, 3 feet; breadth,  $2\frac{1}{4}$  feet; depth, 3 feet. It is remarkable that the depth of this kist was equal to its length, while that of each of the others was the same as the breadth. The contents also were different, for in this small fragments of bones were found, and one may trace portions of the skull and of most other parts of the human skeleton. Some of the bones appeared to have been burnt, but the greater part had escaped the fire. A small fragment of bronze and a few pieces of fine glass were also found in the kist, and in the mound itself two fractured urns. At the bottom were some large flint stones, possibly those on which the body had been placed for cremation, and therefore reverentially preserved by the Druids, and deposited with the body. The direction of each of the kistvaens was nearly the same;

that of the first two being north-west and south-east, that of the third being slightly more inclined to the north. The centre also of the middle kistvaen was equidistant from the centres of the two outer ones. Thus there was harmony of design both in their construction and relative positions. It is a subject for inquiry whether these kistvaens were intended to represent a temple, as were some of the Grecian sepulchres; whether one of them may externally have represented an altar, which the skull placed upon one seems to indicate; or whether the three tumuli placed in close proximity were intended to transmit to posterity a knowledge of the triune God. That the kistvaens which Mr. Vine has been permitted by Lord Conyngham's kindness, and at his expense, to open, are British he has no doubt.

*Discovery of Bronze Weapons.*—The Rev. R. S. Baker of Hargrave Rectory, Kimbolton, announces that a splendid hoard of ancient bronze weapons has recently been found by labourers in cutting a drain in the parish of Wilbarton, near Ely, on the property of Mr. Claude Pell of Wilbarton Manor. The collection consists of about one hundred and ten spear and javelin-heads, ten sword-blades (broken), two socketed celts, a palstave, ferrules for the butt-end of spears, ends of sword-sheaths, and other articles. The spear-heads are of various sizes and shapes, but all elegant in design, and as castings equal to a brass-founder's work of the present day. This collection of Celtic weapons lay in a heap upon the clay below the fen-peat, and their deposition is supposed to have been the result of a boat-accident. A fen-fire which occurred at the spot some years back, reached these treasures, and fused and injured many of the weapons; but the greater number are still well preserved, and in good condition. Dr. John Evans, F.S.A., has undertaken to bring this interesting hoard before the Society of Antiquaries.

*Retrospections Social and Archaeological.* By C. ROACH SMITH, F.S.A. It is proposed to print these Reminiscences by subscription; the price, which will not be great, to be regulated by the cost of printing. Subscribers' names are received by the Author at Temple Place, Strood, Kent.

*Ancient Customs of Hereford.* By the late RICHARD JOHNSON, Town Clerk.—A new edition is preparing for publication, with illustrations. The contents comprise: Sale of the City by Richard I to the Citizens.—The Ancient Custom Book compiled by order of Henry III.—Translation of Charters, important Proclamations, Account of Courts, Court-Rolls, and Bailiff's Compotus-Rolls, in the time of Plantagenet Kings.—Ancient Wills of Citizens and Clergy.—Guilds and Trades of Hereford during the Reigns of the Tudors; Procession of Corpus Christi.—



Courts of the Marches ; Historical Letters from Lords Presidents of the Council, with other interesting, unpublished information. Mr. Richards, 37 Great Queen Street, London, W.C., will receive names of subscribers.

*Antiquities*.—Under this title Mr. Chr. Chattock has in preparation a work comprising translations of three hundred inedited charters, deeds, documents, assessments for train-bands, etc. They relate to the families of Marmion, Mountfort, Devereux, Arden, De la Pole, Viscount Hereford, Berkley, Dimock, Babington, and others of historical interest.—Treatises on the origin, purpose, and structure of Stonehenge, Avebury, and other similar remains.—An account of several hitherto unknown Roman, British, and Saxon tumuli or grave-mounds, hoar-stones, and Roman coins, recently discovered.—Description of a hitherto unknown royal castle at Castle Bromwich.—Shakespeariana.—Wager of battle.—Record of early Anglo-Hebrew Christians.—Cerdic's Shore.—*The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.—Unique case of ownership and occupancy, by one family, of "alodium", "franc alond", or free land, from the Conquest.—Survey of some Roman roads. It will be published by Messrs. Trübner and Co.

*Ars Moriendi*.—Our Associate, Mr. W. H. Rylands, F.S.A., has just edited, for the Holbein Society, a reproduction (in facsimile by our Associate, Mr. F. C. Price) of the copy of the *Ars Moriendi* in the British Museum, with an introduction by Mr. G. Bullen, F.S.A., Keeper of the Printed Books. For this rare and beautifully quaint fifteenth century block-book, the Trustees, we are told, paid the sum of £1,072 : 10, being the highest price ever paid by them for any single xylographic or printed work. It was acquired at the Weigel sale at Leipsic in 1872. The introduction forms a valuable manual to the attractive subject of block-books ; and the marvellously faithful manner in which the well known facsimilist, Mr. Price, has done his task, trenches very closely upon mechanical processes of reproduction. The whole work is a welcome addition to the archæology of the printing press.

*Purcell*. By W. H. CUMMINGS, Esq. (Sampson Low and Co.)—The life of the great musician, Henry Purcell, by a well known member of the musical profession, is interesting for the careful and conscientious manner in which the author has touched upon the condition of music and poetry in the seventeenth century. With great pains, evidently not spared throughout his work, Mr. Cummings has given to students of the artistic, social, and domestic history of the period a vivid picture of the old days as exemplified in the life of one who will always hold a foremost position among the fathers of the divine art.



*The Manuscript Library of the British Museum* has lately acquired a number of interesting documents, among which may be mentioned "The Naturalist's Journal", with entries relating to weather, gardening, agriculture, and natural history, by Gilbert White of Selborne, the well known author (1768-93), in six volumes; Letters of the same author to the Hon. Daines Barrington (1769-80); a "Chorographical Description of several Shires in England", by John Norden (1595); the "Parish Register of Papworth-Everard, Cambridgeshire, 1565-1692"; a detailed account of the execution of Giacomo, Beatrice, and Lucrezia Cenci (1569); the "Statutes of Westminster, 1285"; and a very large vellum Roll containing the pedigree of the family of Weston of Sutton Place, co. Surrey, by Sir W. Segar, Garter King (1632). The Irish collections of Mr. Maurice Lenihan, of Limerick, have also been purchased. They consist of eighteen volumes, the principal numbers being two copies of Dr. Geoffrey Keating's "History of Ireland", in Irish; Irish songs by poets of Munster; Keating's "Three Pointed Shafts of Death"; "Triumphalia" of the Abbey of Holy Cross, co. Limerick; MSS. and papers relating to the diocese of Killaloe; a curious "Entry-Book" of Thomas Arthur, M.D., practising in Limerick and Dublin (1619-66); "Annals" and other MSS. relating to Limerick; and a volume of Correspondence of Richard Annesley, sixth Earl of Anglesey, with his agents, etc. (1741-1766).

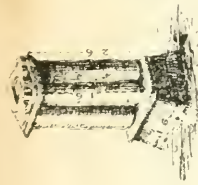
The latest addition to the Egerton Library of MSS. in the British Museum comprises "A Portuguese Chronicle of Affonso I of Portugal", by Duarte Galvam, differing in some respects from the printed copy; Epitaphs in Norfolk Churches; Correspondence of Edward Lord Zouche, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports (1615-36); three volumes of Welsh Pedigrees, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; and a Register of "Inquisitiones post Mortem" for Cheshire, from the time of Edward III to Richard III.

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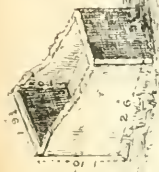


# REMAINS OF AN OLD CHURCH AT NORTH GOSFORTH

— N.E. NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE —  
IN THE COUNTY OF NORTHUMBRLAND  
DECEMBER 1881



— SUPPOSED PIEDestal  
OF A CROSS —



— ANCIENT FONT —



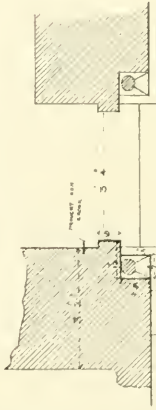
— ROMAN ALTAR —



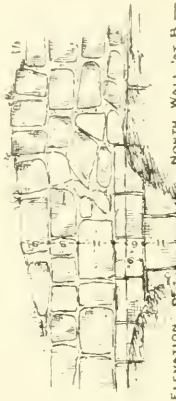
— ANCIENT CROSS STONE —



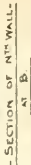
— ELEVATION OF DOORWAY —



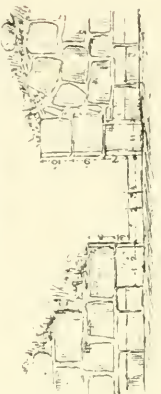
— ELEVATION OF EAST WALL AT C —  
SHOWING INCISED STONE



— ELEVATION OF NORTH WALL AT B —  
SHOWING TERMINATION OF CHAINED PURCH



— SECTION OF N<sup>th</sup> WALL  
AT B —

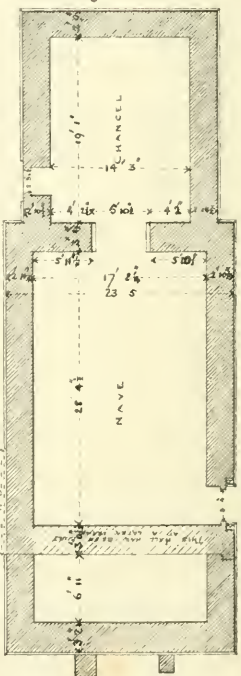


— ELEVATION OF DOORWAY —

CHURCH OF NORTH GOSFORTH  
NORTH, 1881

SCALE OF GROUND PLAN

— PLAN OF SOUTH DOORWAY —



— GROUND PLAN —



— PLAN OF NORTH DOORWAY —



— CHANCEL AT C —  
SOUTH WALL SIDE



— SECTION THRO' DOORWAY —  
AT D E —



— CHANCEL AT F —

# THE JOURNAL

OF THE

## British Archaeological Association.

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JUNE 1882.

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ON THE  
RUINS OF AN EARLY CHURCH AT NORTH  
GOSFORTH, NEAR NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE,  
IN THE COUNTY OF NORTHUMBERLAND,  
BY THE REV. R. E. HOOPPELL, M.A., LL.D., F.R.A.S.

(*Read March 18, 1882.*)

IN looking over, recently, a volume of archæological papers published in the year 1832, my eye was caught by a plan of a ruined church at North Gosforth in Northumberland, furnished to the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-on-Tyne, in the year 1826, by Mr. John Bell of Gateshead.<sup>1</sup> The ruins had then recently been disencumbered of earth by Mr. Robt. William Brandling of Low Gosforth House, in whose grounds they were situated; and Mr. Bell, thinking they might be interesting, had drawn a plan of them, and made a few notes, which he communicated to the Secretary of the Society. In these he said nothing about the probable age of the ruins, nor about any special characteristics they possessed.

Having so lately been deeply interested in the remarkable Saxon church at Escombe, constructed entirely of Roman stones, and having Roman inscriptions still visible in the walls, both externally and internally, my eye was quick to detect the striking similarity of ground-plan between it and the church at North Gosforth; and my interest was further quickened by observing that Mr. Bell recorded that on one of the stones in the east wall of the

<sup>1</sup> *Archæologia Eliana*, quarto Series, vol. ii.

chancel the letters COH were still visible. I made arrangements to visit the spot at as early a period as possible; and, in company with my friends, Mr. Robert Blair, of South Shields, and the Rev. Thomas Stephens, now of Monkswearmouth, did so on the 31st of August last. We were more than rewarded for our journey. We found the whole ground-plan of the church perfect, the walls standing all around to a height of between 2 and 3 feet. We found the edifice to be one of manifestly early date; whether Saxon or very early Norman, not altogether easy to decide. We found it built entirely of Roman stones; not of the very large size of those composing Escombe Church, but of the smaller, squarer type familiar to us in the Roman Wall which runs across the counties of Northumberland and Cumberland.

Besides the other Roman *indicia* abounding on the spot, we found a Roman altar of large size lying on the ground, within the walls of the church. The dimensions of this altar are as follow:—height, 3 feet 11 inches; breadth at top, 2 feet 4 inches; breadth at base, 2 feet  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inch; thickness at top, when unbroken, 1 foot 2 inches; thickness at base, 1 foot 4 inches. The inscription, which was on the front, appears completely gone. It might be possible to recover some of it in some lights; but beyond the letter O, which we thought we could discern, we could make out nothing. On the sides of the altar, however, the sacrificial implements are distinctly traceable; the *culter* and the *securis* on the one side, the *præfericulum* and the *patera* on the other. From a mortise-hole in the top of the altar it would seem that in Christian times it had been made to serve the purpose of a pedestal for a cross, or for some similar object.

The church, at some period or other, was shortened. The west wall now standing was not the original termination of the nave. The whole of the original ground-plan is, nevertheless, perfect in the earth, and I am thus enabled to give the dimensions of the building as it was when first erected. In taking the following measurements I was assisted by my friend Mr. J. W. Taylor, architectural draughtsman and surveyor, of Newcastle-on-Tyne, with whom I visited the church again on the 18th



of November last. To him also I am indebted for the drawings which accompany this paper :—

*Outside.*—Total length, 66 ft.  $5\frac{1}{2}$  ins.; length of nave, 44 ft.  $7\frac{1}{2}$  ins.; breadth of nave, 23 ft. 5 ins.; length of chancel, 21 ft. 10 ins.; breadth of chancel, 20 ft.

*Inside.*—Total length, 60 ft.  $6\frac{1}{2}$  ins.; length of nave, 38 ft. 4 ins.; breadth of nave, 17 ft.  $8\frac{1}{4}$  ins.; length of chancel, 19 ft. 1 in.; breadth of chancel, 14 ft. 3 ins.; width of chancel-arch, 5 ft.  $10\frac{1}{2}$  ins.; thickness of wall of chancel-arch, 3 ft.  $1\frac{1}{2}$  in.

It will be seen that the nave and chancel-walls average nearly 3 ft. in thickness. There are two doorways, one on the south side of the nave, the other on the north side of the chancel. These are respectively 3 ft. 4 ins., and 2 ft.  $3\frac{1}{2}$  ins. in width. The jambs of the north doorway are simply chamfered on the exterior; those of the south doorway are recessed, and there were slender pillars on each side. These pillars lead one to conclude that the building was early Norman rather than Saxon, the only doubt being whether the doorway may not have been a subsequent insertion. Upon this and a few other questions, perhaps, it may be possible that no definite conclusions can ever be reached.

Round the whole church, on the exterior, with the exception of a length of 11 feet on the north side, runs a course of chamfered stones precisely like the chamfered courses so often seen in the ramparts of Roman stations. Similar courses of chamfered stones ran along the old town wall of Newcastle-on-Tyne, where it crossed Pandon Dene, on the eastern side of the present town, presumably on the line of the great Roman Wall from Wallsend to Bowness, and which has, to a great extent, been uprooted, for modern improvements, within the last twelve months. The break in the course of chamfered stones, on the north side of the church, may indicate the position of a doorway opposite to the present southern doorway, and which may have been obliterated when the later west wall was built.

On the ground, within the walls of the church, lie other interesting sculptured stones, besides the Roman altar already mentioned. There is the ancient font, of a rectangular shape,—a parallelopiped, in fact, with all the

edges chamfered. It is of its original height at one end; the other end is broken. When perfect, its dimensions were—*Outside*, length, 2 ft. 6 ins.; breadth, 1 ft.  $9\frac{3}{4}$  ins.; height, 1 ft. 10 ins. *Inside*, length, 1 ft.  $11\frac{1}{4}$  ins.; breadth, 1 ft.  $2\frac{3}{4}$  ins.; depth, 1 ft. There is also a cluster of four columns with a pyramidal base and a broken capital, in the centre of which is a rectangular depression, 8 ins. square, intended apparently to receive the stem of a cross or other similar object. As one of the four sides of the cluster is plain and flat, it appears certain that it was intended to stand against a wall or column. It could not, therefore, have served very well for a pedestal for the font. There are several grave-covers and fragments of grave-covers of various periods lying in and around the church. One of them bears upon its face a raised cross pattée.

The inscribed stone in the east wall of the chancel is near the ground, and forms one of the course of chamfered stones. It bears more letters than the three recorded by Mr. Bell, viz., COH. There is an X very plainly at the commencement, and there are appearances of two or three more letters after the H. The H, too, itself is decidedly doubtful. It appears to me to have been really an N, though it may possibly have been an R. From the most searching examination I have been able to make of the stone, I conclude that the inscription was either X COVEX or X CORNOV; that is, either "Numerus Convenarum" or "Numerus Cornoviorum". The letters appear to me to be more distinctly like the former. At the same time the Cornovii were the troops stationed at the neighbouring fortress of Pons Ælii in the days of the *Notitia*.

This inscription is given as COH in Dr. Hübner's *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, but is not mentioned in Dr. Bruce's *Lapidarium Septentrionale*. No mention of the altar occurs anywhere to my knowledge. Since my visit to the ruins I have seen a slight mention of them in Mr. Richard Welford's *History of the Parish of Gosforth*, published some little time ago by W. D. Welford, Newcastle-on-Tyne, together with a more extended account of the history of the church since the Reformation. From the particulars Mr. Welford has gathered, it appears that the last minister of the church, known to have held the cure,

was the Rev. Geo. Powrie, appointed in 1604; that in 1601 at a visitation in Newcastle, it was reported of the church-wardens,—“that they have not used the perambulation these two years past; they have had no register-book these seven years, nor the Queen’s Injunctions; their Bible is torne, item a Communion-cloth”; that in 1650, in the Inquisition taken at Morpeth respecting the churches in the neighbourhood, it was reported—“that the two chappellryes of North and South Gosfords are depending upon the parish of St. Nicholas in Newcastle, and hath a stipend of tenn pounds p. ann. payd to the minister by Dr. Jennison, vicar of the said parish; but noe preaching minister is nowe in eyther of the said chappells. That South Gosford is fitt to be made the parish church, and North Gosford, Fawden, Bruntons, and Jesmond, annexed to it.” Burials appear, from a statement in Hutchinson’s *History of the County of Northumberland*, to have taken place in the graveyard down to the eighteenth century; and many tombstones of the latter part of the seventeenth century, some of them still perfectly legible, exist *in situ*, in immediate proximity to the ruins.

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## ON SEALS OF THE KNIGHTS TEMPLARS.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A. SCOT.

(Read April 20, 1881.)

IN the year 1099 the Crusaders, under the command of the renowned Godfrey de Bouillon, Duke of Lorraine, achieved the grand object of their ambition, the conquest of Jerusalem. This event was at no very distant period followed by another ; small, indeed, in its beginning, but which in the fulness of time was felt throughout the length and breadth of Christendom. Nine of the companions of the victorious Prince formed themselves into a fraternity, and solemnly vowed to defend the Holy City, and the pilgrims who flocked thither, against the attacks of their Moslem foes. The zeal of this little band of warrior monks attracted others to their community, which grew so rapidly in numbers and importance that in the year 1118 Baldwin II, King of Jerusalem, granted them a home near the Temple, and from this circumstance the society acquired the title of the Knights Templars. In 1128 the brotherhood was formally recognised by the Council of Troyes, when a rule or constitution was prescribed to them, and a white mantle with a red cross on the left shoulder was appointed to be the uniform or canonical habit of the order.<sup>1</sup> From this time the community spread itself over the different countries of the

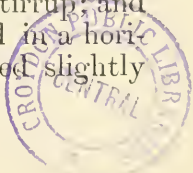
<sup>1</sup> Montfaucon, in his *Monumens de la Monarchie Française* (1730, tom. ii, pl. 36), has given us the costume of a Knight Templar, circa 1275, from the effigy of Jean de Dreux in the church of St. Yved de Braine, near Soissons, France. This figure is bearded, and wears a flat coif or close cap, a long gown or tunic, and over this the white mantle with the red cross on the left shoulder. In Dugdale's *Monasticon* is an engraving, by Hollar, of a Templar whose costume differs from that of the effigy delineated by Montfaucon. The arms and legs of the knight are protected with chain-mail. He wears a rather short surcoat belted at the waist, and over this the mantle with a cross pattée on the left shoulder. On his head is a close fitting skull-cap ; his left hand rests on the hilt of a sword which hangs by his side, and his right hand supports a staff surmounted by a plate displaying a cross pattée, which ensign of office was denominated the *abacus*.

Christian world ; but its chief seat was in Paris, where a Chapter of the Order was held as early as 1147, at which it is recorded one hundred and thirty Knights assembled.

These few remarks seem a needful prelude to the exhibition of impressions of two very curious seals of the Templars, which have been kindly sent to me by our valued Associate Dr. Kendrick with a request that I would lay them before our Members, and accompany them with some descriptive notes. Our good friend has lately procured these impressions from Paris, their existence having been brought to his knowledge by Dr. S. Perceval, F.S.A.

The earliest of these seals is affixed to a charter of Master Amio de Aais preserved in the French archives. It is without date, but was executed *circa* 1202, that is, in the reign of Philip II of France, and in that of our own King John. This seal is about seven-eighths of an inch in diameter, and displays in the field the device of two knights riding on one horse, which is cantering to the left. The details of the design are not well defined in this impression, but we see that both the warriors are equipped with hemispherical *chappelles de fer* and long heater-shaped shields, and couch their lances as if ready for the fight. The foremost knight rests his feet in the stirrups. On the verge of the seal is the legend, SIGIL' MILITVM CRISTI. Dr. Spencer Perceval states that this seal is No. 9,859 in M. Douet d'Arcq's *Inventaire des Sceaux*, etc.

Our next seal is assigned to A.D. 1259, the era when Louis IX occupied the throne of France, and Henry III that of England. The seal is about  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inch in diameter, and is in a high state of preservation. It bears the same device as the earlier example, with its details clearly developed. The *chappelles* of the knights are hemispherical, with their necks and chins protected with what we may presume to be chain-mail. The shields are of the long heater-shape, strengthened in front with cross-bars resembling the heraldic charge called *escarbuncle*, and which is well exhibited on the shield on the arm of the effigy of Geoffrey de Magnaville, Earl of Essex, in the Temple Church, London. The foremost knight thrusts his long, pointed solleret through a triangular stirrup, and it may be noticed that the lances are not held in a horizontal position, but have their blades elevated slightly





above the horses' heads. The legend is to the same effect as that on the first described seal, SIGILLVM MILITVM XPISTI. This seal is No. 9,863 in the *Inventaire* before cited.

Since the receipt of the foregoing, Dr. Kendrick has sent me an impression of a third seal of the Templars, which from the triangular form of the Knights' shields I venture to assign to the middle of the thirteenth century. The margin of the seal is circular, about half an inch in diameter; but the field is octangular. It bears the usual device of two warriors mounted on one steed, which appears to be on the gallop. The legend seems to be composed of a good many letters; but they are too faint to be easily deciphered. The Rev. C. R. Manning, Rector of Diss, Norfolk, from whom Dr. Kendrick received this seal, states that it is attached to a document in Mettingham College, Suffolk, dated Nov. 6, 11th of Richard II (1387); but there is nothing in the deed relating to the Templars. The impression is in all probability from a signet-ring worn by one of the witnesses to the deed long after the era of the Templars.

To these three impressions I add an outline of a seal of the order of Knights Templars, which was sent to me a few years since, but without a line of information where the original was to be found. It is unquestionably of later date than either of the foregoing, and the subject in the field presents a variation in treatment. The horse canters to the right instead of the left, and the second warrior seated on it has his back to the one who holds the bridle. They seem to wear bascinets, and the hindmost knight has no shield. The lances are carried in a horizontal position. The legend consists of four words, the last one being very indistinct, SIGILLVM MILITVM CHRISTI (D POV ?)

In *The Mirror* (xxii, p. 40) is a vignette entitled "Seal of the Knights Templars", which differs much in detail from either of the examples adduced. Two melancholy looking men bestride one horse, which is proceeding to the right, towards the famous *Beauseant*, the black and white banner of the order, the staff of which is planted upright in the ground. Both knights are represented full-faced, clothed in frocks or surcoats, and wear flat-



No. 1.



No. 2.



No. 4 (Matrix of No. 3).



No. 3.



No. 5.

SEALS OF THE KNIGHTS TEMPLARS.



topped caps somewhat like that of Jean de Dreux (*circa* 1275) as given by Montfaucon. No authority is stated for this "seal", and to all appearance it is rather a "free-hand drawing" than a rigid copy of an ancient original.

Matthew Paris, when speaking of the Templars, says that though they at first lived upon alms, "and were so poor that one horse served two of them, yet they suddenly waxed so insolent that they disdained other orders, and sorted themselves with noblemen".<sup>1</sup> The device on the several seals here cited is emblematic of their primal condition; which, however, soon passed away. Their riches augmented with their numbers, until at length they proved their ruin and destruction. Their vast wealth excited the greed of that crowned monster, Philip IV of France, surnamed "Le Bel", and that still more atrocious villain, Pope Clement V, who leagued together to plunder and destroy the brave Knights. The open persecution of the Order may be said to have commenced in France on October 13, 1307, and to have gone on increasing in fury, till on March 18, 1314, the Grand Master, Jacques de Molay, with one of his noble Knights, Guy, Commander of Normandy, perished at the stake. The Pope had in the previous year abolished the Order at a council held at Vienne in Dauphiny; but Dulaure, in his *Histoire de Paris* (viii, p. 121), clearly shews that the order of Knights Templars has existed in that city, at least in name, down to the present century. He states that De Molay, before his murder in 1314, bestowed the dignity of Grand Master on John Mark Larmenius of Jerusalem, who transferred it in 1334 to Francis Theobald, or Thibaut, of Alexandria, by a charter written in Latin, which still exists in the archives of the brotherhood. In 1340 Theobald resigned the Grand Mastership into the hands of Arnold de Braeque, and from him the office has descended to modern times through an unbroken line of successors, all French, and many of them of illustrious rank. In 1825 Bernardus Raymondus Fabré-Palaprat was the Grand Master of the Templars. When Dulaure wrote, the fraternity at Paris

<sup>1</sup> Sir Walter Scott, in his novel of *Ivanhoe* (chap. ix), describes the shield of Brian de Bois Guilbert as bearing for device "two knights riding upon one horse, an emblem expressive of the original humility and poverty of the Templars."

were still in possession of some curious relics of their order ; among others a Greek manuscript volume of the twelfth century, relating to the foundation of the Templars, and containing the Golden Table, or list of the Grand Masters. They had also the sword of Jacques de Molay, and some fragments of his bones gathered from the ashes of the fire in which he was consumed.

“The bones of the brave old knight are dust,  
And his trusty sword is dull'd with rust ;  
But in Heaven rests his soul, we trust.”

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# ROMAN REMAINS IN THE TOWER OF LONDON,

WITH A NOTE ON THE WALL OF LONDON RECENTLY  
OPENED IN BEVIS MARKS.

BY E. P. LOFTUS BROCK, F.S.A., HON. SEC.

(*Read Dec. 1, 1880.*)

THE south-eastern angle of the ancient Wall of London has been described by many old writers as having been strengthened by a fortress from very early times: indeed, such a position seems marked out by the natural fitness of things for such a purpose, the spot being at the end of the marsh-land which came up to the walls of the City, on the ground rising considerably to the west. A fort to guard the approach westward must have been as essential for security, at the time of its erection, as have been the later ones which have been erected at distances farther down the river, from time to time, to afford protection to the approaches of the capital city in this later age and altered system of warfare.

The position of a fort, in Roman times, at an angle of the walls of a town is exceptional theoretically. On this account, coupled with the absence of any remains, much doubt has been raised with respect to its existence, notwithstanding the evidence of tradition and the needs of the position. In later years the well known discovery of an ingot of silver, etc., of Roman date, has been recorded in 1777,<sup>1</sup> and a careful observation of the mediæval walling has shewn the presence of Roman bricks here and there. These are worked up as old material, and are not, therefore, conclusive as to whether or not they belonged

<sup>1</sup> This discovery is fully recorded in a paper read by the President before the Society of Antiquaries (see *Archæologia*, vol. v, p. 291). Besides the ingot of silver, which bore an inscription which has been read, EX OFFICINA HONORII, there were three gold coins of Honorius and of Arcadius. They were met with in digging the foundations of the Ordnance Office, and below the level of the river. There was also found in another spot a sepulchral stone inscribed DIIS MANIB T LICINI ASCANIVS. There is no evidence as to whether or not this stone marked an interment, or had only been used as old material.

to some building formerly on the actual spot,<sup>1</sup> or were removed from the great quarry of old materials, Roman London.

It has been my pleasant duty on several occasions to submit to this Association notices of discoveries of portions of the buried foundations of the old City Wall of London, and which in their relation to each other may tend to throw light upon its entire history. These discoveries agree with those made by some other writers who concur in asserting that the old City Wall was originally the work of the Romans. I have now to report the discovery of Roman walling within the area of the Tower of London itself.

For many years there existed on the east side of the great keep, the White Tower, a range of buildings of three stories in height, and extending at right angles to those so well known as the Armoury. These are shewn in various old plans and views, the point of junction with those on the site of the present Armoury being marked by a circular tower of some elevation, and of picturesque appearance, called the Wardrobe Tower.<sup>2</sup> Various alterations were effected in these buildings, one of the last being the removal of the tower, and the covering of the walls with a modern casing of brick and cement, no traces of antiquity being visible. These buildings were entirely removed last year, and the whole east side of the White Tower thrown open.<sup>3</sup> On the period of the visit of some

<sup>1</sup> Maitland, *Hist. Lond.*, vi, p. 148. "In digging the foundations of those large storehouses on the south side of what is called Cæsar's Chapel, the workmen (in 1720 or thereabouts) met with old foundations of stone about 3 yards in breadth, supposed to be the remains of some ancient tower, as to the spot of which history gives no account, and so cemented together that it was with much difficulty that they were forced up by beetles and wedges."

<sup>2</sup> This is shewn in its later phase in the drawing made between 1681 and 1689, and published by the Society of Antiquaries. It forms plate xxxix of vol. iv of the *Vetusta Monumenta*. An older aspect of the Tower is given in the survey made in 1597 by W. Haiward and J. Gascoigne. This is engraved in Brayley's *History of the Tower of London*. See plate xl. for plan of the Tower in 1726, where the position of the Ordnance Office and the storehouses is shewn.

<sup>3</sup> Subsequently to this I reported the existence of one of the original Norman windows in the lower story of the large angle-tower, and the old rubble-walling of the keep. This window has since been replaced

of the country Associates to the Tower (October 27th), our attention was called to the foundation of a remarkable wall which had been brought to light by the removal of the buildings referred to, which had covered it, it having formed no portion of them. This wall had already been removed, to some extent. The peculiarity of its construction called for special notice in view of its importance as evidence of the early foundation of the fortress, and request was made to General Milman, Major of the Tower, for investigation to be made. This has been since done with great consideration to our wishes; and while the demolition is stayed, all that is left has been laid open to view on both sides. It is but a small fragment, but sufficient to denote its history.

The wall is of Roman construction, consisting of a foundation of rough stone, forming a mass of concrete brought up to a face by a course of squared stone on the east side. Above this is a chamfered plinth of dark brown ironstone; above this four courses of squared stone, and then a bonding course of three layers of flat tiles going the entire thickness of the wall. The inner side is the same, except that the set-off instead of the plinth is formed by three courses of tiles, one of which is flush with the wall, and the others project beyond each other. These tiles occur only in the face of the wall. The upper through course is visible only beneath the modern brick wall which forms the end of the Armoury buildings; the wall having been demolished, at its discovery, from this level down almost to the plinth.

The courses of ragstone are roughly squared, and of the small size (about 7 ins. by 6 ins.) so often found in Roman face-work. The core of the wall is filled in with hard mortar and rough ragstone, which form the whole into a solid mass, the tiles being solidly bedded in like manner. The thickness is 6 ft. 11 ins.; the extreme length, as far as visible, 10 ft. 6 ins.; the height, 4 ft. 9 ins. The mortar is hard and firm, and has no pounded brick. The tiles which appear in the face-work are of bright red colour, and rather softer than is usual in Roman work, and not made of very well kneaded clay. This is not the case with the

by another in new stone. The rough walling shews that it had been plastered on its face at the period of its erection.

larger internal tiles, which are of reddish brown colour, of great hardness, and which are of pottery-like texture. The joints of mortar between the tiles are very thick, fully as much as the tiles, which measure  $1\frac{1}{2}$  in. thick, the size being about 14 ins. by 14, as far as can be told from the broken tiles lying with the *débris* of the demolished part. The ironstone is the same material as that found in the wall at Camomile Street, which Mr. Price, F.S.A., found to be chamfered in a similar manner, thus indicating the identity of the work.

It is greatly to be regretted that more of the wall is not left. It is, however, matter of congratulation that enough remains to indicate its construction, while we may hope that more may yet remain buried. The height only comes up to the present level of the ground.

On the east face of the wall traces yet remain of the base of the circular tower already referred to. These are about 13 ft. high, partly incorporated with, and partly projecting from, the modern wall of the Armoury. The upper part calls for no comment, being of late mediæval date, laid with white mortar, and patched with modern brickwork. It is different with the base. We have here a rough mass of rubble masonry, 5 ft. high, put together with mortar of iron-like solidity, and of browner colour than that of the first Roman wall. Mingled with this are patches of masonry and broken Roman brick, having the bright red mortar produced by pounded brick, and in too large masses, I think, to justify our belief that they were brought from elsewhere. (Since writing the above, the southern face has been cleared, and this reveals the fact that much of the walling is built with this same red mortar, but in patches, as if it were a matter of no concern to the builders which mortar was used.)

Have we here another example to add to the numerous list of Roman circular towers built on, at a slightly later date it may be, to pre-existing walls, such as we have recently seen at Camomile Street, and which exist at Richborough, Lympne, Burgh Castle, and elsewhere? An objection will be made to the fact that pounded brick does not occur in either wall except as above. This is no real difficulty, for it is no rule at all. It does not appear at any point known to me along the course of the Picts'



Wall. We do not see it at Silchester, at Caerwent, or at Kenchester,<sup>1</sup> and many others. Can it be said that these are not Roman works? At Burgh Castle there are layers here and there of red mortar alternating with others where it does not occur, giving us an interesting example of how indifferent the Romans were in the matter when they were able to make good mortar without it.

The position is as follows. If the line of the east face of the wall be extended northwards, it will be 28 ft. from the central face of the great circular turret of the White Tower. (This is the angle which contains the apse of St. John's Chapel.) The measurement is taken from the face of the wall to the face of the upper plinth of turret. It will be noticed that this foundation has special reference to the line of the City Wall. If this be extended from Postern Row, where it still exists, it will all but touch the south end of the foundations now discovered. The wall, however, is parallel with the White Tower, and not to this line. If its line were prolonged to Canon Row, it would not coincide at all with the inclined line of the Roman wall there, shewing that there must have been a diversion before they joined. If prolonged in the opposite direction, it will reach between the Store Houses, where the foundations of the supposed tower were met with, as recorded by Maitland, about the year 1720, and the spot where the ingot was found.

May we not, in considering these discoveries together, reasonably accept them as evidence of the existence of the old Roman fort of traditional times?<sup>2</sup> We have the greater reason to do so since the thickness of the foundations now met with (6 ft. 11 ins.) is less than that of the City Wall. This is about 10 ft. on Tower Hill (Canon Row);<sup>3</sup> 7 ft. 6 ins. behind America Square; 9 ft. at Camo-

<sup>1</sup> "At Richborough the mortar used in the interior of the wall is composed of lime, sand, and pebbles, or sea-beach; but the facing-stones throughout are cemented with a much finer mortar, in which pounded tile is introduced." (*The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon*, by T. Wright, F.S.A., p. 190.)

<sup>2</sup> The old buildings on the east side of the White Tower were not quite parallel to it. It may be that this was owing to the course of the Roman wall of the City, which would take such a line.

<sup>3</sup> See the description of this fragment in Knight's *London*, vol. i. It was met with in 1841, during the works for the Blackwall Railway. The



mile Street, according to Dr. Woodward; and 8 ft. in Bevis Marks. It may be that further search will shew that this is a trace of a once square enclosure, in the centre of which, to speak approximately, the White Tower has been erected in Norman times. It is, however, more probable that the Tower was further to the south.

It is greatly to be desired that a few tentative openings should be made in the ground to afford conclusive evidence for or against this supposition.<sup>1</sup>

Our thanks are due to General Milman and his department, and also to Mr. R. M. Lush, who have paid so much attention to this interesting discovery, and who have directed the clearing out. The Association will learn with much pleasure and satisfaction that it is intended to keep the wall open for public inspection. This is the more to be appreciated since it is the only fragment now open to daylight.

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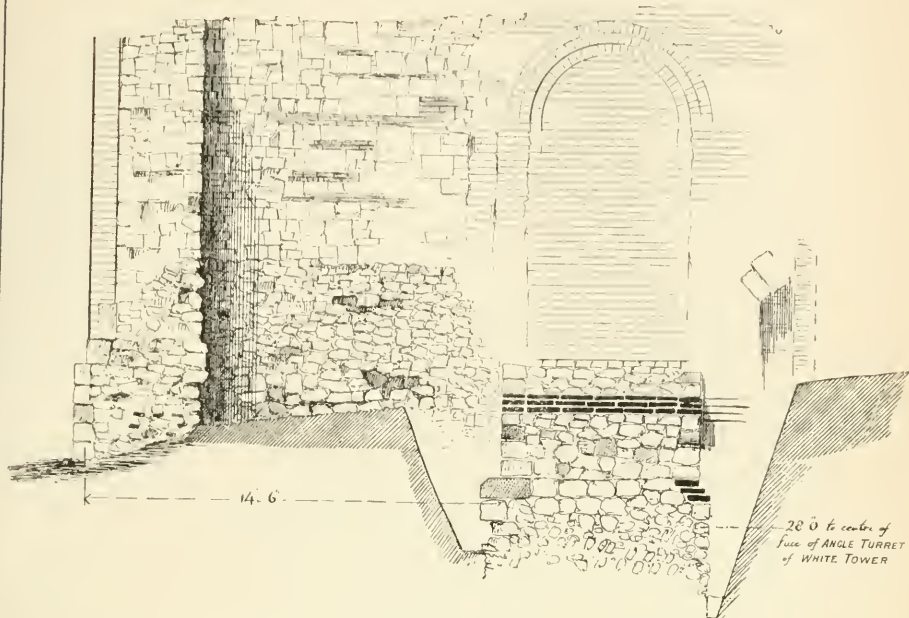
The Wall of London, as revealed here, may be compared with the Houndsditch portion described in vol. xxxii, p. 490, and with that at America Square in vol. xxxvi, p. 463. Still more recently, in December 1880, a much larger and finer portion was uncovered in Bevis Marks, Aldgate, which was described by Mr. Charles Watkins at the evening meeting of the Association, February 16th, 1881. No written statement having been yet received for publication, a few notes from my own observation at the time, and of his lecture, may be of service to record the discovery.

The wall was met with in course of rebuilding No. 31, Houndsditch, when it was found to form the boundary between the backs of the houses in Bevis Marks and the yards, etc., of those of Houndsditch. The extent of wall actually exposed and removed was about 70 ft. in length, and 11 ft. 9 ins. in height, the whole of which was in very perfect condition, and of the same construction as

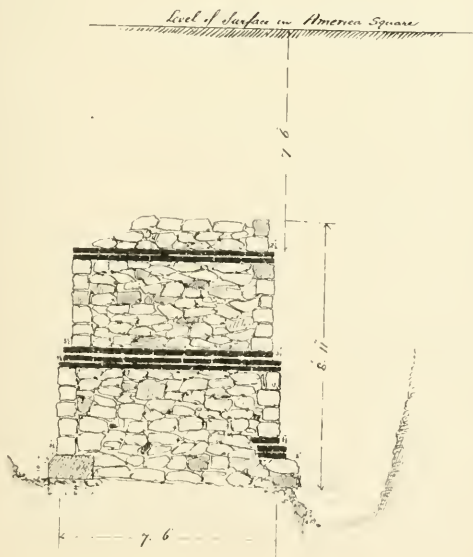
tiles went through the whole thickness of the wall. No red mortar is mentioned.

<sup>1</sup> The name "Cold Harbour", so often applied to old sites with Roman remains, was given to a tower at a corresponding position on the west side of the White Tower. The tower has long since been removed.

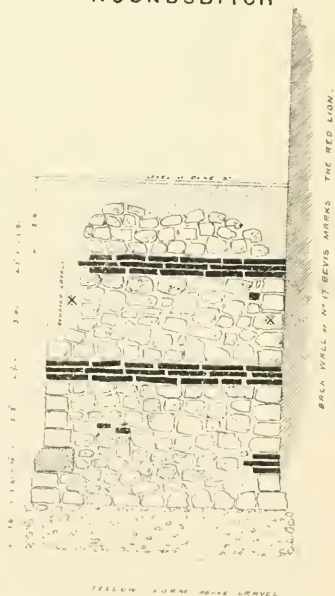
ROMAN WALL, TOWER OF LONDON.



LONDON WALL, AMERICA SQUARE.



LONDON WALL  
HOUNDSDITCH



\* Note. Reference in the text has been inadvertently omitted, to 5 courses of face work which existed here similar to the rest.



follows. The foundation consisted of a bed of puddled clay and flints, 1 ft. 6 ins. thick, laid on the natural earth, which is here a yellow loam. Above this was, on the country side, two courses of face-work and an ironstone, chamfered plinth, somewhat broken at the part where I observed it, but having its chamfer perfectly visible. On the city side there were three courses of tiles instead of the plinth. Above this there were four courses of face-work, and then a through bonding course of three tiles, the wall being 8 feet thick. Above this, again, two more courses of face-work remained, the remainder of the wall having been long since demolished. This termination was 9 ins. only below the level of the paving of the footpaths of Bevis Marks and Duke Street, indicating the extent to which the earth had risen to cover over the mass of wall beneath it. The tiles were  $15\frac{1}{2}$  ins. by  $11\frac{1}{4}$  ins., and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inch thick; although the sizes were somewhat varying, and the colours were red, light red, yellow, and buff, probably the results of different burnings in the kilns, since the texture of the clay appeared the same. The face-work was of Kentish ragstone, axed to form parallelograms, and of the same moderate size as had been observed at the other portions of the wall. The core was formed of unworked Kentish ragstone laid irregularly, and well bedded in good hard mortar without any admixture of pounded brick. Nor was any of this latter to be found in the facings. A sketch of the section of wall is given, together with that at the Tower and America Square, and the remarkable analogy of the work and appearance justify the belief that all the portions shewn were constructed at the same time and by the same hands. The same may also be said of the portion found in Camomile Street, and which had the same chamfered plinth: indeed, the only difference is in the thickness and in the absence of the sets-off. These have not existed at Bevis Marks, on the country face, but they may have been on the inner one, which, as shewn on the sketch, was cut into by the modern work of the public house, the Red Lion, No. 17, in that street.

It is pretty apparent that a great length of the old wall still lies buried beneath the houses on the north side

of Duke Street, quite up to Aldgate. The line of the wall, as opened here, corresponds with the fronts of the houses in that street, the back portions of which, being erected over the site of the ditch beyond the wall, have in consequence settled bodily outwards in a manner very apparent.

At the north-east end of the excavations the mass of masonry described on p. 86<sup>1</sup> was met with, and the sculptures used as old material. This has proved to be the base of another bastion, not bonded into the wall, and of late and rougher work. While no red mortar was found in any part of the wall, it was observable in some part of the bastion, as if used sparingly, and not as if it had adhered to the stones on their removal from some other building, as their large size would lead us to believe was the case. Mr. Watkin described to us, February 16th, the rough nature of the workmanship, and its extreme solidity, and entered into curious details, from which the following may be noted. It projected 18 ft. 6 ins. from the outer face, while its width from north-east to north-west would have been about 40 ft.; its face having been a flat segment of a circle rather than the bold projection of the Camomile Street bastion.

The north-east end had, however, been cut away and rebuilt to a sharper curve, thus giving a very irregular plan to the mass, which was increased by a projecting square block of masonry at the junction of the old and new curves. A massive channel, worked out of solid stone, was found leading from the solid of the bastion, near its north-west extremity, out into the ditch. This measured, internally, 1 ft. 6 ins. broad, and 1 ft. 3 ins. deep. The massive construction justifies our belief that the bastion was of Roman work, although of later date than the wall.

The *contour* of the ditch was traced by Mr. Watkin through the bright loam of the excavations; and although its slope did not begin until the space of the projecting bastion was well passed, it was found to extend quite to the line of the fronts of the houses on the south-west side of Houndsditch, here about 95 ft. from the outer face of the wall. He found in addition, at this line, indications

<sup>1</sup> *Journal*, vol. xxxvii.



of a raised earthen bank, like an external vallum to the ditch, the crown of which was about 11 ft. 6 ins. below the present footway of Houndsditch, and its base 16 ft. The centre of the ditch is most probably marked by the main sewer between Houndsditch and Bevis Marks, which forms the boundary of the City of London, although it does not here run quite parallel to the wall.

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## ON THE ROMAN ARMY IN NORTH BRITAIN IN THE SECOND AND THIRD CENTURIES.

BY THOMAS MORGAN, F.S.A., V.P., HON. TREASURER.

(Read January 15, 1879.)

THE purport of this paper is to put together certain facts, well authenticated by contemporary writings cut in stone, concerning the intercourse between the garrisons of the fortified places in North Britain and the eastern provinces of the Roman empire in the second and third centuries of our era, as well as to make a passing reference to the religious movement which was the result of that intercourse. The subject is suggested, in the first place, by the interesting monument discovered by Dr. Blair at South Shields, and described to us by Mr. Walter de Gray Birch, of the Palmyrene Baratus to his wife Regina, of the nation of the Catevelli; and secondly, by the discovery recently made at Spoleto, in Italy, of a cave dedicated to Mithraic worship, which throws some new light upon that obscure subject.

As regards the garrisons in the north of England, their position, and the roads leading to them from the south, as laid down in the *Itinerary* of Antoninus, can be traced and confirmed by the copious inscriptions which have been collected by Dr. J. Collingwood Bruce in the *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, and the *Inscrip. Rom. Brit.*, vol. vii, of Dr. Hübner's great work, as well as the *Collectanea Antiqua* of Mr. C. Roach Smith, and the last edition of the late Mr. Thomas Wright's *Celt, Roman, and Saxon* (London, 1835); and the inscriptions either omitted from these lists, or discovered since they were made, have been supplied by Mr. J. Thompson Watkin. I shall, therefore, extract only some which have a local and chronological value for my purpose, and more particularly those which illustrate the western coast of our island from the Mersey up to the Wall of Hadrian, because this coast has been less written upon of late in our Association than has the eastern, though all the counties of Northumberland, Cum-

berland, Westmoreland, Durham, and Lancashire, abound with remains of the Roman occupation at the period referred to.

From the time when Septimius Severus and his wife went up to check the invasions of Roman Britain by the Caledonii, the lords of the forest, and the Mæatae, the dwellers in the plains, to the reign of Aurelian, and even as late as Constantine, the worship of the sun under the oriental form of Mithras in a cave, with its Persian rites and self-denying initiations, seems to have engaged the minds of men in North Britain as elsewhere; and perhaps before this time, as it prevailed in Rome as early as the reign of Trajan. Mithraic worship was imported into Alexandria under the name of Serapis, where the magnificent temple to the god was considered one of the wonders of the world. The same form was introduced, under the simple name of Helios, into Palmyra, a city which had been restored by Hadrian, and whose citizens were proud to call their city after him, Hadrianopolis,<sup>1</sup> instead of Tadmor in the Desert (the City of Palms). The same divinity was recognised as Baal at Baalbec, where that famous Temple of the Sun was erected which gave the name of Heliopolis to the city situated at the foot of the Antilibanus, on the road between Tyre and Palmyra. This latter great city, placed half way between commercial Tyre, on the coast of the Levant, and the head of the Persian Gulf, was enriched by the important traffic of the east with the western world; and it was the interest of the Romans that it should be carried on by this route through Palmyra rather than by the Black Sea, and through Greece. The palm-tree grew luxuriantly in this oasis of the Arabian Desert, and gave its name to the city whose Corinthian columns (some standing *in situ*, and others strewing the ground) recall the favourite architecture of the Romans in the age of the Antonines. The traveller of the present day wanders with astonishment amidst the columns, the pedestals, and ruined walls of the Temple of the Sun, which stand among Christian churches, Turkish mosques, sepulchres, and the mud huts of the miserable villagers who now dwell there.

The historical episode of the reign of Queen Zenobia,

<sup>1</sup> Stephanus Byzantinus.

who defied the whole power of Rome from this her capital city, first in union with her husband, and after his death on her own responsibility, threw a lustre upon the brief reign of the Emperor Aurelian, A.D. 270-275. It will be remembered that he put an end to the Gothic war by surrendering the Dacian conquests of Trajan north of the Danube, fixing that river as the boundary southward of the Gothic kingdom. He chastised and repelled the Marcomanni, who had invaded Italy; and what is specially interesting to us, he recovered Gaul, Spain, and Britain, out of the hands of Tetricus, whose copper coins are so numerous in this country. After this, turning his arms to the east, he set about subduing the determined and powerful Zenobia, and defeated her two armies in the battles of Emesa and Palmyra. The Queen fled on a dromedary as far as the river Euphrates, but was captured by the light cavalry of the Emperor Aurelian. The triumph at Rome followed, and the captive Zenobia, in fetters of gold, and the ex-Emperor Tetricus and his son, had to march in the procession of the exultant conqueror, who rode up to the Capitol in a chariot drawn by four stags which had belonged to one of the German kings. The pageant was further graced by the appearance of ten women of the Gothic nation, who had been made prisoners while fighting in the garb of men.

Let us now pass from the plains of Arabia to the mountain gorges and valleys of Westmoreland and Cumberland, and the line of our coast which looks towards the setting sun. Here we find stones recording the nationality of the regiments and cohorts composing the legions in the north of England, with interesting particulars of their præfects and other officers; and I will first quote from that tablet of brass found at Malpas, in Cheshire, in 1812, because its date is fixed at 20 January A.D. 103, in the reign of Trajan, from the internal evidence of day, month, and consuls' names engraved upon it. In order to record the names of those soldiers who had completed with honour their term of military service (twenty years and upwards), this tablet ("tabula honestæ missionis") gives the designations of four squadrons (*alæ*) of cavalry and eleven cohorts of infantry as follows:

1st Regiment of Thracians, raised in the country now called Eastern Roumelia.

1st Regiment of Pannonians, termed the "Tampian", from the modern Croatia, Slavonia, and part of Hungary.

2nd Regiment of Gauls, termed "Ala Sebosiana."

1st Regiment of the Spanish Vettones from the banks of the Tagus in Estremadura, Roman citizens.

1st Cohort of the Spaniards.

1st Cohort of the Valciones, a milliary one.

1st Cohort of the Alpini.

1st Cohort of the Morini from the coast of Gaul opposite Kent.

1st Cohort of the Cugerni.

1st Cohort of the Bœtasii from Cordova and Jaen in Spain.

1st Cohort of the Tungrians on the Meuse in the Netherlands.

2nd Cohort of Thracians.

3rd Cohort of the Bracaræ Augustini from the modern Braga in Portugal.

4th Cohort of the Lingones from the confines of Champagne and Burgundy in France.

4th Cohort of the Dalmatians from the modern province of Herzegovina on the Adriatic Sea.

It will be seen from this list that if we take the *ala* or squadron of cavalry to consist of 1,000 men, and the infantry cohorts of 480, and the milliary of 960 each, the total will amount to 10,240 men, which will give a good portion of two legions. It is important to have such data at a fixed time; and the alteration which occurred in the constitution of the legions, and the nationalities of which they were composed, must be studied chronologically, and it will be seen that great changes had taken place when the *Notitia Imperii* came to be written some three hundred years later.<sup>1</sup>

To return to the tablet. I find from an inscribed stone dug up at Camerini in Italy, and figured by Reinesius,<sup>2</sup> that M. Mænius L. Tusidius Campestris commanded the *ala* of Spanish horse (the Vettones), and that he was *præfect* of the heavy-armed regiments of Gauls and Pannonians; that he was *procurator* of the Emperor in Britain,

<sup>1</sup> We find a cohort of the Nervii in Britain at the later period. See the prudence of Rome in opposing them to the Celts. (Tac., *Germania*, c. 28.)

<sup>2</sup> Class VI, No. 128.



and *præfect* or admiral of the British fleet ; and as he is mentioned on this stone as having entertained at his house Ælius Hadrianus the Senator, and father of the Emperor Hadrian, so we get a contemporaneous confirmation of the tablet, and in perfect harmony with it. The high authority of this colonel-commandant may account for the regiment of the Spanish Vettones having the privileges of Roman citizens, as he commanded them.

Let us now take a survey of the shore of Cumberland from the point of St. Bees northward. From the ruins remaining in Camden's time along the coast, it seems to have been fortified by the Romans in all such places as were convenient for landing. Camden thought he had discovered such a fort at Moresby, where, among other antiquities found, was an altar dedicated by the 2nd Cohort of Lingones to the god Silvanus. Further north, at Workington, the river Derwent falls into the sea, which, rising in Borrodale, finds its way through the Derwent Fells, and through Keswick Lake, down to Cockermouth, where it receives the waters of the Cocker river, and thus would make a good defence to a Roman town built between two hills, on one of which stands a church, and on the other a castle. At some two miles distance, on the north side of the river, stands another castle called Pap Castle, the Roman antiquity of which is attested by several monuments. A Roman road is marked in the Ordnance Map, running in a straight line in the direction from this place (Pap Castle) to Elenborough, on the coast at the mouth of the river Elen or Elne, where the 1st Herculean squadron (*ala*) lay in garrison in the time of Theodosius the Younger ;<sup>1</sup> and not far from the head of this river is Ierby, which Camden takes to be the Arbeia of the *Notitia*, where the Barcarii Tigrienses were garrisoned ; and, indeed, all this country was most appropriately defended by marines serving in galleys and barges, both for the defence of the coast and for the internal communication by the rivers and lakes.

Elenborough was situated on a pretty high hill ; but in

<sup>1</sup> If the reading suggested by Dr. M'Call upon the "*tabula honestæ missionis*" found at Bath be correct, that is, "*Ala Herculeiana*" instead of "*Proculiana*", as reported by Mr. Lewis in Appendix to vol. xviii, *Archæologia*, then here is another allusion to this squadron of cavalry.

Camden's time the ploughshare had levelled much of it, though the traces were plainly discernible ; and by digging, the old vaults and underground recesses yielded up many antiquities. At Maryport a beautiful square altar of red stone, about 5 feet high, was found, dedicated "to the Genius of the place,—to Fortune, who is able to conduct a man home,—to the eternal city of Rome, and to Good Luck", by a tribune of the province of Mauritania.

Camden considered a place called Old Carlisle, near the important monastery of Ulme, or Holme Cultram, and a fortress hard by, to be the *Castra Exploratorum* of the *Itinerary*. The distance, he said, answered well both from *Bulgium* and *Luguvallum*, though Horsley and others think they can identify this with Netherby, where so many Roman remains have been found. Camden had heard say that a paved causeway ran along the shore from Elenborough to the small promontory which, with an arm of the sea, was formerly the boundary of the Roman province ; and upon this promontory was *Blatum Bulgium*, Bowness. Then a little inland, Drumborough Castle was formerly a Roman station ; and another, called Burgh-upon-the-Sands (where Edward I died), and on the eastern margin of Burgh Marsh, Dr. Collingwood Bruce considers it probable that another fort stood at Dykesfield, corresponding with Drumborough ; and the same learned author rightly observes (in the preface to the second edition of *The Roman Wall*) that "the nature of the country renders the western portion peculiarly liable to attack, and to the latest periods of English history it was more frequently selected than the eastern for the march of hostile armies."

Space will not allow me to refer to the twenty-three stations along the line of Hadrian's Wall, from Bowness to Wall's End, with its intermediate mile-castles and watch-towers ; the whole line garrisoned and guarded, as well as the Wall built, by the numerous cohorts to which reference has been made, and who have left records of the extent of their individual labours on the Wall by numerous inscriptions on centurial stones and others. From Cataracton (Catterick in Yorkshire) two roads branched off, northward, to the Wall ; the eastern to Corstopitum (Corbridge), passing through the Wall on to Bremenium ;

and the other in a north-westerly direction, by Brougham Castle, to Carlisle.

On the western coast it is probable a road ran from Elenborough and Pap Castle to Keswick and to Ambleside, at the upper end of Windermere Lake, where the remains of a Roman station are well described by Camden, and where a dedication-stone to Jupiter Serapis was found, and numerous coins of Antoninus Pius and Gordian. From hence, by Kendall and a Roman fort, the route followed was probably that of the modern Kendall Canal to Kirby Thore and Overborough, down by the valley of the river Lune or Lune to Lancaster. About four miles east-north-east from Lancaster was found a fine *milliarium* of Hadrian, A.D. 119-138.

The "milites numeri Barcariorum" and their commander dedicated an altar to Mars, which is figured by Mr. W. Thompson Watkin in his paper on Roman Lancaster, read before the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire on 13 Jan. 1876; and the importance of this station in Roman times is manifest from this account. The altar was found in a place called Halton, three miles north-east of Lancaster, on the Lune; and it was remarked at our Congress held at Lancaster in 1850, that Halton appears in *Domesday Book* as the name of a Saxon honour, under which Lancaster was included as a ville. Halton may be a corruption of "Ald Tun" (Old Town). A large quantity of coins have here been found: one of Otho, A.D. 69, in Dec. 1834, a little below the parish church; and in the churchyard, within a few years previously to 1836, coins of Vespasian, Domitian, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, Commodus, Maximus, Diocletian, and Licinius.

A road from Lancaster has been traced southward, and between this and Cockerham a milestone of the Emperor Philip was found, A.D. 244-249. This Emperor is called "the Arab" by his biographer, and was a native of Thracitis, a district of Palestine.

An equally important station must have been Ribchester, on the river Ribble, from the antiquities found there, of which an account is given in *Journal*, vi, p. 229. The ancient remains at Wigan are also pointed out by Mr. Watkin. The identification of the two stations in the *Itinerary*, Bremetonacæ and Coccium, is by no means

satisfactory. To make the distances agree, the latter has been fixed at Wigan, and the former at Ribchester, leaving out Lancaster altogether, which both Just and Reynolds considered to be Bremetonacæ. Coccium, which used to be fixed at Ribchester, is now given to Wigan, partly to bring in that place, and make the distance agree, and partly to make use of the supposed authority of a stone seen by Camden some two hundred years ago at Salisbury Hall, near Ribchester; rediscovered by Whitaker, and with the word BREMETON upon it, and supposed to have been dug up at Ribchester. If it had, it would not prove this was the place where the regiment was quartered, but a collector of antiquities at Salisbury Hall may as well have sent his carrier to fetch the stone from Lancaster or anywhere else. I am not prepared to contravene the opinion, in this respect, of Mr. J. Thompson Watkin, whose local knowledge is so extensive, but the discussion of the matter may be useful in furthering a solution of the question. Correct as appear the distances in the *Itiner. Antonin.*, in a general way, the substitution or omission of an X, a V, or an I, by the copyists must be taken as the cause, in not a few instances, of anomalies which can only be reconciled on such a hypothesis.

I must not omit, in touching upon this western coast, to refer to an ingenious attempt to reconcile the estuaries from Carnarvon to Cumberland with the names and latitudes given by Ptolemy, by our Associate Mr. T. G. Rylands, F.S.A.;<sup>1</sup> and without entering into his learned discussion of the neasurements and *modus operandi* of the great geographer of the ancients, I will give Mr. Rylands' identification of the coast, to which reference has been made. He places Seteium Æstuarium at Dee-mouth, and Belisama at the Mersey. He makes Setantiorum Portus the Ribble; Moriacambis Æst., Morecambe Bay; and Ituna Æst., the Solway Firth.

I will now refer to a few inscriptions of emperors in chronological order: found by Mr. Clayton at Chesters (Cilurnum), in February 1875:

...ALVIS AVGG  
ELIX ALA II ASTVR

.....A

Salvis Augustis Felix Ala Secunda Asturum Antoniniana.

<sup>1</sup> *Proceedings of Lancashire and Cheshire Historic Society*, 3rd Ser., vi.



In the following the name of the Emperor is given :

IOVI OPTIM MAXI  
CAPITOLINO  
PRO SALVT AN  
TONINI AVG  
PII POSTVMI  
VS ACILIANVS  
PRÆF COH. I DELM.

It was in one of a series of small round pits, where, in 1870, seventeen Roman altars were discovered, and was found lying on its face, 4 feet deep. The above are two out of the fifty recently discovered Britanno-Roman inscriptions; that is, between June 1873 to the end of 1875.<sup>1</sup> This is not the only tablet in which the name of Postumus Acilianus, Præfect of the 1st Cohort of Dalmatians in the reign of Antoninus Pius, is mentioned. At Old Carlisle was found an altar dedicated by him to the gods and goddesses, "Diis, Deabusque".

The following inscribed slab, found at Chesters in Northumberland (*Cilurnum*), is interesting for two reasons, both because the name of Helagabalus appears to have been intentionally erased; and secondly, because it describes a temple restored, which at the date given, corresponding to A.D. 221, was in a ruinous condition through age.

IMP CAES MARC AVREL...  
AVG ..... pont max  
..... TRIB P COS ... PP DIVI Antonini fil  
DIVI SEVER NEP .....  
CAESAR IMPER ..... duplares  
ALAR II ASTORVM templum VETVSTAT  
conlapsum  
restitu  
ERVNT PER MARIVM VALERIANVM leg avg. pr. pr.  
INSTANTE SEPTIMIO NILO PRÆ.....  
DEDICATVM III KAL NOVEN GRATO ET SELEVCO COSS.

Strong party spirit followed this grandson of Severus to his grave, with his mother Julia Sæmias, the widow of Caracalla. His half-brother, Alexander Severus, and mother, Mammæa, had a slab inscribed to them, together with the "transmarine mothers", by a *recollatio*, found near Old Penrith in Cumberland, A.D. 222-235.

In the neighbourhood of Old Carlisle was found an im-

<sup>1</sup> Mr. J. T. Watkin in *Journal of the Royal Arch. Inst.*, xxxiii.



portant dedication to Jupiter, for the health of the Emperor Gordian and Sabinia T. Tranquilla and all their house, by the squadron (*ala*) of horse named the "Augustan" for their bravery, Nonnius Philippus being the Augustan legate and proprætor. The date of this, from the consuls' names, is fixed to A.D. 243. And from the same neighbourhood came the altar dedicated to Julius Philippus the Emperor (father), and his son of the same name, the Cæsar, about A.D. 248.

I will finish these imperial inscriptions with one, DISCIPLINÆ AVG., found at Castlesteads in Cumberland, to shew how discipline was respected ; and yet the want of it afterwards worked the destruction of Roman rule.

The Roman milliaries must not be overlooked. The Rev. Prebendary Scarth has reckoned up fifty-four or fifty-six (two being very doubtful) found in Britain. I have referred to some in this paper ; and as belonging to the period of history before us, I will recall the six found at Bittern, near Southampton, with the names of the following Emperors : to Gordian the Younger, 238-44 ; Gallus Volusianus, 252-54 ; three to Tetricus, 267-72 ; Aurelian, 270-75.<sup>1</sup> It might thence be supposed that Southampton was the port of passage for the troops at this period rather than the old ports of Kent. This, however, is only conjecture.

It is easier to recognise the influence than to trace its progress upon British civilisation, by the planting of the headquarters of the sixth legion (the Victorious) at York, and of the twentieth (the Victorious and Loyal) at Chester, with their cohorts of so many different nations, and officered by men who had seen service in the East and throughout Europe. We have seen their footprints, as it were, in the inscriptions referred to. I will mention a few others which shew the tolerant system of the Romans in dealing with the religious belief of the conquered nations. The local divinities were adopted, and altars raised to them. Thus the local Belatucader had an altar to him found at Old Carlisle ;<sup>2</sup> two dedications at Brougham ;<sup>3</sup> and the name sounds like Bel-on-the-Mountain. *Cadr* is the Celtic word for seat or mountain. The word

<sup>1</sup> Mr. C. Roach Smith, F.S.A., in our *Winchester Volume*, p. 163.

<sup>2</sup> Camden.

<sup>3</sup> Watkin, *Arch. Journ.*, xxxiii.

*cadeira*, in the Portuguese, signifies a chair, and seems to be one of the many Celtic words in that language, as *sá* is also used for a cathedral, probably from the same root as our *see*. Belisama and the Ribble (Rhé-Bel) are conjectured to be compounded of Bel. There are certainly heights peculiarly fitted for contemplating and worshipping the setting sun, as on the lofty Skiddaw, overlooking the coast, the winding Derwent in the plain, and the Keswick Lake with its island, where St. Herbert led his hermit's life. The whole western seaboard was visible from Skiddaw as far as the white cliffs of Whitehaven on the south, the fortress of Elenborough, Moresby, and up to Bowness and the Roman Wall on the north. Another equally fine position was that which would be reached by the Belisama Æstuarium; that is, the high ground between the eastern and western seas, both of which were visible at Laughten-en-le-Morthen, near Sheffield, visited at our Congress there.

Nehalennia was a local goddess, to whom I am not aware that inscriptions have been found in Britain; but Reinesius<sup>1</sup> figures eight such, one of which I will give, found in Zeeland, which is dedicated by a British chalk merchant on account of his merchandise having been conveyed in safety:

DEAE NEHALENNIAE  
OB MERCES RITE CONSER  
VATAS M. SECVND SILVANVS  
NEGOTTOR ∩ RETARIVS  
BRITANNICIANVS  
V S L M.

This goddess is supposed to preside over merchandise and the creeks and rivers where it was landed. She has been represented as a sitting figure with flowing drapery, and apples or other fruit in her lap. It might not be too far-fetched an idea to suppose that the seated figure found at South Shields was the conventional form of that goddess erected as a type, and in honour of the lady Regina. We have Reginus frequently on Samian ware as a potter's name. REGINI was found on some at Lancaster. This lady might have been the daughter, or of the family, of the wealthy potter; and the Palmyrene merchant, in his transactions, may have purchased her at

<sup>1</sup> *Classis*, i, 177.

Verulam, or Dunstable (*Diana Forum*), or elsewhere, as a slave, and afterwards married her. She is described as of the nation of the Catuellani, whose territories are supposed to have been in Bucks., Beds., and Herts., with Verulam for their capital, before it was seized by the Romans.

I will do no more than name some of the many local divinities besides Silvanus, who was quite Roman, found in the north of England, such as Settocenia, Ialona, Maponus, Gadunus, Ceaius, Mogonis, Cociduis, Vithris, Coventina, etc. The influence of these divinities began to wane when those emperors from Severus to Aurelian, whose names we have recorded, introduced the Persian worship of Mithras, a new form of solar worship. Elagabalus, a priest of the sun at Emesa, has the doubtful honour of introducing into Rome customs of the Eastern monarchs as to wearing silken robes and diadems; but all this outward display did not prevent his subjects from throwing his murdered corpse into the Tiber. The influence of the Empresses Julia Mæsa, Sæmias, and Mammæa, was probably as great in matters of religion as it appears to have been in affairs of state. Their Syrian education would have taught them that the vivifying influences of the sun and of mother earth were the deepest mysteries which it was possible for the human mind to conceive. The efficacy of the polytheistic system was growing weaker and weaker; but the sun remained *invictus*, and Cybele was still the *mater deorum*. How far this new form of belief tended to impure rites and practices such as have been imputed to the worshippers of Mithras, it is difficult to determine with certainty, because the accounts are handed down to us by Christian writers, whose zeal for their own religion seemed to justify their vilifying that of the Gentile world. An altar found in a Mithraic cave at Borcovicus (Housesteads) in Cumberland, in 1822, is as good a specimen as we have in this country, erected in A.D. 252 *Invicto Mitræ Seculari*.<sup>1</sup> Mr. T. Wright has remarked that it is a curious fact that he has not found a trace of Christianity among the many religious monuments of this period in Britain.

Aurelian adorned the Temple of the Sun at Rome with

<sup>1</sup> See Wright's *Celt, Roman, etc.*, p. 326.

rich gifts he had brought from Palmyra, and placed in it the images of the Sun and of Belus (ἡλίου τε καὶ Βήλου), (Herodian), which recalls a curious tablet of marble at Rome, figured by Spon,<sup>1</sup> on which are two figures with a pine-tree growing between them, and beneath is an inscription in Greek and Palmyrene. The dedication is by one Lucius Aurelius Heliodorus Hadrianus Palmyrenus to the two local divinities, Aglibolus and Malachbelus, which seem to correspond, the one with the sun darting his rays, and the other with King Belus or Apollo. The figure of the former is a youth with flowing hair bound round the crown of the head by a fillet; clothed in a tunic, and what looks like a *pallium* over the shoulders; and holding a staff, or what is thought to be the handle of a sickle for cutting the tree. The latter figure also is a young man with flowing hair; but with a diadem on his head, and the crescent moon affixed to his shoulders. He has on a military *perizonium* and sword, with *paludamentum*, and also holds a staff in his hand.

The mysteries of the *taurobolium* and the *criobolium*, which the candidate for initiation into the rites of Mithras underwent (*percepit*), can be studied in an article by Dr. M'Caul, of Toronto, in *Journal*, vol. xxix, p. 371, and by means of the references he has given.

I must now close my sketch at the end of the third century, passing over, for want of space, the interesting seven years of the reign of Carausius in Britain (287-293), and the stirring events in the East under Diocletian, when he defeated the Persians, and fixed the river Araxes as the limits of his empire, and checked the raids from the north of the Sarmatian hosts. His name will be remembered in connection with that famous era of martyrs, fixed at 29th August 284, and used by the early Christian writers. He at last put off all his greatness, and retired into private life.

<sup>1</sup> *Misc. Erud. Antiq.*, i, 1; Lugduni, 1685.

## DULOE STONE CIRCLE.

BY C. W. DYMOND, ESQ., F.S.A.

*(Read Feb. 1, 1882.)*

IN my papers on "The Hurlers" and "Trethevy Stone", recently published in this *Journal*,<sup>1</sup> the descriptions of those relics of antiquity were introduced by a reference to the relative positions which they bore to several others of a remarkable group extending from the megalithic circle at Duloe, on the south, to Kilmarth Tor, on the north. Since those papers were written, I have visited Duloe, which is four miles, in a straight line, south of Liskeard in Cornwall; and have prepared the following short account of its interesting, but little known, circle, which may be compared with the kindred remains within a walk to the north of it.

The Plate which illustrates this paper has been photolithographed from a drawing made to a much larger scale. The plan is plotted from a minutely exact survey, and shows the circle as it is at present. Those stones which have always been erect are filled-in with black; a leaning one is cross-hatched; three which had fallen, and were re-erected, are shaded by light hatching; while No. 1, which was buried, and No. 2, which remains prostrate, are stippled and line-shaded. Overhangs are shown in full outline. The view is copied from a careful sketch taken on the spot. At the top of the Plate, in three different positions, are accurate representations of a fragment of ancient pottery found in the circle, and described a few pages farther on.

The village of Duloe, close to which this circle is situated, stands near the southern end of the crest of a long, wide, gently undulating ridge, said to be 440 feet above the sea-level. It is nearly the same height above the bottoms of the valleys on either side, which here are a mile and three-quarters apart, and about one mile beyond the point to which the tide reaches, or three miles and a

<sup>1</sup> Vol. xxxv (1879), pp. 297-307, and vol. xxxvii (1881), pp. 112-122.



half from the open sea at Looe. The circle itself, distant rather more than a furlong from the church, stands in a pasture on Stonetown farm, on a site which, if the country were bare, would command a rather wide view in almost every direction. Among remains of its class in Cornwall, it is distinguished by being formed with stones which, both actually, and, in a still greater degree, relatively to its diameter, are conspicuously larger than those of any other circle.

The earliest notice of this relic of the past was published in 1801 by Britton and Brayley, who describe it thus :<sup>1</sup>—

“Within a furlong north-east of the church [of Duloe], is a small Druidical Circle, that has not hitherto been noticed. It consists of seven or eight stones, one of which is about nine feet in height : four are upright, the others are either broken, or concealed by a hedge, which divides the circle ; part being in an orchard, and part in an adjoining field. We are unable to state its dimensions accurately, but its diameter does not appear to exceed twenty or twenty-five feet.”

This account was successively adopted (but without the addition of any original matter) first, in 1823, by Bond,<sup>2</sup> a local topographer, with rare opportunities for obtaining information, of which, in regard to these objects, it is to be regretted that he did not avail himself more completely ; and, after him, in 1838, by Penaluna,<sup>3</sup> compiler of a county history ; and it is not until nearly twenty years later,<sup>4</sup> that we find the author of a county *Guide* making a fresh contribution to our knowledge of the subject, which I here quote from the third edition of the work, dated 1856 :<sup>5</sup>

“At *Duloe*, 2 m. beyond the village of St. Keyne, on a farm opposite the ch., and in a field, a gun-shot l. of the road, are the remains of an ancient *circle* of large upright stones, about 30 feet in diameter. The old monument, however, is in a very mutilated condition. A hedge bisects it, one stone lies prostrate in the ditch, five only stand

<sup>1</sup> *Beauties of England and Wales*, vol. ii, pp. 400, 401.

<sup>2</sup> *Topographical and Historical Sketches of the Boroughs of East and West Looe*, pp. 121, 122.

<sup>3</sup> *An Historical Survey of the County of Cornwall*, vol. i, p. 149.

<sup>4</sup> Unless, perhaps, we except a paper (to which I have not been able to refer) by Mr. MacLauchlan, written in 1846 for the *Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall*, which, from a casual notice in *Nenia Cornubie*, p. 127, note 3, appears to contain some reference to Duloe.

<sup>5</sup> *Murray's Handbook for Devon and Cornwall*, p. 207.

# A STONE CIRCLE AT DULOE, CORNWALL.



FRAGMENT OF CINERARY URN FOUND AT S

## SIZES OF STONES

LONG HIGH BROAD THICK					LONG HIGH BROAD THICK					LONG HIGH BROAD THICK					LONG HIGH BROAD THICK				
N <sup>o</sup>	FT	INS	FT	INS	N <sup>o</sup>	FT	INS	FT	INS	N <sup>o</sup>	FT	INS	FT	INS	N <sup>o</sup>	FT	INS	FT	INS
1	11.6	—	6.6	—	3	—	7.8	6.6	3.4	5	—	8.8	5.0	4.0	7	—	6.4	4.8	2.2
2	—	4.7	4.0	1.6	4	—	3.2	3.0	1.5	6	—	6.6	2.6	1.8	8	—	5.0	3.2	1.6

*Assumed Deviation of the Magnetic Needle, 19° 15' W.*



VIEW LOOKING S.W. — FROM A SKETCH.

SURVEYED BY C.W. DYMOND, C.E., 20<sup>TH</sup> MAY, 1880.

J. Akerman Photo-lith. London W.C.



upright, and three appear to be wanting to complete the circle. The stones, which are rough and unhewn, are principally composed of white quartz, and one is about 9 ft. in height."

A still later account, published in 1867, runs thus :<sup>1</sup>—

"Near Stonetown, about a furlong to the north-east of the church [of Duloe], stands a small Druidical circle, about 15 ft. in diameter, composed of six or eight stones of quartz or spar, one of which is about 9 ft. high. Some of the stones lay on the ground, and in 1863 an attempt was made to fix them upright. Under one of them was found a cinerary urn, which was carelessly broken, and its contents scattered. One of the stones was also broken. The adjoining hamlet is called *Stonetown*, from these memorials; and their position is about 440 ft. above the sea-level."

The next, and, I believe, the most recent account of the remains at Duloe is contained in a paper written in 1872 by Mr. E. H. W. Dunkin, and published in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*,<sup>2</sup> with a sketch-plan of the circle, scale-elevations of the inner sides of the stones, developed into a line, and a woodcut<sup>3</sup> of a fragment of the urn referred to in the last quotation. It was not until several months had elapsed after my drawings were completed, and nearly all the materials collected for these pages, that I happened to hear of Mr. Dunkin having already worked in the same field. On perusing a copy of his paper, which he was kind enough to send me, I found that, though the two descriptions naturally cover a good deal of the same ground, yet I had gathered several particulars on which my predecessor had not touched. On the other hand, I am glad to borrow from him, with acknowledgments, one or two which had escaped my research.

Short as are the accounts verbally cited above, they are not free from such errors as necessarily result from hasty and imperfect observation. The wide discrepancy between the diameters given in the last two quotations, will be at once noticed; but even the highest of these figures is considerably short of the truth, as will presently appear.

In their present state, the remains consist of nine quartzose stones, obtained from the neighbourhood, and

<sup>1</sup> *A Complete Parochial History of the County of Cornwall*, vol. i, p. 308.

<sup>2</sup> Fourth Series, vol. iv, pp. 45-50.

<sup>3</sup> A duplicate of that on p. 128 of Mr. W. C. Borlase's *Nenia Cornubiæ* (1872). This woodcut is far from being a good representation of either the shape or the ornamentation of the fragment.

all now erect, except the two northern ones (numbered 1 and 2 on the plan), which are fragments of what was originally one stone. Of these pieces, No. 1 (thought to be nearly *in situ*, though athwart the ring) was the base of the stone; and, when the fallen portion was erect, its height from the surface of the ground must have been about 8 ft. The dimensions of all the stones will be found tabulated on the Plate. No. 6, the largest and tallest, may weigh about eight tons. The diameters of the ring, measured between the centres of opposite stones, are:—No. 1 to No. 6, 37 ft.; Nos. 3 to 7, 39 ft.; Nos. 4 to 8, 34 ft.; Nos. 5 to 9, 38 ft. 6 ins. The intervals between the centres of successive stones, measured around the curve, are: Nos. 1 to 3, 17 ft. 6 ins.; Nos. 3 to 4, 13 ft. 6 ins.; Nos. 4 to 5, 14 ft.; Nos. 5 to 6, 19 ft.; Nos. 6 to 7, 17 ft.; Nos. 7 to 8, 13 ft. 6 ins.; Nos. 8 to 9, 12 ft. 6 ins.; Nos. 9 to 1, 11 ft.

Undoubtedly, the complete circle originally consisted of eight members, the same number as that composing the north-eastern circle at Stanton Drew. But these megaliths are not now all exactly as they originally stood. The positions of some of them have, doubtless, been so altered by overthrow and subsequent restoration, that some of the measurements given above are deprived of the value they might otherwise have had. At an unknown date, an embanked hedge was made to intersect the ring, crossing it between Nos. 5 and 6, and Nos. 1 and 9; and either then, or at some other time, four of the stones (the northern one, then unbroken, with Nos. 5, 7, and 9) fell to the ground, and No. 3 declined from the perpendicular, while three of the largest (Nos. 4, 6, and 8,—probably the most firmly founded) remained erect. From information most kindly supplied to me by the Rev. Paul Bush, rector of Duloe, it appears that the hedge was removed about the year 1858, and that, five years later,<sup>1</sup> three of the fallen stones (Nos. 5, 7, and 9) were re-erected in what were supposed to be their original positions, which, however, were not indicated by any remaining hollows. The attempt to raise the large northern stone did not succeed, and its separation into two portions was the result of the

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Borlase and Mr. Dunkin say it was in 1861; but it is a matter of no moment.



operation. It should be added that No. 5, as it now stands, is said to be only a small part of what it once was.

But the circumstance which, perhaps, has endowed these remains with their chief interest in the eyes of antiquaries, was the discovery of the cinerary urn in the soil beneath the south-eastern corner of the prostrate stone No. 2, at the spot marked with an asterisk in the plan.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Bush informed me that, when found, it contained bones which quickly crumbled to dust on exposure to the air. Unfortunately it was carelessly broken into small fragments by the workmen, and only one piece (the largest) was preserved. It includes a portion of the rim and the greater part of one of the ears of the vessel, and is now in the possession of the owner of the land on which the circle stands, the Rev. T. A. Bewes, of Plymouth, who very kindly sent the piece of pottery for my inspection; and, directly from it, the drawings in the illustrative Plate were made. It is 3 ins. in breadth and height. Its substance, as may be seen on reference to the drawing, is, at one edge, very distinctly divided into two layers, the inner one of a dull black hue, and the outer, of a dull brick-red and grey. The separate and total thicknesses of different parts are here given in decimals of an inch :

Place of Measurement	Black	Red	Total
At upper edge of rim . . . .	.25	.05	.30
At indented thickening of ditto	.30	.26	.56
At top of ear . . . . .	.44	.60	1.04
At base . . . . .	.42	.08	.50

The texture throughout is coarse. The urn has been rudely shaped by hand, and burned without glaze. Calculated from the curvature of the fragment, it must have had an internal diameter of 8 ins. It was ornamented in a very primitive style by uniform indentations, made apparently by the end of a stick; the work, though ruder, cor-

<sup>1</sup> According to one account, the urn was found under the hedge at the time when that was removed: according to another, it was discovered when the subsequent attempt was made to raise the northern stone. (See *Nenia Corn.*, pp. 127, 128.) This is of little consequence; but Mr. Borlase suggested that a portion of the hedge may have been a cairn or barrow raised within the circle. See, however, the conclusion of this paper for his present opinion.

responding with that on an urn found by Mr. Borlase on Morvah Hill, in the mouth of which was a coin of Constantius II. According to that gentleman, the remarkable thing about this urn is, that it is the only one yet discovered in Cornwall within, or immediately contiguous to, a stone circle.<sup>1</sup> Similar instances have, however, occurred elsewhere, of which he quotes two from Scotland. Though there is not sufficient evidence on which to base a very close calculation of the date of the interment, I believe Mr. Borlase at that time was inclined to put it approximately at the commencement of our era. Mr. Dunkin records an interesting fact, "that a considerable quantity of charcoal was found within the inclosure when the bisecting hedge was removed, and", he adds, "that much still remains beneath the turf".<sup>2</sup> This he regards as "almost conclusive evidence that a funeral pyre had been lit on this very spot"; and he thinks that "this burial must have taken place in pre-Roman times".

While engaged in removing the earth from over and around stone No. 1, so that its shape and position might be accurately measured, my friend Mr. Francis Brent, of Plymouth, (to whose kindness I am indebted for valuable aid in the work of survey and exploration), found another small fragment of pottery, differing totally in character from the one just described, lying in the loose earth by which the buried stone was covered. It is composed of micaceous clay of rather fine texture, and is very thin,—only one-fifth of an inch in thickness; and, calculating from its curvature, which, on the outside, is very regular, it belonged to a somewhat cylindrical vessel, with an external diameter of 15 inches. The outer face is smooth, regularly formed, and of a grey-brown tint; while the inner one is very rough, and of a light red colour, mottled with dull yellow. The section exhibits only an uniform, close-grained, yellow substance, edged externally with a very thin skin of brick-red. The vessel was evidently made on a wheel; the interior formed by hand, and the exterior smoothed by a tool. It was afterward burned in an open fire. The fragment bears no trace of ornament.

<sup>1</sup> *Nenia Corn.*, p. 127.

<sup>2</sup> It may be as well to note, that not the least trace of charcoal was visible during the operation referred to in the next paragraph.

Being rather doubtful as to the antiquity of this piece of pottery, I sent it to Mr. Borlase (from whose judgment in such a matter few would be inclined to dissent) with a request that he would favour me with his opinion upon it. He responded to the invitation with the greatest kindness; and I cannot close this paper better than by quoting the substance of his letter. He says: "The piece of pottery is similar in kind to that which very frequently occurs both in the envelope, and, occasionally, at a considerable distance from the surface, of Cornish barrows. It is the domestic ware which was in use amongst the inhabitants of the hut-villages in the fourth century; but how much older it may be than that, it is impossible to conjecture. It would be equally impossible to say that it was not more recent." Mr. Borlase says he is "convinced that when the mounds were being raised, vessels of various kinds were broken to atoms, and their fragments thrown into the pile." He has found in different parts of the same mound, and at different depths, pieces of domestic vessels which he has been able to put together. Mr. Borlase now thinks it improbable that there was a tumulus within, or near to, the Duloe circle.

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## NOTICE OF SCULPTURED ROCKS NEAR ILKLEY,

WITH SOME REMARKS ON ROCKING STONES.

BY J. ROMILLY ALLEN, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT.

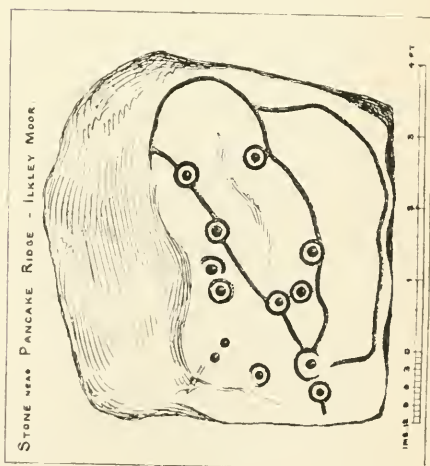
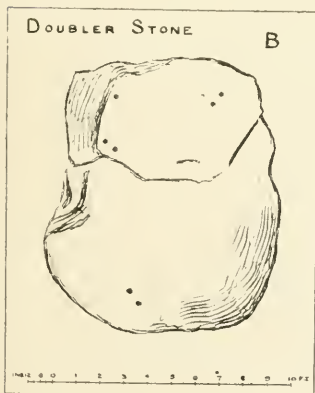
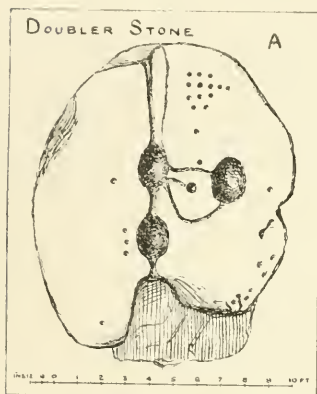
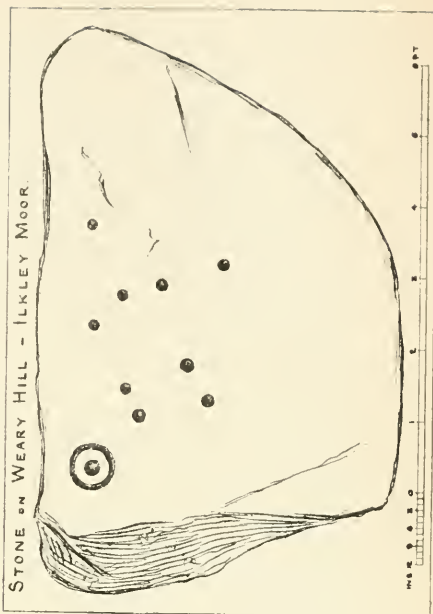
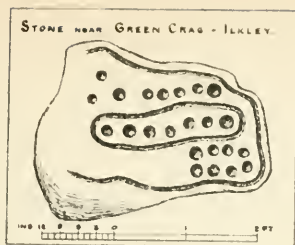
(*Read March 15, 1882.*)

THREE years ago I had the honour of reading a paper before this Society, on the subject of rocks bearing cup and ring-markings in the neighbourhood of Ilkley in Yorkshire.<sup>1</sup> Since then several more important discoveries of sculptures of the same class have been made, chiefly by my friend Mr. F. W. Fison of Ilkley; and it is to these that I propose to call your attention in the following brief memoir.

The town of Ilkley is situated in Yorkshire, on the banks of the river Wharfe, and lies sixteen miles and a half, by rail, to the north-west of Leeds. The surrounding scenery is varied in character, and of great beauty, consisting, in the lower lying land, of fertile valleys, and in the higher regions, of wild wastes of moorland covered with rock and heather. One of the largest of these tracts of uncultivated ground is known as Rumbold's Moor, occupying a space measuring ten miles in length by five in breadth, lying between the valleys of the Aire and the Wharfe. It lies immediately south of the town of Ilkley, and rises to a height of 1,323 feet at its highest point. Scattered over its surface are several barrows, stone circles, and other traces of the primitive inhabitants of the district; but from an archæological point of view, by far the most remarkable feature is the large number of sculptured rocks and boulders which are to be found in various parts of the Moor. Several of these have been illustrated in my previous paper, and one good example has since formed the subject of a notice by Mr. Dymond in our *Journal*.

The stones which I propose to describe on this occasion

<sup>1</sup> *Journal of the Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, vol. xxxv, p. 15.







are as follow: 1, stone on Pancake Ridge; 2, stone at foot of Green Crag; 3, stone on Weary Hill; 4, stone near Piper's Crag; 5, the Doubler Stones.

*Stone on Pancake Ridge.*—A mile and a half south-east of Ilkley, and almost due south of the Ben Rhydding Hydropathic Establishment, will be found marked on the Ordnance Map (scale, 6 ins. to the mile, sheet 186) a line of cliffs called Pancake Ridge, just at the edge of Rum-bold's Moor, and overhanging the valley of the Wharfe. Perched on the top of the cliff is a large, flat slab of gritstone which from its peculiar form has obtained the name of the "Pancake Rock." On its upper surface are several cup-markings much obliterated by the action of the weather, but some of them sufficiently distinct to prove their origin artificial, and to shew that this rock was noticed in ancient times, and very possibly considered an object either of worship or superstition. About 150 yards to the west of the Pancake Rock, close to the edge of the cliff, and at a level of 1,010 ft. above the sea, is the sculptured stone to be described. It is a piece of gritstone measuring 5 ft. 3 ins. by 5 ft., and is 1 ft. 9 ins. high. On its upper surface, which is nearly horizontal, are carved thirteen cups, varying in diameter from 2 to  $2\frac{1}{2}$  ins., eleven of which are surrounded by single rings. There is also an elaborate arrangement of connecting grooves, which will be best understood from the accompanying drawing.

*Stone at the foot of Green Crag.*—A quarter of a mile to the south of Pancake Ridge, and higher up the Moor, is a short line of cliffs called "Green Crag." Between these two sets of cliffs, which are nearly parallel, and run east and west, is a comparatively level stretch of moorland, the total rise between the two being 60 ft. At the west end of Green Crag, at the foot of the cliff, will be found, marked on the Ordnance Map, an ancient enclosure. It is of approximately rectangular form, and its walls of loose stone project so little above the surrounding heather as to be only just visible. The use of this curious structure is not clear, as there are no traces of hut-circles within it. Two hundred yards or so to the east of this enclosure, at the foot of Green Crag, are three large gritstone boulders having cup-markings, lying a few yards from each other. About twenty yards from these

is the stone having upon it the beautiful specimen of pre-historic sculpture here illustrated. (See fig.) The stone is of grit, and measures 3 ft. 2 ins. by 2 ft. 6 ins. Its upper surface is nearly horizontal, and has carved upon it cups varying in diameter from 2 ins. to 3 ins. A row of cups in the middle of the stone are entirely surrounded by a groove. There is also a channel running round the outside. Single cups are often found encircled by one or more concentric rings; but it is very exceptional indeed to find several cups surrounded by a single groove, or to find the cups so symmetrically arranged as in the present instance.

On the plateau lying between Green Grag and Pancake Ridge is also situated the large cup-marked boulder described in my former paper.<sup>1</sup> It lies to the north of the stone just mentioned.

*Stone on Weary Hill.*—One mile south-west of Ilkley is a road leading over the top of the Moor, and the most rapid part of the ascent is marked on the Ordnance Map (6 ins. scale, sheet 186) very appropriately as Weary Hill. To the west of the road, and between it and the boundary-wall of Silver Well Farm, is a small boulder of gritstone with cup-markings on it. It lies at a level of 900 ft. above the sea, and it measures 8 ft. by 5 ft. On its upper surface, which is nearly level, are carved ten cups, varying in diameter from 2 to 3 ins., one of them being surrounded by a single ring. The "Neb Stone", which is at the upper extremity of the boundary-wall of Silver Well Farm just mentioned, and which is 1,100 ft. above the sea, has also cup-marks upon it. The group of sculptured rocks near the Panorama Stone described in my previous paper,<sup>2</sup> lies at the foot of Silverwell Farm.

*Stone near Piper's Crag.*—Piper's Crag is situated two miles west of Ilkley, at a level of 1,050 ft. above the sea, and is at the east end of the long line of cliffs known as Addington Crag, which extend in a westerly direction for some miles, and form the natural boundary between Rumbold's Moor and the valley of the Wharfe. At the edge of Piper's Crag is a horizontal rock-surface, and on a portion of it, measuring 5 ft. by 7 ft., are carved a series of fifteen cups varying in diameter from 2 to 3 ins. Of

<sup>1</sup> *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, xxxv, p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 20.

these, one is surrounded by a single ring, four by a double ring, and one by a triple ring.

On the same line of cliffs, half a mile to the east, midway between Piper's Crag and the Panorama Stone, is situated the large boulder on Woodhouse Crag, described in my former paper,<sup>1</sup> bearing the curious pattern resembling a "swastica" with curved arms. I take this opportunity of acknowledging a mistake in my drawing of this stone, pointed out by Mr. Dymond.<sup>2</sup>

A quarter of a mile east of Piper's Crag is a large mass of grit called the "Sepulchre Stone", and a quarter of a mile to the west is another called the "Noon Stone." Neither of these has sculptures upon it; but both are of striking appearance.

*The Doubler Stones.*—The Doubler Stones are situated on Rumbold's Moor, three miles south-south-west of Ilkley as the crow flies, and two miles east of the village of Silsden. The place is difficult of access, and can be reached either by following the road from Ilkley to Addingham, and striking up into the Moor just beyond the latter place, or by going up at once into the Moor from Ilkley to the Panorama Stone, and walking along the top of the long line of cliffs called "Addingham Edge." These cliffs, as before mentioned, run due east and west, and form the south side of the valley of the Wharfe. They terminate at a point two miles west of the Panorama Rock, where they attain a height of 1,200 feet above the sea, the views over the surrounding country being everywhere grand in the extreme. Half a mile south of the west end of the cliffs are the Doubler Stones, situated at a level of 1,100 ft. above the sea, and overlooking the valley of the Aire. These rocks are by far the most remarkable freaks of nature to be seen in the district. They occupy a prominent position, perched on the extremity of a rocky knoll which juts out into the valley; and as seen from below, with their weird forms standing out clear and sharp against the background of blue sky, they present so extraordinary an appearance that they would at once attract the attention of even the most unobservant. In general outline they resemble gigantic toadstools; and I presume that they are called the Doubler Stones from the fact of

<sup>1</sup> *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, xxxv, p. 21.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, xxxvi, p. 417.

their shapes being almost identical. They may be appropriately described as Nature's twins. The stones lie east and west, the eastern one being on the very edge of the cliff, and the other further inland, towards the Moor. I call the western stone A, and the eastern one B, for the sake of distinction. The distance between the stones is 30 ft., and the intermediate ground is level. Each stone consists of a pillar 6 ft. in diameter, supporting a flat slab or cap, the top of which is level, and at a height of 6 ft. above the ground. The cap of stone A measures 11 ft. by 11 ft., and is 1 ft. thick; and that of B, 11 ft. 3 ins. by 10 ft., and 1 ft. thick. The shape in plan is roughly oval, or rather a rectangle with its corners rounded. The shape of the stones which form part of the rock on which they stand, seems to be purely natural, and due to the fact of the strata lying horizontally; the top slab being of hard material, and the underlying rock soft, so that it has gradually become worn away by the action of the weather. Both stones, however, present traces of the work of man on their upper surfaces. There is no difficulty in climbing on to the top of stone A, as there are natural steps on the side away from the cliff; but the top stone, B, is not so easy of access, which may account for there being fewer artificial sculptures on it. The upper surface of the cap of stone A has three large basin-shaped cavities in it. Two of these lie along the central axis of the stone, and measure respectively 1 ft. 3 ins. by 2 ft. by 9 ins. deep, and 1 ft. 9 ins. by 1 ft. 3 ins. by 9 ins. deep. They are united by a deep groove, a continuation of which runs out over the edge of the stone at each end. There is another basin lying to the west side of the two central ones, with one of which it is connected by grooves. It measures 2 ft. by 1 ft. 9 ins., and is 9 ins. deep. There is no direct evidence that these basins are artificial; but it is quite possible that they may have been so originally, and have been enlarged by natural agencies. But in addition to the basins are twenty-six cup-markings of distinctly artificial origin. They vary in diameter from 2 to 4 ins. One group of cups appears to be arranged in a series of parallel rows.

Stone B has no basins on its upper surface; but I counted eight cup-markings. Whether these wonderful stones



were Druidical altars or not, I do not pretend to say; but at any rate they are well worthy of the attention of the geologist on account of their curious natural characteristics, and of the antiquary on account of the prehistoric sculptures which are to be found upon them.

There are some prominent masses of rock higher up the Moor, called "The Gawk Stones"; but I could detect no carvings upon them.

#### ROCKING STONES.

I propose here to make a few remarks about the subject of rocking stones, as I believe that the Doubler Stones illustrate one of the means by which they may have been formed. Rocking stones may be produced in any of the following ways, namely,—1, by the agency of man; 2, by an accident of nature; 3, by disintegration. I do not know that there are any instances where it can be shewn that rocking stones have been the result of human agency; but it is just possible that some of them may be due to this cause. By accident of nature, I mean cases where a boulder has been borne either by ice or water, and deposited by chance in such a way that it balances. Now as to the last method of formation, it may be the result of the following natural changes. Assume, to begin with, a large pillar of rock in an exposed position like the "tors" on Dartmoor, if the lower strata is softer than the upper, it will disintegrate more rapidly under the action of the weather; and if the decay is even all round, it will gradually take the form of a mushroom, like the Doubler Stones. If the disintegration took place unevenly, the capstone would eventually fall off; but otherwise it would, in the process of time, become a rocking stone when the stem of the mushroom had disappeared. A rocking stone may, of course, either balance on either one or more points in a straight line or ridge forming a knife-edge. In any case the point, or line joining the points, must lie directly under the centre of gravity of the stone above. Rocking stones are called in Cornwall, "Logan Stones"; and in France, "*pierres branlantes, tremblantes, ou vacillantes*". The following is a list of some of the best known examples:

*England : Yorkshire*,—four stones at Brimham Craggs, near Pateley Bridge ; Attermyre, near Settle. *Cornwall*,—near Land's End ; Bosistow in St. Leven. *Sussex*,—West Hoadley. *Derbyshire*,—Stanton Moor, near Birch-over. *Devonshire*,—several on Dartmoor.

*France : Dept. du Lot*,—Pierre Martine, near Livernon. *Finistère*,—Huelgoet, Kerisquillier, and Trécong, near Concarneau. *Côtes du Nord*,—Perros Guyrech. *Lozère*,—near Meude. *Saône et Loire*,—near Saint Germain. *Perigord*,—Commune of Garde.

*Cup and Ring-Markings*.—It will naturally be asked, at the conclusion of this paper on the rock-sculptures of Ilkley, whether any satisfactory theory has been formed on the subject ? I can only reply that, had these hieroglyphics existed in Egypt or Persia, or China, or, in fact, any other country but our own, we should have long ago filled our museums with casts of them, and have left no stone unturned until their meaning was fully deciphered. They have, however, the misfortune to be found close to our own doors, and are therefore treated with that contempt which anything that does not appertain to classical learning seems to meet with in England. The only representatives of this class of prehistoric sculpture in the British Museum are two miserable little fragments at the top of one of the cases ; but as there is no catalogue of the English antiquities, the public are probably not aware of their existence. All materials for this branch of inquiry must, therefore, be sought *in situ*.

Although no complete theory has been formed, still a great number of facts have been collected which throw light upon the matter. The most exhaustive memoir which has been published on the subject is that of Sir James James Simpson, where all the typical forms are fully illustrated. The state of our knowledge may be briefly summed up as follows :

1st, as to their geographical distribution. Stones with cup and ring-markings are found widely scattered over the whole of the British Isles, also in various parts of France, Germany, Switzerland, Denmark, Sweden, and Norway.

2nd, as to the classes of monuments on which they are found. These are as follow :

1. Natural rock-surfaces.
2. Isolated boulders.
3. Near ancient British fortified towns and camps.
4. In connection with lake-dwellings, underground houses, and Pictish towers.
5. On single standing stones.
6. On groups of standing stones.
7. On stone circles.
8. On cromlechs.
9. In chambered cairns.
10. On cist-covers.
11. On urn-covers.
12. On grave-stones in Christian churchyards.
13. On the walls of churches themselves.

} Sepulchral remains.

From the fact of cup-markings being found in so many instances directly associated with sepulchral remains, I think it may fairly be inferred that they are connected in some way or other with funeral rites, either as sacred emblems or for actual use in holding small offerings or libations. I am aware, however, that the fact of their being found occasionally on vertical surfaces is rather against the latter assumption. The connecting grooves are suggestive of channels for carrying off liquids.

After seeing several hundreds of these stones in England and Scotland, I have been forcibly struck by two points: 1st, the absence of any definite arrangement of any kind in the positions of the cups; and 2nd, the continual recurrence of the same monotonous figures of cups, rings, and grooves, repeated hundreds of times with hardly any variation of any kind, or tendency to develop into more ornamental forms. The absence of appearance of design in the arrangement of the cups might be accounted for by supposing that they were executed one by one, at different times, either by the same or different individuals. With regard to no advance being made beyond the cup, ring, and groove, I think it points to what was before suggested; *i.e.*, that they were either a well recognised symbol frequently repeated, or that the shape of the cup, ring, and groove, adapted itself specially to some ceremonial use.

The method of execution of the carvings appears to have been by punching with a pointed instrument, the

tool-marks being in many instances very distinct where the stone has been protected by earth above it, either in a cairn or otherwise. The circles are not struck from a centre, and are often very irregular.

Finally, with regard to the age of the sculptures, it is attested, 1st, by the very large area over which they are scattered; 2nd, the absence of any traditions as to their meaning; 3rd, their being found as covers of urns, inside cairns belonging to the late stone or early bronze age.

Their use has survived down to a comparatively recent period, as they have been found near Inverness, by Mr. Jolly, on gravestones in Christian churchyards; and also they have been noticed on the walls of brick churches in Germany. In some cases they are still anointed with grease as a superstitious ceremony.

Where the carvings occur on rock-surfaces, it is almost always in special, isolated districts which may have been considered sacred in ancient times. In Scotland, France, Switzerland, and Germany, cups alone are found as a general rule; whereas in England, Ireland, and Sweden, rings and grooves are almost always associated with the cups. In Sweden figures of men and boats are also added.

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# ON THE EXCAVATION OF THE SITE OF CARROW ABBEY, NORWICH,

BY J. J. COLMAN, ESQ., M.P., IN 1880-1881.

BY E. P. LOFTUS BROCK, ESQ., F.S.A., HON. SEC.

(*Read December 7, 1881.*)

It will be remembered by many who are now present that a visit was paid to the site of Carrow Abbey on the last day of the Great Yarmouth Congress, 1879, after leaving the old Manor House of Arminghall, where many fragments of elaborate stonework, etc., are preserved. The fragments there evidently formed a portion of some religious edifice, and are said by tradition to have come from Carrow Abbey.

On arriving at the site we inspected the scanty remains then visible, the conspicuous feature being the dwelling-house occupied by J. H. Tillett, Esq., M.P., and known as "The Abbey." By Mr. Tillett's courtesy we were permitted to examine the building from floor to roof. It is now divided into several smaller apartments; but we had no difficulty in tracing the original plan of the principal portion, namely, a good hall with an open roof in the centre, with a withdrawing-room on the left, and a bedroom above it, approached by a newel-staircase. The initials on the roof-timbers were assignable to Isabel Wygon, Prioress in 1514, and we had thus good evidence that the work was of her date,—a rebuilding of the sixteenth century; this period being also well attested by the architecture. The tradition that this was the Abbess' house is worthy of all respect; and the more so since a similar one is found at Castle Acre, applied to the block of buildings in similar relation to the church. Nevertheless, the position is that usually occupied by the guest-house; and it is more than probable that this was so in both these cases. The bay window and other additions are ancient; but are of later date than monastic times, being, doubtless, the work of Sir John Shelton, Knt., who fitted up the buildings as a residence for himself.



To the east and to the north of the house we noticed long, rectangular lines of original stone walls in ruined condition, partly overgrown with ivy and creeping plants, and forming adjuncts of no small interest to the pretty flower-gardens beyond the house. We were pressed to point out the sites of the church, chapter house, and the other buildings usual in a monastic establishment; and on the strength of noticing that the site, which somewhat slopes away into a valley on the north-east from the house, hardly admits of buildings in that direction, and on the assumption that the house was the guest-hall of the Abbey, I ventured to place the church immediately to the north of it; the cloister-garth where the garden now appears; the chapter house opposite to the latter, on the east; the refectory parallel to it, on the south; and the day-room, or calefactory, in the south-east corner.

On proceeding round the ruins, these suggestions obtained additional support by noticing in the south-east of the old wall a rough gap where we should expect to find the processional door from the cloisters into the church; a small, Benatura-like niche remaining beside it; a similar opening where we should look for the entrance to the chapter house; while the base and part of the shaft of one pillar remained, as if to shew the line of the usual row so often observable in the day-room.

Beyond these feeble traces, both to the east and the north, only rough irregularities were visible in the green sward, indicating the presence of foundations and rubbish, while the south side of the garden was occupied by trees and shrubs, beneath which, we were told, foundations were known to exist.

Such was the site of Carrow Abbey on the occasion of our visit, and although some features have, doubtless, disappeared within living memory, yet it is possible that but few distinctive traces remained in Blomfield's time, for he tells us that he had great difficulty in tracing the site. Our kind host and Associate J. J. Colman, Esq., M.P., was urged, on the occasion of our visit, to undertake some tentative excavations to test how much of the foundations remained, and the position of the buildings, by actual observation. The plan before us shews to what an extensive scale these excavations have been carried out

by Mr. Colman, and also that the hypothetical position of the various buildings has been confirmed in all material particulars.

Before proceeding to describe the results of Mr. Colman's costly work, a few brief notices of the history of Carrow Abbey may be of service; placed thus, as it were, side by side with the remains that have now been brought to the light of day after their long burial of over three hundred years.

Carrow Abbey, for Benedictine nuns, was founded by King Stephen on the site of an older hospital dedicated to St. Mary and St. John. Sæyna and Leftelina, two of the sisters, began the foundations in 1146, when there appear to have been nine nuns and an abbess. The various confirmations of the charters, the spiritual and temporal possessions, are set forth by Dugdale and Blomefield, where many items of interest are to be found. Among these are, probably as a manorial right, the use of a common gallows<sup>1</sup> by their windmill, on a hill by Bear Street Gates; the right of a fair for four days; their non-payment of tolls; their having their district exempt from jurisdiction, and consequently the Abbess was supreme in her own right. We hear of her, through the chaplain, proving wills, and exercising all spiritual authority there, subject to the Pope. We find that in 1273 Pope Gregory inhibited the Prioress and Convent from increasing the number of the nuns, "upon the representation that the English nobility, whom they could not resist, had obliged them to receive so many sisters into the Convent that they were unable to support them."

The Nunnery became one of those useful institutions, a school of education for the young ladies of the chief families of the diocese, who boarded with the nuns. Even after making allowance that the source of revenue from the school would be of necessity unnoticed in the returns at the Dissolution, it is a matter of surprise to find the income returned at only £84 : 12 : 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ , according to Speed, and £54 : 16 : 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ , according to Dugdale.

<sup>1</sup> The whole of the abbesses, at any rate, do not appear to have occasioned much terror by the use of their gallows, for early in the fifteenth century we find one of them in trouble, being tried for affording sanctuary to a murderer. The right of sanctuary was not, apparently, one of their privileges, and therefore was not allowed by the secular power.

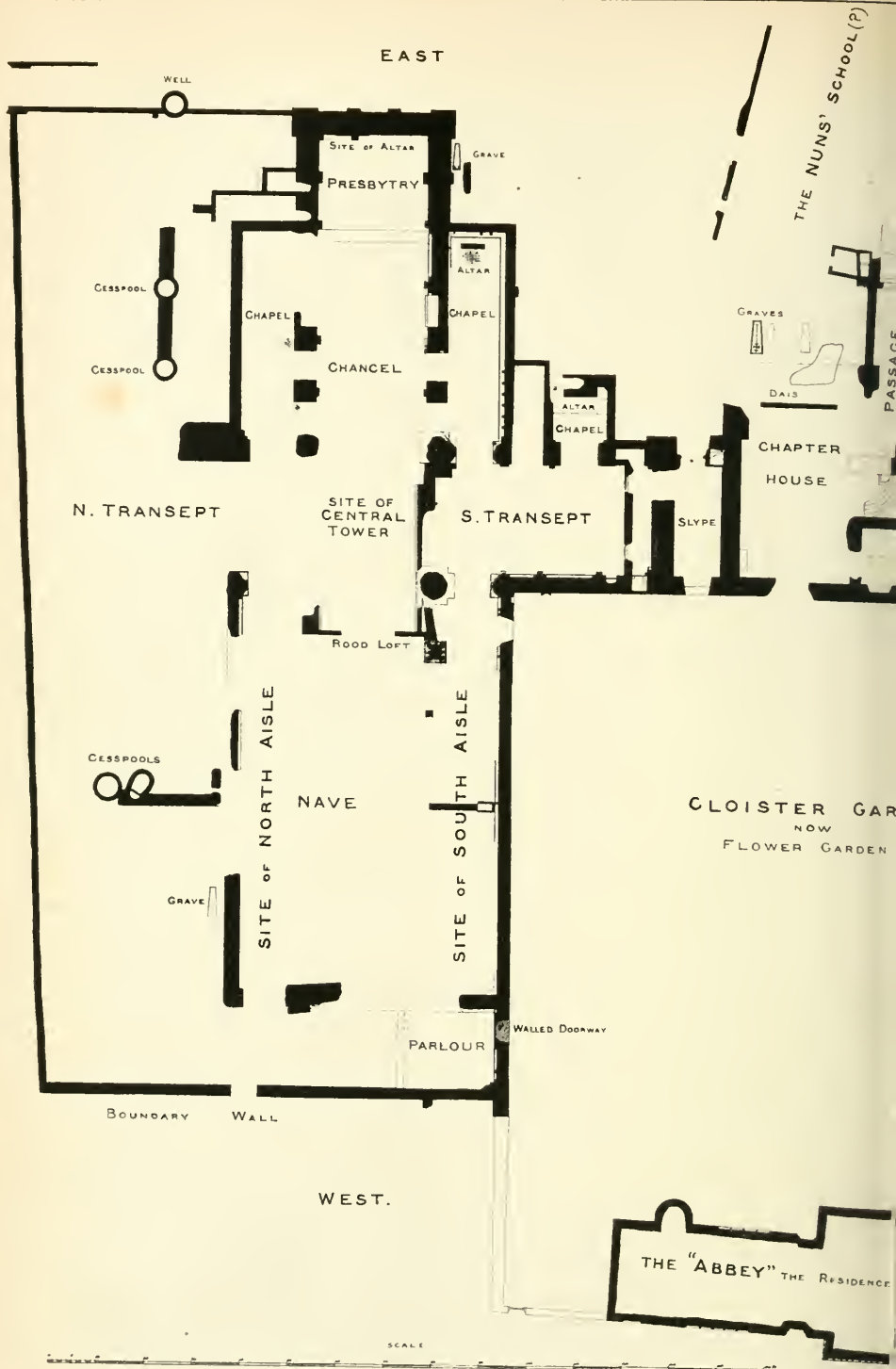
The list of Prioresses is apparently very complete, twenty-one being mentioned by Blomfield, commencing with Maud le Strange, 1198, and ending with Cecily Stafford, the last Prioress, who retired with a pension of £8 per annum. The name of "Abbey" is given by somewhat general parlance to the establishment; but it must be noted that all documents referred to, style the lady superior as Prioress. Among the list of names in connection with the Abbey are several old English names that have passed out of general usage: thus we hear of Petronel, Beatrix, and Cicely. Seyna and Leftelina have already been noticed. The still common name of Agnes occurs twice, Catherine three times, Alice four times, and Maud, Margery, Edith, Joan, and Isabel, once.

References to the buildings are of unfrequent occurrence in the documents. It is recorded that the Chapel of St. John the Baptist joined on to the south side of the church, while St. Catherine's was on the north side. About 1452 Robert Blickling, of Norwich, was buried by his wife's grave, having given twenty marks towards building the nuns' new dormitory, which was completed by contributions about 1460. In 1531 William Aslak was buried between the high altar and the image of Our Lady of Pity.

Carrow appears to have been a parish by itself, the nuns providing the parochial chaplains. The parish church was dedicated to St. James the Apostle, and there is no evidence that it was attached to the Convent church, as is supposed on the spot. It appears to have been a separate building, described by Blomfield as being "now so totally demolished that there are no apparent ruins. The site is called 'the Churchyard'." "The Churchyard" is the field containing the foundations of the Priory Church, so we may conclude that the parish church was in close proximity to it. An Anchorage also existed in connection with the Abbey.

The site having belonged to various owners, is now in possession of Messrs. Colman, part of it being occupied by Carrow House, and part by the extensive works which have aided the industry of Norwich so well. The site of the Abbey buildings has been, however, untouched, except where part has become the gardens of Mr. Tillet's





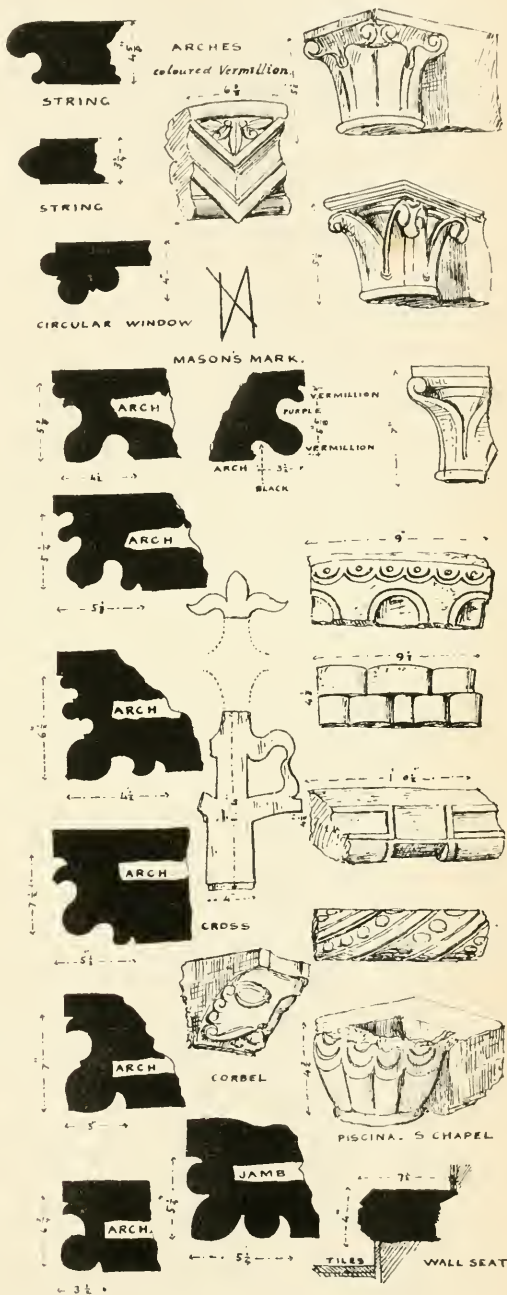


# CARROW PRIORY NORWICH.

*Plan showing the excavations made by J. J. Colman Esq<sup>r</sup> M.P.*



SITE OF THE  
KITCHEN  
REFECTORY, ETC.





house ; the field containing the site of the church being the position used for many years for the pleasant meetings of workpeople and employers, so well known in connection with the owners' names. This year's gathering has been prevented by the excavations, the whole site of the church and its chapels, the chapter house, and the day-room, having been opened to the original floor-levels, the work involving the removal of about 4 feet of earth and many tons of material.

I will now proceed to describe the results of the excavations. The plan of the church has been recovered, except a portion of the nave and the west end, where the whole had been removed. It has consisted of a nave and two aisles, north and south transepts, a short presbytery with a chapel on each side ; that on the north, perhaps of larger size than the other, we may safely conclude to have been that of St. Catherine, and that on the south St. John the Baptist. The floor-level is shewn by glazed tiles without pattern, while traces only were met with of one of the nave-piers. We are not, therefore, able to conclude with any accuracy either how many bays the nave had, or what was their design. Ordinarily, at this period, the piers were of various patterns, octagonal, circular, banded, and the like, in the same arcade. The remaining artistic design is not likely, therefore, to have regulated the others in any way. The elegant base which remains calls for special comment. The four piers of the central tower are apparent ; those on the south side being distinct, and having a good height of the shafts above the base. The walls of the north transept have almost gone ; but sufficient remain to give the width, but not the length. The south transept is in better condition, the east side of the ruined wall, noticed on our visit, being found to go down to the level of the church, and to contain the base of an elegant wall-arcade *in situ*. The same remark applies to the wall at right angles, which proves to be the wall of the south aisle ; traces being shewn by the excavations of a similar arcade along its whole extent internally, while the rough opening proves to be the site of the processional door. The south end of the south transept has a more modern wall of very rough bricks, as if to lessen its size. The space thus obtained (4 ft. wide)

was, doubtless, for the descending flight of steps from the dormitory into the church, on the rebuilding of the former. No trace remains of the steps, which were probably of wood. There are two small chapels opening out from the east wall of the south transept; the narrowest has been originally a passage only to the exterior, since the east wall is built against the external plinth, which appears inside. The base of the altar remains in the larger chapel.

The south aisle of the presbytery, or St. John the Baptist's Chapel, has traces of the fine arcading all round its walls, and the base of the altar remains detached from the wall. This is of later date than the building, since the floor-level has been so much raised that the base of the arcading is buried.

The presbytery has a square ending, and there are traces of the two steps leading up to the high altar, while only a small portion of the base (of rubble masonry) of the altar itself still remains. There is a broken sepulchral vault on the south side, measuring 6 ft. by 2 ft. 2 ins. internally; while on the outside a stone coffin, without a lid, has been found close to the exterior south wall.<sup>1</sup> It has been, very properly, not disturbed, nor has the vault been cleared out.

Leaving the church, the slype is met with, adjoining the south transept. The external door of the slype has trace of a circular, central shaft roughly put into the position indicated.

The chapter house is in a ruined state; but traces remain of a wall-seat around the western portion, while there are indications of a raised floor-level to form a dais at the eastern part; but here a large mass of plaster flooring covers the position most probably occupied by the eastern wall. The rough opening from the garden proves to be the western entrance into the chapter house.

The calefactory, or day-room, extends southwards from the passage. It has been a fine apartment, divided into bays by a central range of circular columns, and vaulted through its whole extent. This is sufficiently proved, not only by traces of the actual line of the vaulting at the south-west, and by one of the corbels there remaining,

<sup>1</sup> The coffin contained a skeleton, pronounced by Dr. Beverley to be that of a young female.

but by a great number of the vaulting-ribs found in the excavations. These are chamfered only, and have belonged most probably to Pointed rather than to semicircular arches. The floor appears to have been of mortar only. Above this long apartment, and also the chapter house, was the nuns' dormitory, whence the stairs already referred to, leading into the church.

The foundations of the south range of buildings are completely hidden by the flower-beds, etc., of the present garden. Here would have been the refectory, the kitchen, etc., and also, by fairly usual arrangement, the Abbess's house at the south-west corner.

The plan shews four buttress-like projections at the south-west end of the outer wall of the day-room. These consist of return quoins projecting from the wall; and there is nothing, therefore, to prove them to be buttresses. From their being continuous from base to as high as the wall remains (about 10 ft.), they have more the appearance of being the commencement of walls. I am inclined to consider them as such, and to recognise in them the commencement of the southern range of buildings. Another reason tends to the same conclusion. From the south wall of the church to their commencement is 118 ft. 3 ins., which would be the size, from north to south, of the cloister-space, now (as we have seen) occupied by Mr. Tillett's garden. From the west face of the eastern range of buildings to the eastern face of the guest-hall is 127 ft. 3 ins. This would give very nearly a perfect square for the proportion of the cloister-court, supposing that the cloisters had gone quite up to it, which is hardly probable. Any less amount would bring their plan more nearly to the usual plan of a perfect square. Should the fragment of foundation shewn on plan prove to be the south-west angle of the outer walk of the cloisters, it would make the plan a parallelogram with its largest side from north to south. We may, therefore, fairly well conclude that the inference is a correct one with respect to the position of the walls of the south range of buildings.

The evidences of the excavations prove that the building has been set out according to general rule; and that although this has been a nunnery rather than a monastery, yet that the arrangements of the latter buildings



have been maintained. This is valuable archæological evidence, thanks for which are certainly due to Mr. Colman for the labour and expense he has devoted to obtaining it. It is the more valuable since we have so few other ground-plans of nunneries, and know so little of their arrangements. I may add that Norfolk and Suffolk have furnished many ground-plans of monasteries, such as Castle Acre, Bromham, Walsingham, etc., several being the results of painstaking research; but hitherto no nunnery has been investigated.

The style of the architecture would lead us to suppose that the work now revealed was begun some time after the date given for the foundation in 1146. It is semi-Norman in character, admirably designed and executed. The mouldings are neatly worked. There is an abundance of angle-shafts with bases, many of the latter being in the cushion form of earlier Norman capitals: indeed, were some of them found detached, they would be supposed to be caps rather than bases. They are here in position, so there is no doubt as to their appropriation. The design of the east end has been one of three windows in as many compartments, as is attested by the interesting fragment of the east end now uncovered. The nature of the wall-arcading, which appears to have gone around the whole of the church alike, is well shewn by the portion of the south transept and south aisle now revealed to view. The massive piers of the crossing attest that there was a central tower, and the arrangement of very large, attached, segmental shafts, and others of much smaller size, is well shewn by the portions found; while the south aisle of the church is of the same date as the eastern part. The nave-arcade was somewhat later, if we may judge by the very elegant base of the south-east pier that remains. We may accept this as evidence that the church was begun at the east, and carried on slowly towards the west, the nave being, therefore, somewhat later in date and style. The walls are constructed with a rough core of flint masonry, faced on the exterior with fairly well knobbed but not squared flint, with a liberal use of wrot freestone for the dressings and quoins. The stone is very varied, for we find Caen, Barnack, and Clipstone stone and clunch in profusion; the appearance of Caen stone being

# CARROW PRIORY NORWICH.

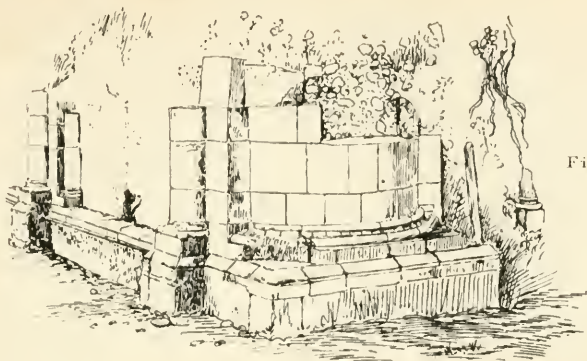


Fig. 1.

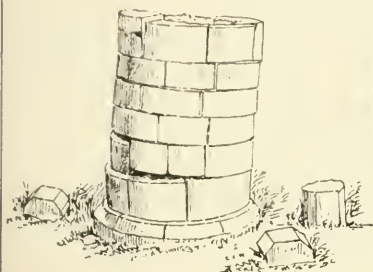


Fig. 2.

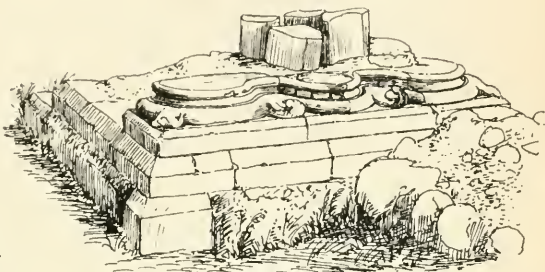


Fig. 3.

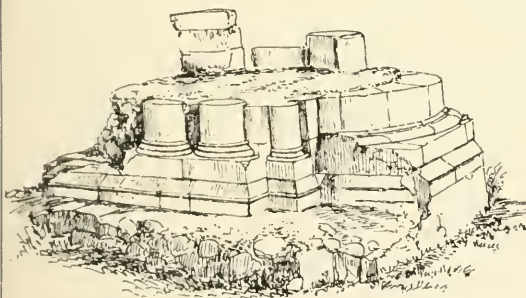


Fig. 4.

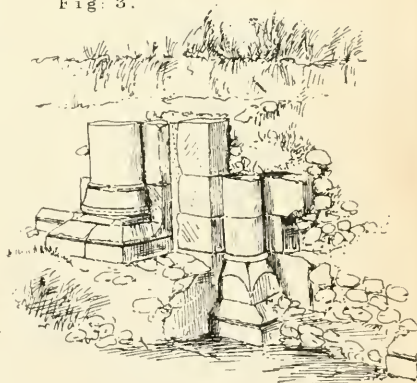


Fig. 5.

1. SW Respond at junction of South aisle and South Transept.
2. Shaft in the Day Room.
3. Base of Column of South aisle of Nave, East side

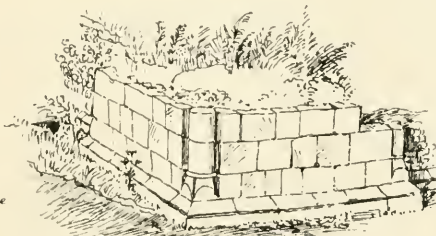


Fig. 6.

- 4 S.E. pier of the Central Tower.
5. Bases on S. side of Presbytery, showing first step to Altar space.
6. S.E. angle of Presbytery externally.



accounted for by the ease of water-carriage with Normandy. The other buildings agree as to style, there being but few apparent signs of work of later date, except the guest-hall, the rough brick division-walls, and some fragments of fifteenth century window-tracery, the steps to the eastern building, etc.

There are a few masons' marks; and from the same mark occurring again and again, we may, perhaps, conclude, but it is uncertain evidence, that a small number of men was employed continuously rather than a greater number for a shorter time.

Traces of alteration of the floor-level are apparent, and at the east end both altars have the foundation of their pavements laid on the older one; while these new foundations are so deep as to raise the levels above the original stone plinth of the walls, which is thus buried. A piece of neatly worked shaft is used as old material in the rough base of St. Catharine's altar. This latter stands away from the wall. St. Catharine's altar has a piscina at the south-east angle of the wall near it.

The floors generally are formed of reddish brown and yellow tiles, laid diagonally in some cases; but only one portion of a pattern-tile was met with. This was stamped in relief, a reddish brown in colour, and glazed.

There is a curious niche in the west wall of the south transept, which on being opened was found to have its walls plastered, the floor being a little lower than that of the church. It had been bricked up for a short portion of its height, and this part filled with clay. Immediately in the line of the north wall of St. John the Baptist's Chapel two cesspool-like pits were met with. Their position is singular, and their neat plaster lining shewed that much pains had been taken in their formation. They were found to be filled with dry rubbish. The wall containing them has the appearance of being the north wall of the chapel, of later date than the rest, since the foundations of another wall, parallel with it, had been found, shewing that the chapel was originally at least of the same size, or nearly so, as that on the south side. The appearance of the pits fully justifies the belief that they were external to the chapel, although no other walls have been noted. They are hardly of post-Reformation date,

or the wall would have some fragments of removed stonework in its material.

There are several curious steps east of this chapel, noted on the plan, part of a little room ; while farther to the east, and away from the buildings, is a well 36 ft. deep, partly cut through solid chalk.

There is a division-wall, not to be accounted for, at the south-west end of the nave ; while at the east end of the north transept is another, diagonal in its course, and not explainable by any requirements of the building known to me. The base of the rood-loft was met with between the two western piers of the central tower, going across, and thus forming the termination of the nave. The return-wall on the south side, for the choir-stalls, filled up in like manner the arch into the south transept. Both these walls were of later date than the main building.

The diagonal cutting away of the moulded base of the south-east pier of the central tower is a curious feature. On one of the face-stones is a sort of "cat's cradle" scratched on the stone by an idle hand. This work is evidently of old date. Traces of colouring, of very bright colours, still remain on many of the moulded stones that have been found.

The indications of the west front of the church are not very apparent ; nor is the age of the thin wall found outside the church, a short distance beyond it. The latter has evidently helped to form a portion of a chamber at the south-west, probably the locutory ; and there is every appearance of the west front being curtailed from the position originally intended for it. While we may accept the fragment of walling shewn as evidence of the position of the west front, yet it will be noticed that the older south aisle wall and its arcading extend quite up to the thin western wall, beyond the block of masonry, and through what I have called the locutory. It would, therefore, appear that the nave had never been built so long as had been originally intended. The fragment of the west front has an external plinth of thirteenth century work, which on examination proves to be that of an octagonal buttress. It is somewhat displaced in position, but it is in a solid mass.

There are traces of a small building, with the chamfered



jamb of a doorway, to the north-east of the church, just at the commencement of the sloping ground, which has been called locally "The Anchorage", since it has been thus so far opened. Other foundations, of more extensive character, exist east of the chapter house, inclined, and not at right angles to the other walls. These have proved to be two side-walls parallel to one another, as if of an apartment 42 ft. wide. I assign this as the position of the nuns' school, as being the most probable from its proximity to the day room, and the evident convenience in relation to all the other buildings. It is approached by the brick steps already noticed, which are much worn, the level being higher than that of the day room.

The small building opening from the passage is a *necessarium*, and there is a flue beside it. The back of the chapter house has been the cemetery, since many traces of interments have been found.

Far away to the south-east, at the angle of the field where it joins some apparent traces of what was probably the boundary-wall, there are other foundations. These probably indicate the site of some of the domestic buildings.

On the north side of the nave, externally, a cross-wall has been found, in a line with the inexplicable wall across the south aisle. It has at its extremity an oval pit, strongly built in brick, domed over, and plastered internally, as if for storage of water; and adjoining it is another, circular.

There has been a circular newel-staircase in the east angle of the slype, filled in with later work. This was probably the original staircase from the nuns' dormitory prior to the curtailment of the south transept for the later one.

One of the graves to the east of the chapter house has a Purbeck marble slab with a floriated cross in relief.

The thin cross-wall in a line with the west front, forming the east wall of the supposed locutory, is not bonded into, but is built against the plastered face of the older south aisle-wall. The workmanship is even later than the fragment of the west front. The doorway in the south wall from the cloisters has been built up in old times, probably when the apartment was formed. It was intended for use for the extended nave, and not for the apartment.

The fragment of walling in the south-west angle of the cloister-space (in Mr. Tillett's garden) has the angle neatly dressed with brickwork; while the south-east face and the ends are plastered like inside work, the south-west side looks like outside work. It is a curious fragment. Other foundations can be seen beneath the gardens, in dry weather, by the different colour of the grass.

The question of the extension of the nave westward, beyond the fallen mass, appears to be definitely settled by the most recent of the excavations. The wall of the north aisle was traced to its end, and found to extend no farther westward than the position shewn, in a line with the fallen mass.

The site of one of the gateways of the Priory has been found by Mr. King to the north-west of the church, close to the present cottages. Nothing remained above ground; but he has found a flight of steps leading to a small basement; some of the walls being of rubble-work, added to, in later years, in brick. A curious vault, 8 ft. 4 ins. by 4 ft. 3 ins., with circular corners, has also been met with, the surface being plastered on hard chalk; while the floor was paved with brick, 12 ins. below the level of the floor of another vault.

The plan has been prepared with very great care by Mr. King, and may be relied on. In ordinary circumstances we find some rule observed with respect to the setting out of the building, and some system of relative proportion may be traced. I confess myself at a loss to speak of any such system here. The piers of the chancel are close together, while the aisles are narrow in regard to their length. Taking the square of the central tower-piers as the "key-note", so to speak, the chancel is  $3\frac{1}{2}$  squares in length to 1 in width; but the aisles are not governed by any such law, nor can it be extended either to transepts or nave. The south aisle of the chancel is one half of such a square in width, always measuring from centre to centre of walls; but this does not extend to the old line of the north aisle. The chancel pier-shafts are also irregular in width from one to the other.

The dimensions are as follow: extreme length from east to west, within walls, 175 ft. 9 ins.; width of nave and aisles, 53 ft. 3 ins.; width of chancel from centre of the



ANCIENT SEAL OF CARROW NUNNERY

NEAR NORWICH.

IN THE POSSESSION OF MR ROBERT FITCH. F. G. S.

THE leaden matrix of the seal of Carrow, of which the liberality of Mr. Fitch has here supplied a full size engraving, is now in his possession. Mr. Fitch says :—  
 “ It was found among the *débris* of St. Paul’s church, Norwich, at the time of the reparation of that building in 1841. It is pointed oval, and represents the B.V. Mary crowned, seated on a throne, holding our Saviour on the knees and a sceptre fleury in the hand, with the inscription, + S. SANCTE MARIE IUXTA NORWICV̄. The reverse has in the centre a slightly elevated ridge, still preserving some remains of the handle whereby it was used. A more remarkable seal in point of style and execution is perhaps nowhere to be found. The extreme coarseness and rudeness of this seal are as deserving of attention as the opposite qualities of elegance and care and beauty. What most approaches to this is the seal of the Abbey of Wilton, a seal by no means equally curious in its bearings, but still so much so, that the late Mr. Douce presented a drawing of it, accompanied with a dissertation, to the Society of Antiquaries, by whom it was published in the *Archæologia*, vol. xviii. Mr. Douce considered himself justified in referring that seal to the time of Edgar, thus giving it a priority in point of date over nearly all others. A similar claim cannot be preferred in behalf of the seal here represented ; for, though it be still more rude in the figures of the Virgin and Child, who are seen in profile, yet the shape of the letters is far from indicating the same period, while its pointed oval outline equally forbids so great antiquity, and the monastery to which it is supposed to have belonged was not founded till the time of Stephen. In his reign, or later, the seal most probably had its existence. The Virgin’s crown accords with that worn by Henry I, as figured in Strutt’s *Reg. and Eccles. Antiq.*, p. 101, pl. li. Her sceptre resembles that borne by William II, p. 7, pl. iv. For the netted head dress it would not be easy to find an equally satisfactory prototype. The author quoted figures none prior to the fourteenth century, for which time he gives an example, in his *Dresses and Habits*, pl. xcvi. ; but Willémin introduces in his *Monumens Inédits*, vol. i, p. 61, pl. c1, a female figure holding a child, with her hair similarly confined, copied from a MS. in the Royal Library, Paris, of the year 1291.”



eastern tower-piers to the inner face of the east wall, 65 ft. 6 ins.; width of chancel, 23 ft.; width of south chapel, 11 ft. 10 ins.; south transept, from centre of tower-pier to inner face of south wall, 44 ft. 6 ins.; width of south transept from wall to wall, 22 ft. 9 ins.; width of north transept, 23 ft.; width of chapter house, 22 ft.; length (about), 42 ft.; day-room, 95 ft. long, and 22 ft. 9 ins. wide. The axis of the presbytery is the same as that of the nave. The oval cesspool is 6 ft. 6 ins. deep; that next it, 7 ft. 6 ins. Of those by the presbytery, the western is 10 ft. 6 ins.; and the centre, 12 ft. deep.

The whole of the works of excavation have been superintended by Mr. A. S. King on Mr. Colman's behalf, and have been watched over with considerable care. Among the numerous articles found have been a large quantity of semi-Norman carved and moulded stones; several small capitals of early thirteenth century date; an iron ring, chain, and a bolt attached to it; several fragments of stained glass and of fifteenth and sixteenth century stone-ware pottery; several pieces of delft, *grès de Flandres*, and combed ware; a silver penny of Henry V, a Nuremberg token; a portion of a cable-moulding made of cement; iron keys, a knife; and, fitting in this feminine establishment, a brass thimble and a large pair of shears. Among the fragments were a bone pin of Roman date, a small ring cut out of solid bronze, and a Saxon amber bead. A bronze, flower-like ornament (part, probably, of some cresting), of mediæval date, was also found. In one of the wells a pair of spurs was found, and a large hand-millstone.

It will be heard with interest that it is Mr. Colman's intention to preserve, open to view, the most interesting of the portions of the buildings met with, and to arrange the architectural fragments also for inspection.

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## Proceedings of the Congress.

(Continued from p. 88.)

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THURSDAY, AUGUST 25, 1881.

TUESDAY and Wednesday were especially days for the lovers of church architecture. Thursday was the day for domestic architecture. Unfortunately the weather turned out wet and cheerless. The start was fixed for ten o'clock; but, in the hope of the weather clearing up, it was delayed till eleven. Things had not much improved by that time, and after consultation, the party divided, a small contingent coming on afterwards, and joining the main body at Birt's Morton.

On the road to Birt's Morton the first party in some way became divided. Castle Morton was passed by one of the brakes. The occupants, however, did not alight. The Rev. C. E. D. Fox kindly came out, and gave a little information. The fine old Norman doorway and the pretty spire were much admired. Near the church an immense mound, "The Tump", surrounded by entrenchments, marks the site of the castle which gave a name to the village.

As the carriages halted in front of Birt's Morton Court, the imagination was carried back most vividly to olden times. There were the old timbers and massive chimneys, and strong foundations girt about with the broad moat with its green duckweed. A bridge spans the moat, beneath the massive, embattled gateway.

The church was first inspected. This is more remarkable for two or three curiosities than for its architecture. The Rector, the Rev. R. Pilson, pointed out the objects of interest. On the modern door is fastened an old ring, to which the hand of the outlaw, the deer-stealer, or the murderer, may have clung many a time in the days when the forest-laws were strictly carried out in Malvern Chase. If the fugitive could only reach the church, and clasp the ring, he was safe from the fury of the chief ranger of the forest. Just inside the church is an alms-box, made of solid wood, formerly fastened to the churchwardens' pew. Probably it was placed there immediately after the Reformation. In the transept is the altar-tomb monument to Sir John Nanfan,

Esquire of the Body to Henry VI. Sir John was buried at Tewkesbury. One of the effigies in the side-compartment formerly had near it the inscription, " Dame Lygon."

After looking at the church the archæologists went across the farmyard to the Court House. Here, by Mr. Bevan's kindness, the party assembled in the oak dining-hall, where the Rev. W. S. Symonds, that unrivalled master of Worcestershire folk-lore, was waiting to receive them. Birt's Morton Court, close by (now a farmhouse), as seen in the rain, was the ideal of the dreary, moated grange,—a group of buildings in stone and brick, surrounded by a moat completely coated with duckweed, and approached from a muddy farmyard by a stone bridge. This bridge is faced by a fourteenth century stone gateway having a more modern brick battlement; and beyond an inner courtyard is the house, a low timber and stone structure, now inhabited by the farmer. The chief room has oak-panelled walls and a massive fireplace, all well carved, and enriched with shields of arms. Above is an elaborate, beamed, and plastered ceiling in hexagonal panels. In this room the Rev. W. S. Symonds, F.G.S., read a paper, in which he said that this village of Brute Morton, standing in the woodlands of Malvern Chase, was one of those mentioned in *Domesday*. The family of Birts or De Brutes lived here in the reign of Edward I; and at a subsequent period tradition asserted that Owen Glendower, who married one of the daughters of Birt, used to visit the family, disguised as a shepherd; and a so called secret chamber formed in the thickness of the wall at the back of the house, and looking into the moat, still existed, now used as a cupboard. Sir John Oldecastle, also connected with the Birts, was concealed here. The house afterwards came, by marriage, to the Nanfans, a Cornish family, who lived here in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries; and the statesman, the Right Hon. William Huskisson, was born in the house, his father being then a farmer and churchwarden of the parish. This room contained a great number of shields bearing the arms and quarterings of the families with whom the Nanfans married.

Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock pronounced the present house, although occupying an ancient site, to date no further back than the time of Sir John Nanfan of Henry VI's household. The beautiful, panelled ceiling was Elizabethan, and more recent than the beams which crossed it; and since it was cut away at the edges to admit the oak cornice, it was evident that the wainscoting was more recent; and, indeed, was somewhat later than the Jacobean mantelpiece. Very similar carving, dated 1634, was seen the previous day in a house in Church Lane, Ledbury. Mr. Symonds and others urged that the arms must have been gradually carved as new alliances took place; but Mr. Brock held that, as at the present day, the whole series was done to order at one

time, about two centuries ago. The evidence of relative dates of walling and ceiling, fixed by the cutting away of the latter, appeared on examination indisputable.

Upstairs, the beams of what was once the hall, and some more armorial bearings, were seen; and in an upper room of an outer building next to the entrance-gateway (now used as a cheese-room), a plastered ceiling divided into hexagonal and other panels, containing fleurs-de-lis, was seen.

Rain fell heavily as the party drove through the pretty country lying between Birt's Morton Court and Payne's Place, the next halting-place. This house is at once interesting as a beautiful specimen of our domestic architecture, and as the hiding-place of Margaret of Anjou after the battle of Tewkesbury. The Rector of Bushley was away from home. In his absence the Rev. J. M. Guilding received the visitors, and read from an account of the house and its history, published by Mr. Dowdeswell. The Rev. J. M. Guilding explained that this house was built in 1450 by Martin Payne, a merchant in the neighbouring town of Tewkesbury. Its chief interest was, that after the battle of Tewkesbury, fought in 1471 (soon after it was finished), Queen Margaret of Anjou, finding that her husband's cause was hopeless, and her troops dispersed and slain, committed herself to the care of two monks, who conducted her to Bushley, where Thomas Payne and his wife came out, and entreated the Queen to stay all night. Next day the Queen went on to Worcester.

The old house was inspected with much curiosity. Its chief feature is the hall, which was formerly open to the roof. Mr. Dowdeswell supposes that the house was built about 1450, and that the present bed-room floor was inserted in the hall about a hundred years after. In the sixteenth century a family named Stratford was settled at Payne's Place. The sitting-room on the ground-floor of the east wing was then decorated; and close under the ceiling, on a white ground enclosed with a framework, ran couplets of verse. These were covered up, for many years, by plaster. Two of them have been saved, and run as follow:

"To lyve as wee shoulde alwayes dye, it were a goodly trade;  
To change lowe Deathe for lyfe so hye, no better change is made;  
For all our worldly thynges are vayne; in them there is no truste;  
Wee se all states awhile remayne, and then they turn to duste."

More than two hundred years ago Payne's Place was bought by Mr. Richard Dowdeswell, and it has continued to be owned by the same family ever since.

Canon Winnington Ingram asked what grounds there were for the statement with respect to the Queen's visit, to which Mr. Guilding

replied, tradition had always associated the room on the first floor with the Queen; and the position agreed exactly with the historical narrative,—on the opposite side of the Severn to the battlefield, and not two miles' distance from it.

Canon Ingram replied that Margaret was said to have fled to a religious house. Had this been identified with any establishment? It was replied, it had not; but there was no monastery in the neighbourhood.

Mr. Guilding also shewed the Parish Register, brought from the (rebuilt) parish church of Bushley, which dates from 1538, and contains the entry of the burial, in 1546, of Edward Tyndall, brother of William, the martyred translator of the Bible. On the upper floor was seen the modernised Queen's room, looking upon Tewkesbury Abbey, the Severn, and the battlefield; and in another bedroom and in a passage, the high-pitched beams of the former hall, and part of the front of the minstrels' gallery.

After luncheon in Moss House, Pull Park, a modern picnicing kiosque belonging to Mr. Dowdeswell, the carriages were resumed, through Ipton and Hanley, to Severn End, the ancient seat of the Lechmere family, where a halt was made. In the principal apartment, the dining-room, the Rev. T. W. Wood, Vicar of Eldersfield, on behalf of Sir Edmund Lechmere, M.P., welcomed the members, and read a historical paper on the house, which he said occupied a spot that had, with one interval of forty years, been the residence of the Lechmeres from the time of their arrival from Brittany or Holland with the Conqueror. The house, as they saw it, was added to by Nicholas Lechmere, a judge of Charles II's time, from whose Diary one could trace the whole progress of the work. Nicholas was the third son, and the heir, of Edmund Lechmere and Margaret, the daughter of Sir Thomas Overbury. He was born in 1613, and in 1641 began the alterations and additions which transformed the house, erecting on the south or riverward side new rooms, and then garden-walls. In 1656 he planted an avenue of elms at the back; and in 1671 built a study at the south-west corner of the garden, which was restored by Sir E. Lechmere in 1861. In 1673 he contracted with John Avenon to build him north and south projecting wings to the house for £250, making an entry in the Diary, "How this shall he performed, time will show",—a misgiving afterwards confirmed by the added note, "He failed in all things." In April 1701 Judge Lechmere died, aged eighty-eight. His favourite studies, as shewn by some large chests of books still preserved, were medicine and divinity. Sir Nicholas was buried at twelve o'clock at night, without a coffin. His descendants continued at Severn End till early in the present century, when the head of the family sold the property, which was repurchased in 1855

by the father of the present Sir E. Lechmere. It was now furnished as a museum, and inhabited by the steward.

The members then went over the house, examining the specimens of armour, china, and Etruscan ware, minerals, autographs, etc., with which it is furnished, and also the small but valuable library. The rooms have highly ornamental ceilings, but are very low. The main staircase has a disproportionately large newel and very narrow treads. It was remarked that the floors are of elm, beeswaxed and polished, cut from very wide planks, the average being over a foot.

One of the party not unnaturally observed that he could not have believed that such a house as Severn End was in existence at all. It is indeed a charming specimen of the mingled architecture of the Tudor and Stuart periods. Gables, windows, doors, water-spouts, are all in their way perfect.

The Rev. T. W. Wood pointed out that Severn End was a modern name for the house. Before the civil wars it was known as Lechmere's Place. Some people had supposed that the Lechmere family came from the Low Countries at the time of the Norman Conquest. Another theory, to which the present Baronet leaned, was that the family came from Brittany. In the Breton dialect, *lech* stood for love, and *mere* for mother. This harmonised with the Lechmere symbol of a pelican feeding her young. It was certain that the Norman Conqueror assigned a domain to one of the family, who built a house on the spot where they were assembled.

Mr. Wood described the various rooms of the house, and stated that although the present owner did not reside there permanently, he delighted in keeping up the old place where his ancestors lived and died. He mentioned that Bishop Bonner was born close by, and was maintained at Oxford by Thomas Lechmere. Bonner, though he persecuted to the death, had at least the virtue of gratitude, and requited the kindness shewn to him in his youth. The various rooms in the house, including the museum formed by the present Baronet, were then inspected.

At the evening meeting, at Malvern College, papers were read by Mr. C. H. Compton "On the Antiquity of the Game of Golf", and by the Rev. W. S. Lach-Szyrma "On some Records of a Cornish Borrough"; those of Marazion, or Market Jew, in which the author urged the desirability of having those interesting historical documents examined, edited, and published.



FRIDAY, AUGUST 26,

Was spent in a group of places near Kidderminster, the arrangements having been made by Mr. John Brinton, M.P., who personally conducted the party.

The members arrived at Kidderminster by special train, about 10 A.M., and were received in the new Town Hall (built in 1876, from the designs of Mr. J. T. Meredith, in Renaissance style) by Mr. Brinton, who introduced them to the Mayor (Mr. Willis) in full robes, and the members of the Corporation. Upon the table were displayed a number of municipal documents; and the Mayor, in welcoming the visitors, mentioned that till the previous day no one in Kidderminster knew whether any old MSS. existed, other than a charter granted by Charles II, and some very modern ones; but the night before, the assistant town clerk, in searching through some old papers in preparation for the Congress, found a paper parcel which when opened proved to contain a number of valuable documents now laid before them. He feared time would not permit of detailed examination that day; but after the Congress the Mayor's parlour would be at the service of any members of the Association if they would examine and report on the discovery.

Mr. Brinton, M.P., referred to this fortuitous coincidence as a tangible proof of the benefits accruing to towns through the visits of archæological societies, by inducing the inhabitants to search for and treasure their links with past history. The old and valuable charters belonging to the Corporation, uncared for and forgotten, in drawers and cupboards, having been once brought to light, will probably be arranged by competent hands. He then read a historical paper descriptive of the borough. Anciently known as Chidderminster, the earliest mention of the town was in the eighth century, when Cunibert received a parcel of land of that name from Ethelred, King of the West Angles, for a monastery, an establishment utterly demolished by the Danes a century later, and of which no traces remained. In 1164 the church was given by Manser de Biset for the founding of a hospital for female lepers at Maiden Bradley, Wilts., and so continued till the Dissolution, in 1538. The manor was at the Conquest the property of the King, but was granted by Henry II to the above named Manser de Biset; and it successively passed through the hands of the Beauchamps, Nevilles of Bergavenny, Blounts, Waller the poet, the Foleys, to the family of Ward and Dudley. The Manor House, near the parish church, was sold by the poet Waller, its possessor and occupant, to escape from difficulties with the Parliament, and was at the present

moment unroofed, and about to be removed for the extension of the church schools. There was near the town a sandstone tower of Caldwell Castle, erected about the time of Edward III, and attached to it a residence rebuilt about the beginning of the eighteenth century. There was also a mount, which, together with the Castle, played an important part in the last civil war, although it was uncertain whether the mount was erected in connection with, or to command, the Castle. The manufactures of the town dated back to the thirteenth century, and woollen goods and serge were made from that time till the eighteenth century. In the year 1710 the manufacture of carpets was surreptitiously brought here from Wilton, where it had been imported from Flanders; and it had since become the staple trade, and supported an increasing population.

Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock said that on the table were three old charters having fine seals, much injured by rough usage, granted by Henry VIII (in 1530), Elizabeth, and Charles I; the first reciting previous charters of Henry VI, Henry II, and Richard II, not now known to exist; the latter incorporating the borough.

In reply to a question from Sir J. A. Picton, as to whether the establishment of the carpet trade was not prior to 1713, the Town Clerk of Much Wenlock said that Corporation possessed a deed dated 1687, being a formal transfer from the outgoing to the incoming high bailiff, of a "carpet from Kidderminster for the Council Chamber", as the first of numerous items.

The Mayor also exhibited a copy of Richard Baxter's *Saints' Everlasting Rest*, dated 1651, containing the autograph presentation from the author to the high bailiff and burgesses; a silver-gilt loving-cup of late Elizabethan date, with an inscription shewing it to have been enlarged in 1623; and two querns found in 1879, in Church Street, very similar to those of Roman date.

The members then perambulated the town, seeing the statues to Richard Baxter in the Bull Ring, and to Sir Rowland Hill opposite the Corn Exchange; the one unveiled in 1875, the other a few weeks since. Both are by Mr. Brock the sculptor, who is a native of Worcester. They are executed in white statuary marble, and are heroic in scale. Baxter's House (now a confectioner's shop) has no intrinsic interest; but also in Coventry Street, beneath an inn, is a large, vaulted crypt, apparently mediæval in character, which has been traced for 35 yards, and is, as usual elsewhere, said to extend to the church, about half a mile off, although no vestige of it or of an entrance is known to exist there. It is of red brick, having moulded jambs to some of the openings, and late fifteenth century in date.

In the vestry of a Unitarian Chapel, the pulpit formerly in St. Mary's Church, and used by Richard Baxter till the passing of the Uniformity

Act, was seen. It is of oak, has a huge sounding-board, and is carved with stiff roses, pomegranates, and foliage, agreeing well with the date over the crown at the head, 1623. On the edge of the sounding-board is a quotation from the Psalms; and on the panels is carved, "The gift of Alice Dawkx, widow." In 1785, at the "restoration" of the parish church, this interesting memorial was sold, with a quantity of pewing, for £5, to a townsman, who presented it to the Chapel trustees.

The parish church of St. Mary and All Saints was next visited. It is chiefly of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and has been refaced externally, with the exception of the tower at the south-west angle, which is of crumbling red sandstone. The panelled battlements of the clerestories have been coated, during some restoration, with cement. Projecting from the east end, and connected with it by a vestry, is a large Perpendicular chantry chapel, founded by Simon Ryse, and till recently used as the grammar school. In this room the Vicar, Canon Boyle, read a paper in which he stated that there was a church built on this site before 1100, by John Niger; but no traces of it were known to exist, except, perhaps, the concrete core of the tower. The oldest visible part of the church was the north side of the chancel, in Middle Pointed style; next to it the tower; and then the nave, which was in the Third Pointed style. It was repewed under Johnson, of Worcester, in 1785, and restored in 1847, and again in 1872 and 1877. In this chantry the Vicar shewed a carved chair of Jacobean character, said to have belonged to Richard Baxter, having the names of Baxter and two of his friends cut upon the back. Some doubt was thrown upon its authenticity; not lessened when it transpired that the relic was recently picked up in a London dealer's shop.

The members then went into the church, seeing on the way the oolitic shaft of the old cross, the head of which was destroyed during a riot in Baxter's time. On the north side of the chancel were shewn the marks traditionally said to have been caused by cannon during the last civil wars. Some amusement was occasioned by the Mayor's exclaiming that this must be a mistake, as he helped to make the holes himself, when a lad, by throwing weavers' leaden balls against the church. The arcades, columns, clerestories, windows, were all seen to be in the Perpendicular style, well developed. There is a large stained glass west window by O'Connor, and a new reredos containing a representation of the Last Supper, designed by Mr. W. Jeffrey Hopkins, Worcester, and executed by Messrs. Boulton, Cheltenham. On the north pier, behind where Baxter's pulpit stood, has been recently found an appropriate quotation, in old English characters; but Mr. R. Danks, of Worcester, remarked that the passage was not cited from the Authorised Version, and was, therefore, probably earlier than 1611.

The church contains several alabaster effigies and brasses, including amongst the former Lady Beauchamp (c. 1469) represented as lying, in ruff and mantle, under a canopied recess; and several of similar character, but a century later, to members of the Blount family,—three of these lying in an out of the way corner at the south-west angle of the building. In the centre of the chancel is an unusually large and well wrought brass to Maude Saint Pierre and her successive husbands, Sir Walter Cooksley and Sir John Phelip. Colonel Bramble, of Bristol, in describing this memorial, mentioned that the costumes depicted were of very early fifteenth century, both the husbands wearing plate-armour and the collar of SS, the Lancastrian badge. The armour, as shewn especially by the elbow-pieces, was of two types, the second husband being the later. In a recess opposite, on the north wall of the chancel, were recumbent effigies of a knight and his wife, both in very similar attire to those just examined; but indicating a still later type of armour by sixty or seventy years, in the addition of tuilles to the skirt of the taces.

Mr. E. Piper called Colonel Bramble's attention to the fact that both brass and alabaster were believed, from inscriptions, to represent a lady and her second husband. Did the change in costume indicate that some mistake in identification had occurred?

Colonel Bramble replied that this was not so. It illustrated the important principle in deciphering monuments, or, indeed, paintings or pictorial representations of any kind, that a mediæval artist did not attempt to depict his subject, whether a person or building, in the garb actually worn, but in that which was in fashion when he executed his commission. Having again shewn the differences between the costumes of brass and monument, he suggested that the order for the latter was given some time after the brass had been laid down, and of course, in any case, to a different artist.

The members then drove to Warshill Camp, an entrenched space on the summit of a hill in the Forest of Wyre, cut through by a roadway, and commanding a splendid view bounded by the Wrekin, the Hagley, and Lickey Hills, the Cotswolds and Malverus, and the Radnor, Brecon, and Shropshire Hills. Here Mr. Brinton read a short paper, in which he stated that the trenches and ditches which still crowned the hill formed one of a series of strong earthworks (many of which were pointed out) defending the Saxon borderland against the Cymri or Welsh, whose great camp was at Maybury Hill, well in sight, to the south. This fort was second to none in position, being placed so as to command the valleys of the Severn, Teme, and Stour.

Passing through Wribbenhall, and over Telford's Bridge, to Bewdley, where were seen several half-timbered houses and a large and plain brick church of about the time of George II, the party went to

Ribbesford Church, which although partially rebuilt, two years since, from the designs of Mr. Preedy of London, afforded an agreeable surprise. It is much too large for the present requirements of the little village; but is the mother church of Bewdley. It is chiefly of the fourteenth century; but the south and west doorways are early Norman, and fragments adorned with chevron-carving are worked into the south wall. The south aisle is separated from the nave by massive oaken pillars and struts of the fourteenth century, while that to the north has curious stone piers nearly a century later in style, evidencing an intention to rebuild in stone. The roodloft stairs and doorway (partly concealed by a new memorial-brass) are not opposite, but between two pillars, and are in the south aisle-wall. The lectern is completely covered with flat Jacobean ornament, and seems contemporary with the south porch, which is dated 1633. The rude Norman sculpture in the south doorway revived an old controversy as to its subject. It represents a man shooting with bow and arrow a four-footed creature of prodigious girth, and having spines on the back and a flat tail, while between runs a slender quadruped. This, Mr. Brinton said, had been described as an archer shooting a salmon and deer; but Mr. E. Lees, of Worcester, said he regarded the "salmon" as a seal, and the deer as a greyhound; and others took the former to be a beaver, or otter, or dragon. The general opinion was that it was a symbolical representation of "Pursued Man delivered from the Strong One by a Stronger."

Mr. Brinton, Mr. Brock, and others, having described the church, the early Jacobean Ribbesford House was seen directly afterwards. It is of stone, with octagonal turrets at the entrance, covered with ogee cupolas, and is surrounded by a moat. It was formerly the residence of the Herberts of Cherbury.

Areley King's Church is an unrestored structure having flat plasterceilings, open pews, and an unsightly west gallery. On the north is a walled-up Norman doorway of two tints of stone. The Rector, the Rev. J. P. H. Hastings, shewed in the chancel some singular epitaphs, including one on a flat stone to one Walter Walsh, dated 1702, who was "ruinated by thre quackers, two lawers, and a fanatic to help them"; and in the churchyard a still more curious one. It consists of huge, new red sandstone-boulders, forming the boundary-wall overhanging a cliff, and inscribed, in letters a foot high, with the trilingual jumble, "Lithologema quare? Reponitur Sir Harry." Till recently, the Rector said, this was a puzzle; but the recent discovery and recovery of the ancient Parish Registers from a Tewkesbury solicitor's had shewn that the old tradition was correct, that they marked the burial-place of the eccentric "Sur Harry Consby" or Coningsby, of Hampton Court, Herefordshire, who "was burried in wollin at



midnight", in November 1701, near the wall he had caused to be raised.

Mr. Brock pointed out that some elm-trees beyond the walls were breaking the inscribed stones of many tons weight, and would ultimately overturn them; but the Rector said he would not have the trees cut down in his day. In the churchyard is also an immense hollow yew-tree, and a pillar sun-dial dated 1687.

The Hermitage Caves, near the Stour, are deep recesses in the sand-stone cliffs, and vary from 10 to 20 feet high. They were probably formed by quarrying, and have been used at several periods, and again a few years since by persons of dubious antecedents.

At Moor Hall, Stourport, the members were entertained by Mr. Brinton; and in the after-dinner proceedings Sir James Picton referred to the rediscovery of the Kidderminster corporate records as the event of the Congress, and said that in the examination of municipal documents a new field of archaeological research was just being opened up, which would hereafter probably throw new light on our towns' inner life and history. A good example had been set in the publication of extracts from the MSS. of Oxford city, which he trusted would soon be followed by Liverpool, and that other boroughs would endeavour to popularise the history buried in these muniments. The members then went over Mr. Brinton's residence, which is especially rich in landscapes in oil and water-colours by English painters.

At the evening meeting, Mr. T. Morgan, F.S.A., read a paper upon "Some Flowers of Chivalry and Fields of Rue, 1458-71 and 1642-57." Mr. E. H. Lingen Barker followed with one upon "Garway Church, Herefordshire", recently partially restored under the author's direction. The church had, he said, two peculiarities,—a detached tower connected with the main fabric by a long, covered passage; and a fine chancel-arch, which had been thought by some to be Saracenic in its details.

Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock said the drawings shewed an ordinary Norman arch, with no suggestions of Oriental influence.

Sir J. A. Picton said it was probable that the tower was erected as a defence against the Welsh, and that the church was a later addition.

The Rev. J. R. Burton, F.G.S., read a third paper containing extracts from the Parish Registers of Ribbesford, visited on Thursday, and from the chapel and bridgewardens' accounts of Bewdley.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 27.

This day was allotted for the examination of early earthworks, a priory, a church, and a modern and an old castle, lying a few miles south-west of Malvern.

Little Malvern Priory, now the parish church of St. Giles and St. Mary, is a fragment of a Benedictine monastery church, consisting of central tower and chancel. The tower is Perpendicular, of four stages, abruptly capped by a modern high-pitched roof. Attached to the west face are responds and caps of transitional Norman columns with hollow chamferings (c. 1180); and to the south of these Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock pointed out still earlier work (evidently that of the original foundation) in a plain, semicircular arch in the east wall of what had been the south transept. Beyond the south side of the chancel are ivy-clad piers and arches of a former aisle; and on the north, Mr. J. Tom Burgess shewed that a broken flagstone has on it moss-covered, incised crosses in the centre and on the front edge; where is also some Roman lettering, clearly proving this neglected fragment to be a former altar-slab, probably of the south chapel. Inside, the remarkable features are the remains of late fifteenth century stained glass in the east window; the Perpendicular rood-screen and beam now dividing the *quasi* chancel from the nave; an open oak structure crowned by pierced quatrefoil-stage, and solid, slightly overhanging cornice; the latter convex, and carved with flowing vine-ornament, and a roll-member filled with roses; and the patterned tiles in the floor. The fenestration is at first sight a puzzle, as within debased Tudor arches in the side-walls are a lancet and flowing Decorated windows, while above are fifteenth century double clerestories: anomalies explained by the theory that Bishop Alcock in the rebuilding reset old lights in his new arches, which agree pretty nearly in style with his chapel at the east end of the south aisle in Ely Cathedral. The octagonal base of a column from the nave is refixed in the present church to serve as a font; and there are two walled-up hagioscopes, formerly looking into the chancel-aisles. The carved misereres of the stall-seats have been hacked off.

Mr. Daniel Parsons read a scholarly paper in the little church, which, he said, like the others in the grand group of Great Malvern, Evesham, Pershore, Gloucester, Tewkesbury, and Worcester, was originally that of a Benedictine establishment, and was founded in 1125 on a site described by Buck in the last century as "a dismal cavity between the Malvern Hills"; and the original grant was signed by Simon, twenty-seventh Bishop of Worcester. It seemed to have been

rebuilt in 1171-87 by Josecelin and Edred; and again greatly altered in the Decorated period, to which and to the Early Perpendicular the present remains belonged. In 1480, Bishop Alcock, of Worcester, found the discipline very lax, and dismissed the four monks; and after closing the Priory for two years, and rebuilding the church, he reopened the establishment. It was dissolved in August 1534. The site of the Monastery was granted by Philip and Mary to John Russell, descendant of one of the late King's secretaries, in whose family it remained till the present century, when it passed, in the female line, to the Beringtons, the present possessors. The glory of the part of the church still left was the six-light Perpendicular east window, which still shewed a valuable series of Yorkist royal portraits. Beginning with the lowest pane to the south, and reading from left to right, there was a space we knew to have once contained Richard Duke of York, now filled by a kneeling figure of great beauty brought from some other window. Next was a full-length portrait of Edward V, who was murdered in the Tower,—a window preserved by the late Mr. Albert Way, who had it drawn, and then carefully releaded and replaced. The third should be Edward IV, now lost; then a full-length figure of Queen Elizabeth Woodville, wife of the last mentioned King, and the remains of an inscription; and then four figures of ladies in one light, two of which were identified as the sisters Elizabeth of York and Katharine. Above, in the next small tier, were, first, two canopies; then the head of the Almighty Father; the body of a bishop with crozier and two sets of chains, the head being gone; and two blank spaces. In the head were the shields bearing the arms of Edward IV and of Edward V, diminished for eldest son, each supported on a compartment by two lions and two angels,—an unusually complete heraldic representation; and another, the arms of Bishop Alcock. The tiles on the floor had full inscriptions, and one had been singularly misunderstood by the late Albert Way and John Gough Nichols. Both of them regarded the motto, "Misereatur me! Misereatur me!" to indicate a leper's interment; whereas it was but the usual sign of a monk's burial-place, being a quotation from the passage in Job used in the office for the dead.

Little Malvern Court, which occupies the site of the monastic buildings, was shewn by its owner and occupant, Mr. C. M. Berington. It is a picturesque structure of various dates, having many gables,—one on the west half-timbered; and on the north, the principal entrance under a rough-cast circular turret. The library shews some remains of the kitchen built by Bishop Alcock, and contains a choice collection of seventeenth century and eighteenth century Catholic works, and a few illuminated MSS. and early printed books. Mr. Berington drew out of an old chest, which once belonged to Queen Katharine of Ara-

gon, an embroidered quilt of rich silk, Moresque in pattern, and other relics of that Queen. He also exhibited several deeds relating to the Monastery, the earliest being of the twelfth century; one from William Earl of York, relating to the Priory; and the finest, the grant by Philip and Mary of the Monastery to Russell. Mr. Berington held up a walnut-shaped cowhide-box, of which he challenged the members to give the use, although a feature of every house a century since. No one responding at once, he said it was a gentleman's wig-box.

A stiff clamber brought the party to the summit of the Herefordshire Beacon, where, after some time had been spent in identifying and pointing out the salient features of the magnificent landscape, extending from the Wrekin to the Severn estuary, and from Edge Hill to the Mid Welsh Mountains, with portions of some thirteen or fourteen counties, a fierce controversy arose as to the origin of the great earthworks by which the hill has been surrounded, and was only cut short by a sudden, passing storm.

Mr. E. Lees, of Worcester, delivered an address, in which, after pointing out the successive deep trenches and banks by which the eastern or English side of the Beacon is defended, he offered reasons for supposing that the hill could not have been used by Caractacus as a defence against the advances of the Romans under Ostorius, as it was not on the line of march. Nor was it more probable that the Romans ever occupied it, as neither coins nor other traces of their presence had been found: indeed, the only early object found on the Malvern range was the celebrated chieftain's gold crown set with jewels, of about the ninth century, dug up at Camp Hill, on the north-west side of this Beacon; a few bones of domestic animals and pieces of pottery, recently found on Midsummer Hill; and calcined bones and a fragment of a cup dug up by the Ordnance surveyors in the cairn on the Worcestershire Beacon.<sup>1</sup> Whenever formed, this Herefordshire Beacon camp was a vast undertaking. The summit of the hill, an oval space 60 yards in the longest diameter, was enclosed by a ditch from 12 to 18 feet in diameter; and below this, on the eastern face, were other deep *vallu* and *fossæ*, the lowest complete one being 2,970 yards round. Dr. Card, a former Vicar of Great Malvern, was the first to notice that only the eastern face of the hill was strongly defended, and that the summit had been so scarped and banked up, with a dip to west, that a beacon-fire would be visible to all the hill-sides of Wales, while it would be hidden from the plains of Worcester and Evesham. He held, therefore, that the lines were formed by the Romano-Britons or Welsh as defences against the Saxons, and that the lower entrenchments were the most recent.

<sup>1</sup> The latter he exhibited, and it was described by Mr. Brock as a piece of a food-cup of earthenware often found in tumuli, with the familiar zigzag ornament afterwards improved upon in Norman MSS. and carving.

Mr. T. Morgan remarked that the absence of Roman remains was no convincing proof that the Romans were never there. Till the late discoveries at Brading it was denied that the Romans could have been in the Isle of Wight.

Sir J. A. Picton believed, from the variety in character of the hill-defences, that, like many other entrenched sites, they were used by many successive races; that the higher ones were the work of hill-tribes far anterior to the Roman occupation.

Mr. J. Tom Burgess pointed out from the rampart, that just opposite, rising from the eastern plain, was the Bredon Hill, which was undoubtedly occupied by the Romans: indeed, in sight on the east was a long line of hill-tops which were held by Ostorius during the second Roman occupation; and to the north-east, another series of earthworks and forts of the Cornobii; while to the north was their capital, the Wrekin; and a little to the west were hill-fortresses attributed to the Silures. These gigantic engineering works on this Beacon might be, and probably were, much older than the days of the Romans; but it was impossible to suppose that such a skilled commander as either Ostorius or Caractacus would have failed to secure so important a place, lying on the very border-land between the contending nations; and although no remains had yet been found, it was probable that the Beacon was held by either party several times during the twenty-five years' war; and in this view he believed Mr. G. T. Clark, of Dowlais, concurred.

Mr. Burgess then described the escape of Prince Edward from Wigmore Castle, and his victory over Simon de Montfort at the battle of Evesham in 1265, pointing out the localities as he proceeded.

The party having seen a square cave-chamber, of very modern appearance, in the Valley, then walked on to Midsummer Camp, a series of less clearly defined earthworks on a lower hill to the south; and here Mr. J. T. Burgess explained the excavations made by him two years since, and shewed what he held to be cattle-enclosures, and three ponds for storing water on the side of the hill.

Walking single file along the Ridgway, a narrow backbone of the Wenlock sandstone, with shelving declivities on either side, a steep descent led to the approach to Branshill Castle; some discussion arising afterwards as to whether the narrow path was a geological or military formation, Messrs. G. H. Piper, C. Lynam, Swayne, and others, holding the former theory, and Messrs. Burgess and George the latter; the general conclusion seeming to be that it was the result of detrition of the rock by rain, afterwards artificially scarped and rendered uniform for purposes of defence.

Of Branshill Castle little is left except outer lines of ramparts; an extensive moat, now enclosing a dell, overgrown with yews and other



trees, and part of the shell of a red sandstone tower, defending the bridge to the moat; a late structure, octagonal without, and circular within, marked with stringcourses and ornamental loopholes. Mr. G. H. Piper, F.G.S., President of the Malvern Natural History Club, read a historical paper shewing the families who have held the Castle, which was never garrisoned, and was burnt down during the last civil war. He exhibited a tracing of Buck's view, taken in 1731, which shewed two towers defending a drawbridge, and extensive walling, but proved quite inaccurate in detail when compared with the actual remains.

Eastnor Church, seen after luncheon, was rebuilt, with the exception of the west tower, in 1852, from the designs of Sir Gilbert Scott. The feature of interest is the chapel, on the north-east, of the Cocks family (now represented by Earl Somers), which contains several large altartombs, like the church, of fourteenth century character, in marble inlaid with coloured marbles and precious stones; that to the second Earl, by Philip, being decorated with bas-reliefs. There are also mural slabs, the earliest being one to Richard Cocks, Alderman of London, who died in 1623.

Eastnor Castle, the last place visited, is the seat of Earl Somers,<sup>1</sup> and is an attempt by Robert Smirke to reproduce a castellated mansion. Sufficient is it to say that the circular flanking towers at each angle, the inadequate central keep, and the battlements, are all copied from an Edwardian castle, while the decorative details of the exterior include the dogtooth, the zigzag, and other ornaments of the Transitional Norman period. It was built between 1812 and 1824, in solid ashlar-masonry, at a cost, it is said, of nearly a million of money; and with all its many and glaring incongruities, the Castle is an interesting specimen of the knowledge of Gothic existing at that period. The entrance-hall is very large, and 60 feet high. Upon the stencilled walls are hung a series of thirty-two complete suits of Milanese armour worn by the body-guard of Charles V. There are many portraits by Kneller, Romney, etc., and a full-length of the present Countess (then Miss Virginia Pattle) by Watts, whose "Tennyson", exhibited at the Academy, is hung in one of the lower rooms. The dining-room is interesting as having been furnished, from Pugin's designs, in a florid Gothic style now quite out of fashion.

In the evening a paper was read by the Rev. W. S. Symonds, F.G.S., "On the Battle of Tewkesbury", and the customary votes of thanks were passed.

<sup>1</sup> There were several Anglo-Saxon charters of Worcester Cathedral in the possession of the first Lord Somers.

MONDAY, AUGUST 29.

## EXCURSION TO WORCESTER.

The business of the Congress formally closed on Saturday night ; but three extra days were arranged for,—the first, which was very numerously attended, being spent in Worcester. The members were received at the Guildhall by the Mayor (Mr. Townshend), and upon the table were arranged the charters and the Corporation regalia, including four silver maces, a double-handed sword with richly ornamented scabbard, two punchbowls, and two jugs of Worcester porcelain, and three flagons.

Mr. W. de G. Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*, of the British Museum, gave a description of the charters, which he said were a fine and unusually complete series, beginning with the reign of Richard I, and ending with that of Charles II. In the first, granted in 1189, Worcester was called a “ville”, and the inhabitants “burgesses”; but in the second, granted by Henry III in 1216, and all succeeding ones, “city” and “citizens”. The plain tapes or bobbins which formerly held the seals of the first and second charters, were amongst the earliest specimens in existence of the English weavers’ art. The charters were in good preservation ; but he would suggest to their custodian that such invaluable documents ought not to be folded, as each creasing hastened the time when they would drop to pieces. They should be kept in a portfolio, or, better still, under a glass case ; but ample ventilation was essential to their preservation. Mr. Birch then read a paper “On the Anglo-Saxon Charters of Worcester Monastery”, of which he said there were catalogued by the monk Heming, at the direction of Bishop Wulstan, between two hundred and three hundred, relating to the sale and tenure of land, the transfer of real property,—documents which possessed the highest value as throwing light on our insular history. Of these, more than half had ceased to exist ; twenty had found their way to the British Museum ; twenty-four were in 1703, and probably some were now at Eastnor, in the possession of the Somers family ; and only one remained in the care of the Dean and Chapter, and that was temporarily held by the Ordnance Survey. This single remnant of the capitular MSS., of which a facsimile reproduction in photolithography (published by the speaker in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*) was exhibited, was a grant dated A.D. 770, to Uhtred, Regulus of the Mercians. Only about two thousand Anglo-Saxon documents are now known to exist,—a number necessarily, by accidents, thefts, and the lapse of time, which devoured all

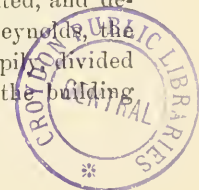
things, always diminishing; and it was, therefore, desirable that an attempt should at once be made to complete the work commenced by Kemble, and to collate, edit, translate, and publish, the whole in one volume.

Mr. J. Tom Burgess gave an account of the recent discoveries in the City, and stated that, beginning from opposite the Guildhall, and running in the line of the thoroughfare (but sometimes just under the houses), to Little Angel Street, an ancient street, paved with Roman slag, had been found from 7 to 8 feet beneath the present surface; a quantity of detritus, horns of oxen and goats, and bones of pigs, and also two small broken cups of brown, glazed pottery, pronounced by Mr. Brock to be very like Elizabethan ware.

At the Cathedral the members were received by their President, the Dean (Lord Alwyne Compton), who delivered an extempore address at various parts of the edifice, describing its peculiarities, the course of the recent restoration, which he stated cost over £130,000, and the appearance of the building previously to that work. Having taken the party over the entire building, nave, crypt, choir, transepts, cloisters, and chapter house, the Dean led them to the refectory, which stands over a series of Norman vaults (one of which fell in a fortnight since), and is now used as the King's School. It is well proportioned, with thirteenth century walls, into which five Decorated windows are inserted on either side; the east end being occupied by a large quatre-foil containing a greatly mutilated representation of the Lord in Majesty, and above is the blocked-up tracery of the window, and on either side Perpendicular panelling.

In the Deanery, formerly the Palace, the Dean entertained the members at luncheon in a splendid vaulted hall in the basement, and afterwards shewed them, in the drawing-room, an extensive collection of water-colour, chalk, and pencil-drawings of Worcester, sketched during the past half century by Mr. H. H. Lines of that city, who had lent them for the occasion. These are all dated, the construction being noted, and already are of high local interest, and must increase in value, as they illustrate the Cathedral before the restoration, with its former tower-parapet and east front, and the disproportionately high spirelets added to each gable a century since by the architect of St. Andrew's Church spire, and now replaced by weak Decorated pinnacles; the guesten hall, wantonly destroyed in 1854; St. Peter's Church, another loss to picturesque Worcester; and the old buildings and walls on the Severn front of the Cathedral adjuncts.

In the afternoon the Hall of the Commandery was visited, and described by Messrs. J. Tom Burgess, E. Lees, and John Reynolds, the latter pointing out that the roof of the hall (now, unhappily, divided by a carriage-road to stables, recklessly driven through the building



by the last proprietors within living memory) was probably an unique example of the transition from the collar-beam to the hammer-beam mode of treatment, having the latter style of principals; which were also tied in, and had collars, and curved braces to purlins.

The party then divided, one section going over the Royal Worcester Porcelain Manufactory and its Museum,<sup>1</sup> under the guidance of Mr. Binns, F.S.A., its Director; another preferring to inspect the Edgar Tower, some half-timbered houses in Sidbury, and a fourteenth century wooden archway in a passage leading from Lych Street, leading opposite the north-east transept of the Cathedral,—conjectured by Mr. Burgess to mark the site of the lych-gate. All met again at the Museum, a section afterwards walking out to White Ladies, beyond the Tything, to find the site of this ancient Priory, occupied by a modern red brick house; the only old portion seen being a blank wall, towards the street, of masonry, broken up by First Pointed blank windows, alternately tall and short, and a vault at the street side of the garden.

<sup>1</sup> The contents of the cases are :

- |     |   |  |  |
|-----|---|--|--|
| 1.  | Roman pottery and model of kiln found at Diglis, 1861                                       |  |  |
| 2.  | Blue and white porcelain painted and printed between 1751 and 1783                          | } The Porcelain Company under Dr. Wall till 1776 |  |
| 3.  |   |  |  |
| 4.  |   |  |  |
| 5.  | Specimen of black and coloured transfer-printing, 1756-83                                   |  |  |
| 6.  | " of scale-blue, etc., from 1751-83   |  |  |
| 7.  |   |  |  |
| 8.  | Porcelain by Flights, and Flight and Barr, 1783-1840  |  |  |
| 9.  |   |  |  |
| 10. | " " " Chamberlain, 1786-1840; united with Barr, 1840-47; Chamberlain, Lilly, and Kerr, 1851 |  |  |
| 11. | " " " Kerr and Co., 1852-62   |  |  |
| 12. | " " " Royal Porcelain Co., 1862-72  |  |  |
| 13. | " " " Royal Porcelain Co., 1872-80  |  |  |
| 14. | Persian pottery, tiles, etc., Indian pottery  |  |  |
| 15. | Japanese bronzes  |  |  |
| 16. | Japanese bronzes  |  |  |
| 17. | Ivory and lacquer, carved and decorated wood  |  |  |
| 18. | Cloisonné enamels, Bijen and Maiko pottery  |  |  |
| 19. | Oribe, Minato, and Bakuyaki pottery   |  |  |
| 20. | Celadon porcelain; Kishiu, Kioto, and Banko pottery   |  |  |
| 21. | White porcelain, Kaga ware  |  |  |
| 22. | Hizen and Owari porcelain   |  |  |
| 23. | Makudzu ware  |  |  |
| 24. | Kioto and Satsuma ware  |  |  |
| 25. | Chinese porcelain, turquoise, etc.  |  |  |
| 26. | Chinese and Japanese blue porcelain   |  |  |
| 27. | Specimens of a service in Old Worcester style, made for the Paris Exhibition                |  |  |
| 28. | Specimens of services in Japanese style, made for the Paris Exhibition                      |  |  |
| 29. | Specimens of Worcester enamels, the last works of the late Mr. Bott                         |  |  |
| 30. | Unique specimens of Japanese pottery and porcelain  |  |  |
| 31. | A pair of vases illustrating the story of pottery manufacture.                              |  |  |

TUESDAY, AUGUST 30.

On Tuesday the last Worcestershire excursion took place. Leaving Worcester in carriages, the archæologists drove through Whittington to Cruckbarrow Hill. Clambering up the hill-side, they soon reached the top, from which, when the weather is fine, there is a beautiful view.

Mr. J. Tom Burgess said that Cruckbarrow was one of about twenty hills he knew with this name. This was a marl-stone hill which appeared to have been escarped as a beacon between the Malvern Hills and a series of earthworks extending along the valley of the Severn. There was no history in connection with it. He had no doubt that if excavations were made, a broken cist would be found.

Mr. Edwin Lees stated that at the base the hill was 1,536 feet round, and at the top 540 feet. It was 250 feet above the level of the surrounding country. The hill was, doubtless, a place of assembly for Saxon magnates.

After a long drive past Spetchley and Broughton Hackett, the carriages drew up in front of Huddington Court and church. The church was first inspected. It is a small structure dating from the early part of the fourteenth century. In the fifteenth century, as the tiles shew, there were those who cared to enrich and beautify it. Later on, in the seventeenth century, probably shortly after the Restoration, the church was put in good order. Now the hand of the mason is again needed. On many parts of the stonework there is a black, fungous slime, and the very walls of the chancel have old newspapers stuck upon them. The most relentless opponent of church restoration would make concessions if he saw a church like that of Huddington. Not the least interesting features of the church are the ancient porch, a belfry-ladder of singularly rude construction, a chest of early carved work, and a seventeenth century chancel-screen. It is devoutly to be wished that some effort will be made to restore the church without sacrificing even the old ladder. In a niche (probably at one time filled by a statue) in the east wall are the words, "As often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup, ye do shew the Lord's death till He come." This inscription may be of the time of the Restoration.

Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock said that it was not often that they saw a church in so unaltered a state. Archæologists though they were, they must be grateful to think that probably through the work of their own Society and other kindred societies, the taste and regard for old churches had been so much developed that there were now few opportunities of seeing churches in such a poor condition as Huddington. The church, however, was interesting as an example of the little village



church of the early part of the fourteenth century, in which fewer alterations of a later date had been made than was commonly the case in such buildings. The building was not unworthy of study. It contained the original timber roof, which, if the plaster were taken off, would be seen to great advantage. It was surprising what a different effect would be produced by the outlay of a few hundred pounds. He hoped their visit would result in drawing attention to the church, and preserving it. It was apparent that unless something were done a catastrophe would occur to its bulging walls and rotten timbers. The church contained a chancel-screen of Jacobean date. The tiles of the floor were of very great beauty; but there were now only about a dozen in anything like a state of preservation. The porch is of early date. He considered it to be as old as the church. The hall was, as in many other cases, near the church. The lord of the manor, in the old times, was the patron and father of the village, looking after his own comforts in the hall, and the spiritual welfare of the people. The ladder was of the same date as the porch.

The Court House stands on a moated area of unusual extent. Its exquisitely moulded chimneys are the admiration of all beholders. Inside the house a fine mantelpiece is still preserved. It has the ball-flower ornament; but may be assigned to the sixteenth century. In the early part of the reign of James I the house was occupied by one of the Winters, who was concerned in the Gunpowder Plot, and the old legend tells of his surreptitious visits to his Manor House.

Even on a dull day like Tuesday, Mere Hall, approached by a splendid avenue of elms, and with woods rising above its seven gables, formed a charming picture. Mere Hall is one of the finest specimens of the timbered houses for which Worcestershire is famous. Different opinions were expressed as to the date of the building. The house bears the date 1337. Mr. E. P. L. Brock and Mr. Reynolds thought that the building was erected in the time of Charles I. Other gentlemen thought that it was Elizabethan. Mr. Bearcroft mentioned that the forest of Feckenham was disforested in the early part of the seventeenth century, and that consequently wood was then very plentiful. The quadrangle in front of the Hall is bounded by a brick wall, with iron railings and finely worked gates. Two pretty summer-houses stand at the two corners. The whole very much resembles the quadrangle of Hanbury Hall, which was built about 1710. Mr. Bearcroft produced a copy of a pedigree, tracing his family in this parish to the time of Edward III. The house was once known as Meer Green Hall. An old tradition says that a troop of Royalist horse was quartered here after the battle of Worcester.

Mr. E. Bearcroft received the party with the courtesy and hospitality of an English country squire. In the large hall a fire was burning, and

in a neighbouring room adorned with a richly carved mantelpiece, refreshments were provided.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock said that it was a matter of considerable gratification to him to stand beneath the roof of that house, not only because it was a specimen of the "black and white house" so common in the district, but for personal reasons which it was pleasant for him to remember. On the disforesting of the district it appeared that oak was so abundant that farmhouses and even cottages were erected with it. On the journey during the morning, from Worcester, they must have noticed how many small houses had been erected in the same style. If single, and alone, those houses would well have demanded their pausing to make a careful investigation. Mere Hall was one of the finest in the district. It was the more interesting because its date could be so well made out. On the building was the date 1337, placed there for a sort of double purpose. The date of 1637 so nearly fitted in with the style of the house as to justify them in believing that the house was erected at that time. The house is figured in Habershon's *Half-Timbered Houses*. He had referred to his personal feeling in being in the house. Under the direction of his late partner's father, Mr. Habershon, the house received certain alterations and additions to adapt it for the purposes of a modern residence. Probably it was to Mr. Habershon that they owed the existence of the house at all. It had been stated that Mr. Habershon covered the new work of the house with black and white stripes, in imitation of the old work. They might depend upon it that the work was originally erected without those stripes, as Mr. Habershon would be the last man to create an architectural sham. It was a matter of gratification to see that Mr. Bearcroft had done so much to uphold and preserve to future generations so interesting a specimen of a style of architecture which was every day disappearing. Apart from the cordial reception Mr. Bearcroft had given them, they owed him a debt of gratitude for the care he had bestowed on the house.

Mr. J. Tom Burgess, F.S.A., said that all present would join with him in tendering heartfelt thanks to Mr. Bearcroft for receiving them so kindly at his house, which was known not only for its beauty as one of the old homes of Worcestershire, but also for its hospitality.

Mr. Bearcroft, in reply, said that the archæologists had shewn their determination to see everything they could in the county, notwithstanding the unfavourable weather. In doing so they had even, as he read in the newspaper, encountered perils by water. In 1826 alterations were made to the house by his father, and were carried out under the direction of Mr. Habershon. The brickwork had been made to match with the older part of the house since that time. The house required to be frequently painted in order to preserve it. Disasters

had of late fallen upon the agricultural interest ; but he hoped still to be able to preserve the old house.

From Mere Hall the party drove to Droitwich, where an excellent luncheon was provided at the Raven Hotel. The Mayor (Alderman Blick) met the party, and presided at the luncheon. The Raven Hotel is itself of some archæological interest. In one of the windows are preserved some specimens of sixteenth century painted glass, formerly preserved in the Exchequer Room. The dates 1580 and 1581, with the name of "Mr. George Winter", occur on this glass.

At St. Andrew's Church the Rector was in attendance to receive the visitors. The whitewash in this church, though it mars, does not conceal the original beauty of the mouldings and carvings.

Mr. J. Tom Burgess said that Droitwich was believed to be the *Saline* of the *Itinerary* of Richard of Cirencester. There were indications that in ancient times it was a city of considerable importance, arising from its salt springs. A tessellated Roman pavement found at Droitwich was preserved in Worcester Museum. In Norman times three or four persons held certain lands in the place. A charter was granted to it in the time of King John. The town was the birthplace of Richard Bishop of Chichester, who, beginning in a very humble sphere of life, took the cowl, and was the friend of Thomas à Becket. Richard was canonised about the middle of the thirteenth century, and his shrine at St. Andrew's, Droitwich, became a place to which many pilgrimages were made. St. Richard was one of the two or three saints of whom Worcestershire could boast. In the chancel was a window of peculiar construction, which it was supposed was constructed for the purpose of looking upon the shrine. The capitals of some of the pillars were of a kind unknown in England before the time of William of Sens ; and as Becket and Richard were bosom friends, it seemed not improbable that one of the pupils of William of Sens came to Droitwich and re-edified the church.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock said that St. Andrew's was an interesting town church, which he should like to see placed in a better condition. A glance at the Ordnance Map shewed that Droitwich was a Roman settlement. Several Roman roads are there shewn to converge to it.

Dodderhill Church, to which some of the party next proceeded, is conspicuous for many miles around by its massive square tower standing on the brow of a hill. The church is without a nave. The explanation of this is, that during the civil wars it was much battered, and became so ruinous, that during the last century it was pulled down, and a very good, solid tower was built with the materials.

Alderman Blick pointed out the staircase leading to the old tower.

Mr. J. Tom Burgess said that but little was known of the early history of the church. The present building was erected at the time of

the transition from Norman to Early English. It appeared from some of the mouldings that the old templets of Worcester were used by the builders of Dodderhill. As a whole, the church was a very fair specimen of Early English architecture. The most curious feature about it was that it had no nave. It was known that the nave was short, and was not considerably longer than the chancel. The tower was erected without any definite idea of style.

The weather being still inclement, and the day far advanced, the intended visit to the fine old house at Westwood had to be reluctantly given up. A passing glance was, however, bestowed on its picturesque turrets and gables on passing the Park.

From Droitwich the archæologists drove to Salwarpe, where Canon Douglas and Mr. J. T. Mence received the party. The nave of the church is late twelfth century work. One of the most striking points of the excursions has been the immense quantity of work of the transition period between Norman and Early English that has been seen. The latter half of the twelfth century was evidently a great church-building period in Worcestershire. To the Norman nave of Salwarpe beautiful Decorated aisles have been added. In the chancel, which was rebuilt in 1848, there is a well preserved, recumbent effigy, of the beginning of the fifteenth century. The parish chest encloses some curiosities, which were shewn by Mr. Douglas.

From the church it is only a few yards' walk to the Court House. The two most notable points in it are the beautiful bay on the west side of the house, and the old nail-studded door. Salwarpe Court has no moat. On one side, however, it would have been protected by the river Salwarpe, which here runs through a kind of ravine. Historically, Salwarpe Court is famous as having been the birthplace of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, who fought at Agincourt. The present house was probably erected about the time of Henry VII. About that time, or later, the house was granted to the Tabolts. Salwarpe Court, like many other fine houses in the district, has its herring-bone brickwork painted white. It is the opinion of some architects that the effect of these old houses would be heightened by leaving the brickwork untouched. Still it must be admitted that, at least from a distance, the black and white houses of Worcestershire have a charming appearance.

Canon Douglas kindly provided tea at the Rectory. It was late before the excursionists reached Worcester, where they took train for Malvern.

During Tuesday some few of the party remained in Worcester, where they interested themselves in inspecting the old houses and tracing the city wall.



WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 31ST.

VISITS TO CHELTENHAM AND LECKHAMPTON.

The closing day of the Congress was spent in the neighbourhood of Cheltenham. On arriving by train at that town, the party, who numbered between forty and fifty, walked to Thirlestaine House, formerly the residence of Lord Northwick, and afterwards of the late Sir Thomas Phillipps, Bart. Here they were received by the present owners, the Rev. J. E. A. and Mrs. Fenwick, who threw open to the members the picture-galleries and a selection from the famous collection of MSS. formed by the late Sir T. Phillipps.

The President, the Dean of Worcester, introduced Mr. E. Maundo Thompson, F.S.A., Keeper of the MSS. in the British Museum, who delivered an address upon the palæography of ancient MSS. These, he shewed, went back to about the second century before Christ, and were successively written in capitals, uncials, cursive, and minuscules. The insertion of breathings, punctuation-marks, and contractions, also served to mark the date of a MS., and the development of illumination was also a safe guide. In speaking of the Thirlestaine collection, Mr. Thompson said the late Sir Thomas Phillipps brought together no fewer than 30,000 MSS., largely by personal purchases. He was his own librarian, cataloguing, arranging, and binding, this mass of written material with his own hands; and he also, in the course of his long life, made himself master of a considerable portion of the contents. The work was found in a chaotic incompleteness at his death; but the trustees, Messrs. Carden and Gale, had continued the cataloguing, and the collection was now open to students under necessary restrictions, and was largely used, chiefly by Germans. On the tables were displayed a series of illustrated French and Italian MSS., illustrating the development of ornamentation between the thirteenth century and the advent of printing; and on side-shelves were shewn an extensive series of Greek and Latin MSS. from very early periods, and English works by Geoffrey of Monmouth, Chaucer, Gower, and other well known chroniclers and poets. The pictures are in two galleries planned as the letter T, and top-lighted. The larger one, which communicates with the house, is hung with a miscellaneous collection of paintings by the old masters and deceased English painters of two generations since, the subjects being chiefly sacred or portrait. At the end of this long apartment is a smaller one, forming a *cul-de-sac*, the walls being covered with Welsh and Gloucestershire landscapes by Glover and one or two other painters. The pictures would have been greatly increased in value had the name, subject, and date, been lettered upon the



frames ; and two catalogues seemed hardly sufficient for so numerous a party.

Leckhampton Church, the first seen after luncheon, in the afternoon, has a late thirteenth century spire of great beauty, on the tower at the crossing, and having beneath it advanced Perpendicular groining. Above the altar is a reliquary-locker with bolt-holes perfect. The windows are chiefly reticulated fourteenth century. The church has been recently restored by Mr. Middleton of Cheltenham. A new north aisle has been added. Various old monumental effigies remain in the churchyard in very mutilated condition.

At Prestbury Church the members were welcomed by the incumbent, the Rev. J. De la Bere, who explained that the church, a large and fine one, was formerly served as a priory by Llantony Abbey, and that it had been restored by Mr. G. E. Street. With the exception of the lower stage of the tower, it is a late Decorated building, and still possesses its original Sanctus bell over the chancel-arch. On the wall of the south aisle have been hung a modern oil-painting of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and also a pre-Raphaelite one representing the Last Supper, in which the disciples carry symbolical emblems. These and a Virgin and Child near the chancel-arch, and the condition of the chancel, served to remind the members that other than antiquarian associations rendered Prestbury Church well known.

Prestbury House, to the west of the church, was also inspected. It contains some remains of the Priory buildings, including some fifteenth century mullioned windows, and a fine late, open-timbered roof extending through the attics.

Bishop's Cleeve Church was the last seen. The grouping from the south-west is very impressive. There are transepts with square tower at the crossing. A south porch having late Norman doorway and groined interior, projects like a second transept, and is connected with the other by an extension of the south aisle, of the fourteenth century, but battlemented at a later period. The rich Norman doorway and west front are flanked by square pinnacles, which have been figured in Parker's *Introduction to Gothic Architecture*, and beyond these are the Decorated aisles. The church has not been restored, except that a wretched modern east window, with poor circular opening above, has been substituted for one which, judging from the remains of ball-flower enrichment, must have been as rich as the well known examples at Leominster and Ledbury. On entering, the chancel, clean but bare of fittings, and whitewashed, presented an effective contrast to that just left. The nave-columns are cylindrical, but carry pointed arches of great span ; a second aisle or chapel, separated by octagonal columns, existing on the south side. The tower-arch is supported by stilted circular arches to the main building, and pointed ones to the

sides ; but the cushion-capitals, with acanthus-leaves in the fillets, shew, as Mr. Reynolds observed, that the pointed form is only adopted for structural security. The south transept is shut off by a lath and plaster screen, and in it is an elaborate Decorated recess treated with the ball-flower and bold cinquefoil cusping. In this is awkwardly fixed an effigy of a warrior clad in chain-mail and surcoat, and bearing a kite-shield and broadsword, which enabled Mr. Bramble to fix the date as *c.* 1265-70. The effigy, which probably belonged to the recess, is a female figure, now lying against a large Jacobean monument to a Baghott in the south chapel. There is a seventeenth century west gallery carried on pillars.

The visit to this fine and unaltered church proved a fitting climax and close to the Congress.

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## Proceedings of the Association.

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WEDNESDAY, APRIL 5, 1882.

REV. W. S. SIMPSON, D.D., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

THE following Associates were duly elected :

Andrew W. Tuer, Esq., 20 Notting Hill Square  
Captain Philip Pendoggett, Timsbury, Bath.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the respective donors of the following presents to the Library :

*To W. George, Esq., the Author*, for "Some Account of the oldest Plans of Bristol."

*To the Society*, for "Archæologia Cambrensis", 4th Series, Part 49.

"        "        for "Proceedings of the Royal Institute of British Architects", No. 12.

"        "        for "Journal of the East India Association", vol. xiv, No. 7.

"        "        for "Collections Historical and Archæological relating to Montgomeryshire", Part xxx. April 1882.

"        "        for "Journal of the Society of Arts". Twelve Parts.

"        "        for "Journal of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland", vol. 47.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, exhibited several encaustic tiles from recent London excavations, probably from a church floor destroyed in the great fire of London. They were of the fourteenth century ; a tile with diapered pattern, of the twelfth century, from the same source ; and a set of three, one of which has an oak-leaf in relief, one of Dutch style of colouring, and a third of hexagonal shape.

Mr. R. E. Way exhibited two coins recently discovered close to St. Thomas' Church, Southwark,—Titus and Allectus, third brass.

Mr. W. G. Smith exhibited a Roman terra-cotta *diota* from Honiton, in good condition, and of bright reddish brown colour, about 9 inches high.

The Chairman read a paper entitled "The Tonsure-Plate in Use in St. Paul's Cathedral during the Thirteenth Century", and exhibited a

cast made by Mr. Ready, of the British Museum, of the engraved copper plate which formed the subject of the paper.

In the discussion which ensued, Mr. Birch, Mr. Brock, Mr. Compton, and Mr. Cope, took part.

Mr. T. Morgan, V.P., F.S.A., *Hon. Treasurer*, exhibited a stamped Roman tile recently found at Leadenhall, and read a paper on the "Inscriptions on Roman Tiles found at Leadenhall", which will be printed hereafter.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., read a paper by Sir Lewis W. Jarvis, entitled "Middleton Castle or Towers", and exhibited a plan and views.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 19, 1882.

T. MORGAN, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A., *HON. TREASURER*, IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to

*F. O. Surtees, Esq., the Author*, for a tract entitled "Norman Architecture and Gundulph, Bishop of Rochester."

Mr. Brock announced the progress of arrangements for the Congress at Plymouth. He also described the discovery of mediæval walls and remains of arches, decorated doorways, etc., in the course of excavations now proceeding at Throgmorton Street. A further detailed account was promised.

The Chairman exhibited a fragment of Roman tile from the wall at the back of Trinity Street, Tower Hill, and a rubbing from a brick inscribed VIDVCOS, of which the dimensions are, 11 inches square by  $2\frac{1}{4}$  inches thick. This latter, which is in Mr. Brock's collection, was found several years since on the site of Cannon Street Hotel.

The Rev. S. M. Mayhew exhibited—

1. A drinking-cup of Greek glass,  $5\frac{1}{4}$  inches high, expanding from the button, of 1 inch, to a width of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  at the lip, and beautifully iridescent. The type is entirely novel, the texture thin and fine, marking the great excellence of an art which appears at once to have reached its meridian beauty.

2. A wine or mead-cup,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches diameter, of opal glass, thickly enamelled with foliage in colours, and beading, with a central figure of a lion rampant: it is hard to say whether Venetian or early Dutch, the lion being in both cases a national emblem, yet the general characteristics incline to Venetian. Many and very beautiful mead-cups were sent forth in the latter years of the seventeenth century from the Spanish manufactories, alike interesting in shape and engraving. Spanish, therefore, are less rare than Dutch; and these than Venetian.

3. A pure opal vase, oviform, with lip and base,  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inches high.

This very interesting specimen was found in a London lumber-shop. It may be ascribed to Italian art. The so called opal glass is produced from an infusion of wood-ash, oxide of zinc, or oxide of silver, with the metal, and gives but one colour, a dull red, rising to a dull jacinth. This, with the general whiteness of the glass, has gained it the designation "opal". The vase exhibited shews brilliantly the well known tints of the opal stone,—sea-green, opaque white, bluish, translucent white, rufous brown, and fiery jacinth, sufficiently powerful to cast on objects a colourable reflection.

4. A beautiful *sucrier* and cream-ewer of bright, deep blue Venetian, diamonded glass. Mr. E. P. L. Brock said that several portions of like ewers had been disinterred from London, but never until now had he seen one perfect. The exhibitor has one nearly perfect, from London, of black glass. *Temp.* seventeenth century.

5. A very fine German white glass *sucrier* with cover and "jewelled" top, finely engraved with foliage, flowers, and birds. This specimen of seventeenth century art was exhibited for comparison of shape with

6. A large box of latteen with cover, of German design and execution. The exhibitor said it had fallen to him in a state of dirt and neglect; but being carefully cleaned, became what it was, a most interesting relic. Although German, it bears the influences of Italian art in the wreaths surrounding it, and cherubic heads adorning the cover. It is divided into four panels, containing the history of the Prodigal Son. In the second scene the female figures are clothed with the dress of the then period. In the first, the aged and generous father wears a high Eastern cap or kaftan; the general *pose* and disposition of the figures strongly resembling the illustrative pictures of the Vulgate of Sixtus V, printed in Venice.

7. Of recent London discoveries, Mr. Mayhew brought forward a fine Roman axe-head from the Minories, the half of a lustre-jar of Grebbio, covered with running pattern of leaves with blue flowers, which Mr. Cope thought might indicate Spanish origin; but the shape is Italian. Found in Leadenhall Street. A phial of green glass, 7 inches long, peculiar in shape, with expanding throat and lip, probably *circ.* sixteenth century. A fine Tudor rose of black oak, *circ.* 1560, 5 inches diameter; and an ivory marrow-scoop, *circ.* 1750-60, from Leadenhall Street.

8. To these were added, from Nineveh, brought thence, in 1856, by Mr. Boucher of Devonshire, the upper jaw and teeth (*in situ*) of a young pig; an ivory stud carved in rays; and a strip of stone, which Mr. W. de Gray Birch said had been cut from a larger slab by the Arabs, and bore, in cuneiform characters, two words and a half from a historical inscription,—“overthrow, he fled”,—relating to some war-like achievement.



9. Two cards exhibiting a *Roman* fish and bowed fibula; a third, broad and flat, filled with a blue and red designed enamel, with fine, elastic Saxon tweezers of bronze; also a lance and arrow-head of obsidian,—all said to have been found in Kent. Admitting this statement for the former, Mr. Mayhew demurred as to the latter, instruments of obsidian belonging more generally to South America than Kent.

10. By request were added an ancient medal of the Society of the Crown of Thorns, with legend, "*Societas Coronæ.*" *Rev.*, "*Tunc Coronam adoram Dei!*" Another, very fine, of Paul IV. *Rev.*, Christ cleansing the Temple. "*Domus Mea, Domus Orationis.*" And the celebrated medal of Gregory XIII, commemorating alike the infamous massacre of the Huguenots and the Papal approval of the murder. This particular medal had in remote time been pierced, and evidently worn, perhaps by one concerned in the massacre.

The interesting exhibition closed with a pyx-box of latteen, with the crucifixion and resurrection of the Lord in high relief; and a finely chased silver ring of the sixteenth century, set with an artificial ruby of great beauty.

The remarks of Mr. Grover on the latter portion of the exhibition were marked by great aptitude and feeling.

Mr. H. Prigg, of Bury St. Edmund's, exhibited a large collection of bronze relics from Icklingham and Mildenhall in Suffolk, the latter being the site of an ancient British village. He also read a paper on the "*Thinghoe*", a hill of assembly, near Bury, which, it is hoped, will be printed hereafter.

In the discussion which ensued, the Rev. S. Maude and Mr. E. Walford took part.

Professor J. F. Hodgetts, of Moscow, observed that the idea of Celtic remains in a Scandinavian tumulus was new to him, as he had been accustomed to believe, on the authority of Finn Magnussen, that the meetings of the "*Ting*" throughout all Scandinavia took place on the *grafhög*, or tomb of some jarl of their own race, whose spirit was generally expected to take what some would call a *vital* interest in the proceedings; it having been the custom to pause after an important speech, to allow any "*manifestation*" to take place. That the departed hero ever opposed a motion does not appear from historic evidence; but whether we are justified in forming the hypothesis that he never did, is another question.

The cone-shaped tumulus was peculiarly adapted to the purposes of the "*Ting*" or parliament, inasmuch as it offered an excellent framework for the accommodation of the estates of the realm in their respective stations. At the apex sat the king, on the *domsten* or doom-stone (judgment-seat); at his right was the king's henchman, sometimes a jarl (earl) in rank; on the left stood the officiating priest. The

estates were ranged in concentric rings round the mound. First stood the jarls ; next, the free men, or rank between the jarl and *thrall* (our thrall), and last came these thrall themselves, the whole assembly being fully armed for war.

According to the nature of the subject to be discussed, the most appropriate deity was invoked by the priest, who had previously consulted his oracles on the point, and then the king's jarl opened the meeting. The king himself next spoke, stating what the special object of the "Ting" was, and called upon the noble earl, or free born man, or thrall, to state the grievance or whatever it might be that he wanted to ventilate. When a speech was made which excited admiration, applause was expressed by strikings with the flat of the drawn sword upon the shield. In the words of the historian poet Gejer,—

"The warriors listen with joy,  
And clash their applause  
With a thousand swords  
On their sounding shields,  
So that it thunders  
Through the eternal  
Realms of the dead !"

This was the prototype of our "Hear! hear!" Displeasure was expressed by an ominous silence almost as unpleasant to our sturdy forefathers as the groans and hisses of their refined descendants are to their "Opposition".

Tegner, in his *Frithjoff's-Saga*, makes Frithjoff, when attending the "Ting" held by King Helge on the grave-mound of his (Helge's) father, King Bele, use the following expressions :

"We stand upon Bele's grave ! Each word  
Down in its depths by his shade is heard :  
With Frithjoff praying  
Is that dear shade in each word I'm saying."

The *künc*, *könig*, *konnung*, *kunnung*, *kung*, *cyniug*, *cynic*, *cyng*, *king* (occurring again in the Russian *kniaz*), means nothing more than prince or leader ; but from the position given him in the "Ting", he fairly represents the highest estate of the present day, while the jarls and thralls stand for the lords and commons.

Bearing in mind the supreme contempt entertained by the Scandinavian for the Kelt, and in view of the theory held by Scandinavian authorities, it seems strange that a "Ting" should be held over Keltic remains ; and yet in the Scandinavian name of the place in question we have a description of it as the "height where the Ting is". May the remains not point to a Scandinavian (English) rather than to a Keltic origin ? In any case the investigation is highly important both

to archæologists and to philologists, and certainly ought to be more fully carried out; for if the remains be Keltic, a grave doubt is thrown over the results of the labours, for more than a century, of the most learned Scandinavian antiquaries; and if they be English (*not* British), we learn how closely the keramic ware of one ancient people resembled that of another. A visitor present, who was born in Russia, and who visits England for the first time, at once pronounced the "urn" to be a Russian *kurslin*, such as is used by the peasantry, and was quite delighted at seeing an old friend again.

Mr. Hodgetts referred to Finn Magnussen's works in general as the authority for his opinion, and supported it further by reference to Geijer's *Historia Svea's Forntid*, Tegnere's notes to his *Frithjoff's Saga*, Turner's *Anglo-Saxons*, Mallett's *Northern Antiquities*, Ackermann's *Saxon Pagandom*, and Grimm's *Nordische Mythologie*.

Mr. Brock read a paper by Dr. J. Stevens, "On a Bronze Sword and an Iron Spear-Head found at Henley-on-Thames." It is hoped that this paper will find a place in a future part of the *Journal*.

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## ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

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WEDNESDAY, MAY 3, 1882.

T. MORGAN, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

The Chairman declared the ballot open, and appointed scrutators to report the result to the meeting.

The Chairman then read the following Report and balance-sheet:

### TREASURER'S REPORT FOR THE YEAR ENDING DEC. 31, 1881.

It affords me much pleasure to announce, in presenting the balance-sheet for the year 1881, that there was a balance in favour of the Association, on 31st December last, of £13 : 7 : 2. This improvement in the finances has been brought about, not by an increase of the income, but by pursuing a rigorous system of economy in the printing and illustration of the *Journal*, which will best be seen by the following figures: the *Journal* in 1879 cost £344 : 3 : 8; in 1880, £324 : 15 : 6; in 1881, £291 : 13 : 10; shewing a reduction of no less than £52 : 9 : 10 between the first and the last of the three years. At the same time we are bound to give credit to the Editor for having, while carrying out this economy, striven with success to keep up the efficiency of the

# British Archaeological Association.

## BALANCE SHEET FOR THE YEAR ENDING THE 31ST DEC. 1881.

RECEIPTS.		EXPENDITURE.	
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
Annual subscriptions and donations	£276 19 0	Balance over-drawn from last year	. . . 8 2 3
Life-compositions and entrance-fees	. 47 5 0	Printing and publishing <i>Journal</i>	. . . 223 13 4
	-----	Illustrations to the same	. . . 68 0 6
Sale of publications . . . . .	. . . 324 4 0	Miscellaneous printing and advertising	. . . 20 1 6
Balance of receipts from the Great	. . . 45 12 9	Delivery of <i>Journals</i>	. . . 19 8 6
Malvern Congress . . . . .	£46 16 3	Rent for 1881, and clerk's salary	. . . 56 18 0
Ditto from London Excursion . . . . .	. 4 18 6	Stamps, stationery, postages, carriage of antiquities, etc.	. . . 11 10 3
	-----	Insurance of books at 19 Montague Place	. . . 0 10 0
		Balance in favour of the Association	. . . 13 7 2
			-----
			£421 11 6

We have examined the accounts and vouchers connected with the above balance sheet, and have found them correct, the balance in favour of the Association being £13 : 7 : 2.

ARCHIBALD CHASEMORE }  
 THOMAS JAMES WOODHOUSE } *Auditors.*

April 29, 1882.

*Journal*; for unless this had been done, the saving of money would have been dearly purchased.

The receipts from the Congresses will vary from year to year; and we shall hope the report from Mr. G. R. Wright, of the next meeting of the Local Committee at Plymouth will fully bear out the expectation he has given us of a good gathering there in August,—a prophecy which I am sure he will use his accustomed zeal to get fulfilled.

THOMAS MORGAN.

Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, then read the

SECRETARIES' REPORT FOR THE YEAR ENDING DEC. 31, 1881.

The Honorary Secretaries have the honour of laying before the Associates of the British Archæological Association, at the Annual General Meeting held this day, their customary Report upon the state and progress of the Association during the past year, 1881.

1. By comparing the list of members of the Association in the current part of the *Journal*, dated March 31, 1882, with that of the corresponding period last year, a total of 445 names is shewn against similar totals of 444, 449, 447, in the years immediately preceding. For the last few years, therefore, the numerical strength of the Association appears to be stationary. The names of several Associates in arrear with subscriptions have, however, been removed from our list, which may now, therefore, be taken to represent more accurately our financial strength.

2. Biographical notices of those whom we have lost by death have, as far as is practicable, been prepared from materials submitted to the Editor for that purpose. These will be found in those parts of the *Journal* which are set apart for the object.

3. During 1881 eighty-seven complete works, or parts of works, have been presented to the Library of the Association; and it is hoped that the long catalogue of the books and relics in possession of the Association may be prepared and printed in the *Journal*, to the advantage of the members. The suggestion which was made at a former Annual Meeting, with regard to the lending out of books, under certain conditions, to the members, has, however, not yet been brought to a practical issue.

4. Thirty-six of the most important papers read at the Congress held at Devizes, or during the progress of the sessions in London, have been printed in the *Journal* of the past year, and illustrated with forty-four plates or woodcuts. The Honorary Secretaries are glad that they are enabled to announce that there is no falling off in material for the proper continuation of the *Journal*, inasmuch as there are in hand many important contributions both to British and foreign archæology,



from the pens of Associates and others. These papers, so far as the very limited number of pages at the command of the Editor will permit, will find places in the future Numbers of the *Journal*; and the Honorary Secretaries here desire to point out that a considerable share of the total income of the Association is annually expended on the production of the *Journal*, whereby a very large proportion of the annual subscription is returned to the Associates.

5. The Honorary Secretaries would also remind all the Associates that no opportunity ought to be neglected of laying before the meetings, from time to time, early and authentic notices of fresh discoveries and interesting researches, and so of assisting to maintain the important position of the *Journal* as a record of archæology and as a book of reference to all matters which enter into the scope of the Association.

6. With respect to the "Antiquarian Intelligence", it is found that this useful medium of communicating new and prominent matter, and of reviewing archæological publications, has in many ways prospered, and has advanced the position of the Association in literary circles; and the Honorary Secretaries earnestly thank all who have therein assisted them by prompt correspondence with regard to local discoveries.

W. DE GRAY BIRCH } *Hon.*  
E. P. L. BROCK } *Secs.*

Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., *Hon. Curator*, gave a detailed account of the Congress arrangements. A prospectus will be issued without delay, in order that intending participators may have all details before them.

After the customary resolutions had been proposed, seconded, and carried unanimously, the ballot was taken, and the following result declared :

President.

[HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF SOMERSET, K.G.]

Vice-Presidents.

*Ex officio*—THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, E.M.; THE DUKE OF CLEVELAND, K.G.; THE MARQUESS OF HERTFORD; THE EARL OF CARNARVON, P.S.A.; THE EARL OF DARTMOUTH; THE EARL OF HARDWICKE; THE EARL OF MOUNT-EDGCUMBE; THE EARL NELSON; THE LORD HOUGHTON, D.C.L.; THE LORD WAVENEY, D.L.; THE VERY REV. THE LORD ALWYNE COMPTON, DEAN OF WORCESTER; SIR CHAS. H. ROUSE BUGHTON, BART.; SIR W. C. MEDLICOTT, BART., D.C.L.; JAMES HEYWOOD, ESQ., F.R.S., F.S.A.; GEORGE TOMLINE, ESQ., F.S.A.; SIR W. W. WYNN, BART., M.P.

THE EARL OF EFFINGHAM  
SIR H. W. PEEK, BART., M.P.  
H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT.  
JOHN EVANS, ESQ., F.R.S., F.S.A.  
A.W. FRANKS, ESQ., M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A.  
GEORGE GODWIN, ESQ., F.R.S., F.S.A.  
REV. S. M. MAYHEW, M.A.  
T. MORGAN, ESQ., F.S.A.

J. O. H. PHILLIPPS, ESQ., F.R.S., F.S.A.  
REV. PREB. SCARTH, M.A., F.S.A.  
REV. W. SPARROW SIMPSON, D.D., F.S.A.  
C. ROACH SMITH, ESQ., F.S.A.  
E. M. THOMPSON, ESQ., F.S.A.  
STEPHEN I. TUCKER, ESQ., *Somerset Herald*  
JOHN WALTER, ESQ., M.P.

**Treasurer.**

THOMAS MORGAN, Esq., F.S.A.

**Honorary Secretaries.**WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH, Esq., F.S.A., F.R.S.L.  
E. P. LOFTUS BROCK, Esq., F.S.A.**Palæographer.**

E. M. THOMPSON, Esq., F.S.A.

**Curator and Librarian.**GEORGE R. WRIGHT, Esq., F.S.A.  
(With a seat at the Council.)**Draughtsman.**

WORTHINGTON G. SMITH, Esq., F.L.S.

**Council.**

G. G. ADAMS, Esq., F.S.A.

GEORGE ADE, Esq.

THOMAS BLASHILL, Esq.

CECIL BRENT, Esq., F.S.A.

C. H. COMPTON, Esq.

ARTHUR COPE, Esq.

WILLIAM HENRY COPE, Esq.

R. A. DOUGLAS-LITHGOW, Esq., LL.D.,  
F.S.A., F.R.S.L.R. HORMAN-FISHER, Esq., M.A.,  
F.S.A.

J. W. GROVER, Esq., F.S.A.

J. T. MOULD, Esq.

W. MYERS, Esq., F.S.A.

GEORGE PATRICK, Esq.

J. S. PHENÉ, Esq., LL.D., F.S.A.

REV. ALEXANDER TAYLOR, M.A.

J. WHITMORE, Esq.

**Auditors.**

A. CHASEMORE, Esq.

GEO. LAMBERT, Esq., F.S.A.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 17, 1882.

T. MORGAN, Esq., V.P., F.S.A., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

The following Associate was duly elected :

Rev. Canon Routledge, St. Martin's, Canterbury.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the respective donors of the following presents to the Library :

*To the Rev. J. C. Blomfield, M.A., Rector of Launton, the Author, for*  
"History of the present Deanery of Bicester. Part I.—Early  
History." London, 1882. 4to.*To C. C. Babington, Esq., M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A., the Author, for* "Address  
delivered at the Meeting of the Cambrian Archæological Asso-  
ciation, Church Stretton, August 1, 1881."*To the Society, for "Archæological Journal", vol. xxxix, No. 153. 1882.*It was announced that the Council had unanimously adopted a reso-  
lution deprecating the demolition of a Norman building situated near  
the west end of Bristol Cathedral.The further progress of matters connected with the Congress was  
also announced.

It was further announced that a *conversazione* would be held on Tuesday, July 4, at the Suffolk Street Gallery, under arrangements similar to those of the preceding year.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, read the following note on a

ROMAN VILLA IN SPOONLEY WOOD, NEAR SUDELEY CASTLE.

We are indebted to Mr. Dent, of Sudeley Castle, for the accompanying plan of a remarkable villa now being excavated on the estate, about a mile from the Castle. Stone being required, workmen were engaged to open a pit in Spoonley Wood, when traces of solid walling were met with. The discovery was followed up, and already a considerable portion of a large building has been opened. It consists of what will probably prove to be a long central building, with a wing projecting at right angles for nearly 100 feet beyond it. The supposition on the spot is that a corresponding wing will be found on the left side of the centre, the latter thus having a frontage of 157 feet. These figures will testify to the size and importance of the building. The plan thus conjectured is so usual, that it is very probable that the completion of the excavation will prove its existence here. Already the whole of the right hand wing has been excavated, together with about 70 feet of the central building.

Starting from a rectangular apartment about 14 feet by 12 feet, a corridor, 9 feet wide, extends around both the wing and the centre, thus fronting the enclosed quadrangular space. From this many rooms open, in one of which, in the centre building, the piers of a hypocaust remain; while mosaic pavements of elaborate patterns, formed of tesserae about half an inch square, of various colours, are to be seen. One of the pavements is of very elaborate and elegant workmanship, many of the others being much broken and damaged by the roots of the trees. The site is now being covered by a thick coppice, and the excavations have, therefore, to be carried on under many difficulties. The walls are from 1 to 2 feet in height. It is proposed to cover over the best of the pavements for protection, and to remove the detached fragments, for safety, into Sudeley Castle.

This villa is quite distinct from the site on the Sudeley property which yielded the beautiful ornament now in one of the conservatories at the Castle, inspected by the members of the Association when a visit was made during the Evesham Congress. The Roman villa is on the slope of the hill on the opposite side of the valley, and fully a mile from the site where the building now being excavated has been met with. The excavations were made twenty years ago; but only to a partial extent, since the land was urgently wanted by the tenant for agricultural purposes. It is to be hoped that they may be resumed at no distant date. The existence of these evidently important buildings

in this locality is remarkable ; and the evidences they may yield, apart from what is at present known, may be of considerable archaeological interest. It is a matter of gratification that the investigation is in such able hands, and Mr. Dent deserves our best thanks for bringing the subject before our notice.

Mr. E. Walford exhibited two much worn third brass coins : one of Marcus Aurelius, the other of Victorinus, found recently on Hampstead Heath, near Well Walk.

Mr. J. T. Irvine forwarded, on behalf of Sir Henry Dryden, a photograph of an object supposed to be a Norman draughtsman, carved out of walrus-tooth ivory, and found at the Castle, Northampton, in 1881. It is  $1\frac{3}{16}$  inch in diameter, and  $\frac{7}{16}$  inch thick. The subject may, perhaps, be a personification of Charity, a female figure seated, giving suck to two infants. The border is a chevroned pattern with a pellet in each angle.

The Rev. G. B. Lewis exhibited and presented a series of photographs (executed by O. D. Marriot, Esq., M.D.), of antique tapestry, and read the following notes :

THE TAPESTRY SCENES FROM THE PASSION OF CHRIST  
IN KNOLE CHAPEL.

BY THE REV. G. B. LEWIS, M.A.

This interesting tapestry is now for the first time photographed. Little is known of its history. It was found rolled up, and laid aside, among other old things, in Knole, about sixteen years ago. The late Lady Delawarr and Baroness Buckhurst had it cleaned and repaired, and placed in its present position, along the north-east wall of Knole Chapel. This Chapel, unlike other churches, does not stand east and west, but south-east and north-west, the altar being to the south-east. The Chapel itself was built (no doubt *re-built*) by Archbishop Bouchier in the latter half of the fifteenth century, A.D. 1456-86. The tapestry is thought to be Flemish or German work of the sixteenth century ; and considering its size, which just fits the wall-space, and its subject, which perfectly suits a church, it is not unlikely that it now occupies the place for which it was originally made. It may have been the gift of Archbishop Warham, 1503-32. Knole was surrendered to Henry VIII in 1537.

There are six subjects, divided, as will be perceived on close examination, from each other. The first three are separated by dwarf stone screens ; the fourth stands within a distinct canopy-frame ; the fifth is in the foreground ; the sixth or final one, on the upper right, is parted off by a railing.

The dresses of the figures are rich and varied ; the colours, in some

cases artificially restored, being effective but quiet. The transparency of the gauze or muslin on the sleeves of Pilate's dress is very skilfully represented. There are several types of countenance among the figures, most of them entirely European, a few only being of Jewish outline. On the borders of the dress of one or more characters in each scene, some letters are to be seen. It is not easy to decipher them, and very difficult to interpret them. They may be either the names of the needle-artists, or (more probably, perhaps,) key-letters to the text applying to each scene.

But the chief interest lies in the subject, very fully handled, without much extravagance of gesture or action,—a very becoming adornment for a place of Christian worship. It is a representation of some of the closing scenes of Our Saviour's life; events which took place on the first Good Friday morning (April 5th?), between early dawn and eight o'clock. The scenes are six, as follow:

I.—Jesus sent by chief priests to Pilate. (St. Matth. xxvii, 1, 2.)  
Time, 4.30 A.M.

II.—Jesus sent by Pilate to Herod. (St. Luke, xxiii, 8-11.) 6.15 A.M.

III.—Jesus sent back by Herod to Pilate. (St. Luke, xxiii, 11-12.)  
7 A.M. (Repeated on second photograph.)

III\*.—Judas casting down the blood-money. (St. Matth. xxvii, 3, 4, 5.)

IV.—Jesus scourged by Pilate's order. (St. Matth. xxvii, 25, 26.)  
7.30 A.M.

V.—Jesus mocked in purple, with reed placed in hand, and crown of thorns being screwed round His head. (St. Matth. xxvii, 28, 29.) 7.30 A.M.

VI.—Jesus given over by Pilate to be crucified. (St. John, xix, 16.)  
7.30 A.M.

*Note on Scene I.*—The high priest's palace in the background. Jesus, in His own robe (a warm brown colour), is led by officers from priest to Pilate. Pilate, in silver or white satin brocade, standing receives Jesus. Pilate's cap will be seen repeated in each scene.

*Note on Scene II.*—Herod, in robe like Pilate's, but lined with brown fur, and wearing a crown over his turban, receives Jesus with a gesture of ridicule: all others are on the broad, insulting grin, except one; he, holding the cord, and kneeling at the feet of Jesus, looks up with, I think, a face of pity and respect. A white robe is being placed over the head of Jesus, His own robe remaining under it.

*Note on Scene III.*—Jesus, conspicuous in white robe, is led back to Pilate. This "gorgeous robe" is in St. Luke, ἐσθῆτα λαμπράν; literally, a bright or dazzling robe. It is not unlikely that this was such a dress as that "royal apparel" of Herod in Acts, xii, 21, of which we find the following account in Josephus:<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Antiq.*, *XIX*, viii, 2.



“Herod put on a garment made wholly of silver, and of a texture truly wonderful, and came into the Theatre early in the morning; at which time the silver of his garment being illuminated by the fresh reflection of the sun’s rays upon it, shone out after a surprising manner, and was so resplendent as to spread an awe on those that looked intently upon him; and presently his flatterers cried out, one from one place, and another from another (though not for his good), that he was a God.”

This Herod Agrippa, who died for this impiety, was nephew of the Herod Antipas (in Luke, xxiii) who arrayed Jesus in the dazzling robe, ἐσθῆτα λαμπράν; and the event in Acts, xii, 21 (so signally confirmed by Josephus) was only eleven years after the crucifixion. Now Herod Antipas (Luke, xxiii), in arraying Jesus in a “gorgeous” robe, was dressing Him as a mock King of the Jews; and it, therefore, is not unlikely that he used some such shining royal robe as was afterwards used (Acts, xii, 21) by his nephew. In each case the time was sunrise.<sup>1</sup>

*Note on Scene III\**, above No. 3.—The pieces of money cast down by Judas are lying on the foreground.

*Note on Scene IV.*—In the scourging of Jesus three executioners are employed: one handling rods, the other two scourges. Of these two, one has a swarthy skin. A lad binds His feet. In this and the two next scenes, the flesh-wounds caused by the terrible scourges are seen on His person.

*Note on Scene V.*—Jesus, now sitting, arrayed in scarlet, is the object of mock homage of one who puts a reed, as a sceptre, into His fingers (His wrists are bound), while three men behind are using staves to twist the circlet of thorns tightly round His head.

*Note on Scene VI.*—(In the upper corner, on the right) Jesus finally given over by Pilate to be crucified, appears now in scarlet robe,—a sign of *Gentile* royalty.

Mr. G. M. Hills exhibited three acoustic jars, and read the following notes upon

#### ACOUSTIC JARS,

FROM THE CHURCHES OF ASHBURTON AND LUPPITT, DEVONSHIRE.

An instance which has much resemblance to the arrangements at Fairwell, in Staffordshire, was discovered in 1838 at the parish church of St. Andrew, Ashburton, Devonshire. For information respecting it I am indebted to several correspondents, chiefly to Mr. G. Pycroft of Kenton, and to Mr. J. S. Amery of Druid, Ashburton. A description of the discovery is printed in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London* for January 1873, and in *The Transactions* for 1873 of the Devonshire Association for the Advancement of Science, Art, and

<sup>1</sup> Josephus’ book was published A.D. 93, thirty years after the Acts were written.

Literature. From this it appears that the jars were found on the inside of the chancel-walls in 1838, when the old plaster on the inside of the walls was removed. The jars lay on their sides, their mouths directed to the inside of the church, covered over with a piece of slate to each, and that hid behind the plaster; several were taken out, all were empty.

In 1872 Lieutenant C. Worthy revived an interest in the discovery, and made it public by a communication to Mr. Winter Jones of the British Museum. From this it appears that between 1836 and 1840 great alterations were made in the chancel, so that Mr. Worthy finds it difficult to form an opinion as to its architectural date. From a workman employed upon the alterations he learned that the jars seen in 1838 were nine or ten, besides one he actually saw and drew; that they were lying in holes like those left in the walls for the reception of scaffolding; they were not regularly placed one above the other, but the workmen said "were scattered all over the north and south walls of the chancel, on their interior sides." I judge from these descriptions that the jars were really laid in the putlog-holes of the scaffolds, which would be in horizontal rows, without the jars being vertically over one another. Mr. Worthy furnished a drawing of one of the jars, and by his description they are of a red ware like common flower-pots, and have a zigzag line round the body, with a very faint white mark under it. The jars were firmly fixed in the recesses, in mortar. Two of the jars are still preserved, in the possession of a gentleman in the neighbourhood. One of them was exhibited at the Society of Antiquaries in 1873, but I did not see it. I have succeeded in obtaining a sight of two of them now by the kindness of their owner, J. Eddy, Esq., and I have the pleasure to furnish drawings made from them.

In correction of Mr. Worthy's description it should be said that the ware, though called red, is very highly burned, almost to a grey hue. The jars are not alike in their ornaments. A band or bands of whitish yellow colour is applied on the soft clay; and through it, into the red ware, a zigzag line is scratched. The least perfect of the specimens has besides a series of lines round its body, slightly grooved or scratched into the clay in the process of turning the jar on the potter's wheel; and there is a band of scrolls of the yellowish colour, painted on round the girth of the jar at its largest part.

I have also the pleasure to exhibit another jar belonging to an interesting discovery made in the year 1880, at Luppitt Church, near Honiton, Devon. I am indebted to Mr. J. H. Spencer, architect, of Taunton, and to the Rev. W. T. Perrott, the Incumbent, for a description of the discovery, and for a sight of one of the jars. From this one my three views of it are drawn. Mr. Spencer had sent to *The Builder*, in June 1880, a notice of the discovery. In the course of

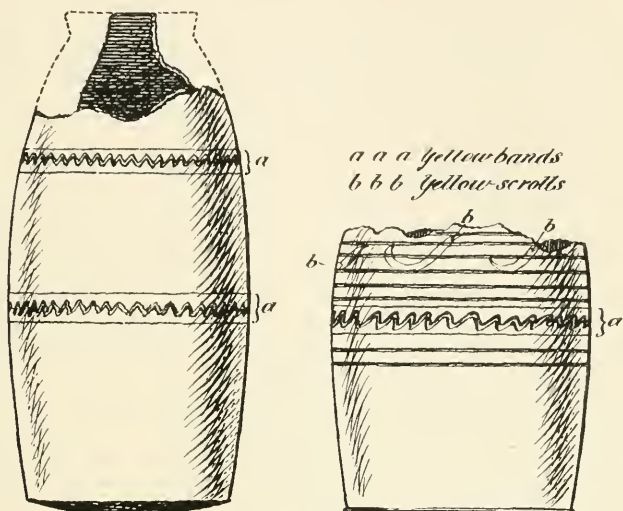
some restorations then proceeding at the church, under his superintendence, when the plaster had been removed from the inside of the north and east walls of the chancel, the original putlog-holes were found going through the entire thickness of the walls; the openings in the interior face being stopped with a small vase of rude pottery fitted into each, with the mouth towards the church, and immediately behind the plaster. Mr. Spencer thinks the walls are thirteenth century work; but windows of the fifteenth century have been inserted. The eagerness of the workmen to get out the jars, when first found, destroyed several; and the number seems, therefore, very uncertain. Three or four are spoken of as now in existence. All were similar in their characteristics, and these are very remarkable. The one I have is 6 inches high, and  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches across at its greatest diameter. It is thus the smallest of all the examples of so-called acoustic pottery I have met with. It was evidently made for the purpose to which it was applied, for to enable it to rest the better on its side, the side is flattened in one part.

One of the figures shews the full outline of the jar as presented by its upper side, another gives the outline of the jar in profile, and the third is a view of the depression in the under side. This depression was evidently made whilst the clay was damp and soft, after the pot had been turned on the wheel, by pressing it with the fore-knuckles of the three first fingers of the right hand, whose impression is very distinct, and exactly fits my own fingers. The material is well burnt; the exterior a greyish red; and where it is broken, the interior is a grey black.

I have submitted the more perfect of the Ashburton jars and the Luppitt jar to our Vice-President Mr. H. S. Cuming, who has favoured us with his opinion upon them as follows:

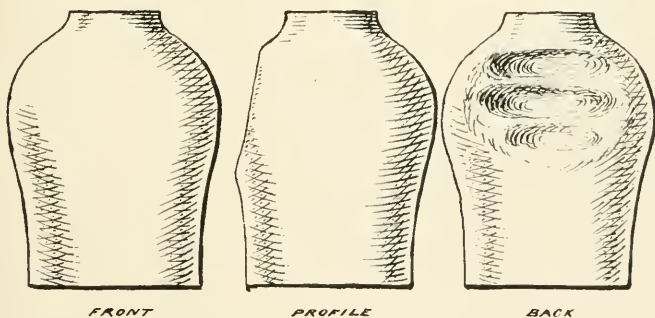
"I have carefully examined the two earthen jars you have kindly sent me for inspection. The tall, skittle-shaped one from Ashburton is very curious in many respects. If we were to single out one or two of its details, without considering the vessel as a whole, we might be led to assign it to a very early period. Take, for instance, its convex base, so like in fashion to what we find in Romano-Keltic pottery of the fourth century, and which fashion was revived in Norman times. The two bands of white paint incised with chevrons again remind us of fourth century work, whilst the outline of the jar bears with it a marked Norman character. But there are two other highly important elements which must be taken into consideration in fixing the date of the specimen in question, viz., its paste and amount of firing. The quality and hue of the paste are both identical with the bell-shaped watering-pots of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, which also exhibit the same degree of high firing. These watering-pots have convex bases, and their sides are decorated with bands and stripes of

# ACOUSTIC JARS



*Ashburton Devon, two Specimens.*

Scale of 1 2 3 4 5 6 Inches



*Luppitt Devon.  
Three Views of One Specimen*





white pigment; and are occasionally, though rarely, adorned with incised patterns. Taking, therefore, all the details into consideration, I do not think that we could be far wrong in assigning the Ashburton jar to the close of the fourteenth or commencement of the fifteenth century.

"The Luppitt jar is evidently of the same date as the examples found in Leeds Church, Kent, which although exhibiting in the paste some of the characteristics of late Keltic pottery, cannot in truth be earlier than the fifteenth century."

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Mr. G. M. Hills also laid on the table the concluding chapter of his "Measurements of Ptolemy."

The following articles were then exhibited by the Rev. S. M. Mayhew, who thus describes them :

"1. A jug of fifteenth century pottery, 7 inches in height. Usual green glaze, with upright lip. 2. A printer's Stamp or Colophon, of the seventeenth century; brass or latteen, set in hard wood. Found April 1882, with broken pottery, in Tower Street. 3. A round silver-solder *bonbonnière*, with rich ornamentation, by Michael Moser, and an old Yarmouth relic. 4. A string of eighty-two extraordinarily beautiful sapphire, old Venetian beads, extraordinary in workmanship as in colour. 5. A panel of oak, 15 inches by 9, of Low Country carving, emblematic of the Passion and Resurrection of Our Blessed Lord."

Commenting on these objects, the exhibitor said: "The jug is somewhat apart in shape from the usual production of the fifteenth century, being oviform; the glaze is that with which we all are familiar. The printer's stamp is of far more interest, beauty, and value. We all are more or less sensible of the beauty of the designs which adorn the covers or fill the vacancies of final pages in books of the seventeenth century; but it is a rare sight to see the instrument whereby those designs were produced. The artistic beauty of the stamp now on the table is very apparent. A central, long-stalked flower of eight petals and leaves springs from a group of four leaves (two inverted) connected with two unopened buds; and lower, with two seed-vessels from which the seed just appears. I have had (by the hand of an appreciative and careful printer) a few copies struck off on card, shewing more decidedly the elegant taste of the artist. The stamp was used either as a colophon, or for an ornament upon the cover of some ponderous seventeenth century volume.

"Of the *bonbonnière*, the shape, a perfect round, is uncommon; and perhaps the condition, of thick silver on copper, uncommon also. The scroll-work is of the pattern of Venetian art united with German. The scrolls upon the lid frame in a female figure sitting, and receiving from a Flamen standing by the hymeneal altar the hymeneal wreath. No doubt the box was originally a wedding gift.

"The revel of art and luxuriance of taste belonging to the old Venetian workers frequently concentrate in the productions of the bead-workshops of Murano. Certainly in this necklace there are qualities sufficient to assert the pre-eminence of the old manufacture. Eighty-two heads of wonderful lightness; of clear, brilliant yet exceedingly dark, sapphire blue; each bead thickly silvered *within*, girdled by two strokes of lattimo, and the interval of the strokes filled by clear glass; studded, *i.e.*, inlaid in some sparkling composition brilliant as diamond-points on silver. Although, apparently, a silver band had been joined between the hemispheres, it is not really so. A clear glass has been inserted, through which shines the internal silver."

Many remarks of admiration, and questions also, followed the exhibition of these beautiful beads. Mr. Mayhew said they could be traced back for fifty or sixty years, but were of a much earlier date. On the carved panel, the fact that another very remarkable carving had been exhibited to the Association about six years since, was recalled by the exhibitor. The sacrifice of Isaac, as the type of those great transactions commemorated by the present, the suffering and resurrection of the Lord. That former panel, in three parts, had been found in the City of London; this one, bought in Yarmouth, is from Holland. It probably found a place over a Jesuit oratory altar, or in a reredos, as a central subject. The large beaded I. H. S. is on a raised oval of the form adopted by the Society of Jesus. Beneath are three nails; on either side a draped angel, in one hand bearing a palm-branch, in the other supporting a central, open diadema, giving us the suffering and the triumph. Two palms surmount the Victor's crown. The age of the carving suggests the sadly historic remembrance of the ruthless Spanish occupation of the Netherlands. Perhaps the fact that this, now disjointed, lies before us, may recall the patriotic self-devotion through which civil and religious freedom were won against overwhelming force.

Mr. Mayhew added an iron casting of the story of the Golden Goose, obtained last autumn in Pembroke,—an art effort by the old Pembroke Foundry, which ceased its operation towards the close of the last century. In this casting the costumes are of the reign of George II. The original mould appears to have been broken, since in the collection of our Vice-President Mr. Cuming is a precisely similar group, with the exception of the floor: in this case plain, in that diamonded. In recasting the ornament was added. It is much to be desired that notes of the works of these local foundries might be gathered.

Also a saucer of white Liverpool porcelain, having painted within the edge the outline of the Spanish and African coasts from Cadiz to Cape Spartel, set by compass. Off Trafalgar Cape stretch the double lines of the combined fleets of France and Spain. At right angles the

attacking lines of Nelson and Collingwood are delineated with accuracy faithful in the number and quality of the ships; and under a powerful glass, both ensigns and rigging appear. The date may be 1806; and the cup probably received the portraits of Nelson and Collingwood, or Nelson alone. At any rate, though not an antique, it is a most interesting relic of our greatest naval triumph.

Mr. W. de G. Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, read a paper by Mr. James Greenstreet on "The Camden Roll of Arms." It is hoped that a place may be found for this in a futuro part of the *Journal*.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, exhibited plans and drawings, and read a paper on "Recent Discoveries at the Site of the Stock Exchange." This also will, it is hoped, be printed hereafter.

Mr. Cole described the progress of the excavations alluded to above, and spoke of an ancient bridge which he believed had existed on the site.

The Chairman then read the following

#### NOTES ON THE LONDON EXCURSION AND ON THE SESSION.

BY THOS. MORGAN, V.P., F.S.A., HON. TREASURER.

On the occasion of this London excursion, our point of reunion on the 14th of October was the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, which stands on a hill memorable from the earliest times as the eye of a great metropolis, and the history of which has been brought home to us by the published accounts of the Rev. W. Sparrow Simpson, D.D., F.S.A., in which all the principal authorities on the subject are given, and many of these may be collected from his article in *Journal*, xxxvii, pp. 123, 132. We had the privilege this day of hearing from the same learned divine a full account, on the spot, of the successive buildings here dedicated to St. Paul, commencing with the mention of St. Ethelbert's Cathedral, rebuilt in 961; then the account of the burning of one in 1087, which was rapidly rebuilt, and again destroyed by fire in 1137, to be replaced by the beautiful Early English Cathedral of the thirteenth century; completed in 1240, with crocketed spire rearing its finial point crowned with the relic bearing ball and cross, 490 feet from the ground. The fire of 1561 destroyed the spire, and injured the building; which, however, survived, with the reparations then made, and the additions of Inigo Jones, for another hundred years, up to the great fire of 1666; after which Sir Christopher Wren demolished its ruined walls, replacing them by the present magnificent temple, the first stone of which was laid on the 21st of June 1675; and except a small portion of the bases of the piers of the chapter house, on the south-west, nothing is to be seen of the old building above ground.

What need is there of repeating what has been already so well told?

The history and description of the old St. Paul's, which Dr. Simpson brought before our eyes when exhibiting the architectural elevation of it, drawn on a very large scale, and enabling us to estimate its prodigious length of 690 feet; while the view of the crypt, into which we descended, sets forth the ample dimensions of the modern Cathedral. The expansion of the crypt has been accomplished by removing the enclosure which formerly shut off a portion of it to form a church for the parish of St. Faith. The opening, too, of the western exterior of the building by removing the massive iron railings which formerly enclosed and concealed its western portals, vastly improves the principal entrance; inviting the passers by to enter freely the open gates, and assist at the services of the Church, conducted consistently with the grandeur of the building, whose noble arches are made to resound with the peals of the organ and the voices of the choir. In the Whispering Gallery of the dome, however, on the occasion of our visit, we heard only the small voices of our own party re-echoed to the opposite side of the building; and passing from thence along the spacious ambulatories, we were struck by the massive flying buttresses of very solid masonry, placed to counteract the outward thrust of the walls supporting the lofty vault of the nave; thus shewing Sir Christopher Wren's adaptation of mediæval ingenuity in rearing this temple on the revived classical model, and yet concealing the means by which the support was given by placing the buttresses within the screen-wall.

Descending into the body, which is now filled with marble monuments to the great and the good of our land, a thought will again suggest itself of some of the objects of respect and adoration which once were the glory of old St. Paul's, as the famous rood or crucifix near the north door, visited by pilgrims from all parts. In the north aisle of the choir were two shrines containing the bones of Sebba, King of the West Saxons, converted by St. Erkenwald; and the other, of King Ethelred. Ascending the choir, were seen the high altar and reredos, and three famous altars dedicated—that on the east to St. Paul, and those north and south to St. Ethelred, king and confessor; and to Bishop Mellitus. The date of this Bishop's consecration is given as A.D. 604; and that of St. Erkenwald, 675, whose famous shrine, rivaling in popular veneration even that of St. Thomas at Canterbury, was just eastward of the screen; and the Saint was buried in the nave. Among the great political characters of his day was Sir John de Beauchamp, K.G., son of Guy Earl of Warwick, whose grand tomb stood in the eleventh bay on the right hand.

I must cut short the further relation of what Dr. Sparrow Simpson has described by a passing remark on St. Paul's Cross, which once stood in the Churchyard, at the east end; famous in political as well as ecclesiastical history, for here "the folk-motes had been assembled,



bulls and papal edicts read, heretics denounced, heresies abjured, and penances performed", besides the sermons preached here by the most eloquent divines of the day.

Before Christianity reared its first shrine on this hill, which sloped down to the Thames on the south, and to the then broad river of Fleet on the west, an old Roman wall is thought to have come down in a straight line from the bastion forming the north-west corner of London Wall, in the churchyard of St. Giles, Cripplegate, and to have formed a continuation southward of that wall which turned off to the west at the back of the Castle and Falcon Hotel in later times. A straight line would have crossed Paternoster Row, where remains of the wall have been seen. A continuation of this would bring it diagonally across the site of the present choir of St. Paul's, skirting the southern porch of the Cathedral on the east; and thence passing to the west of St. Benet's Church, the wall would enter the premises of the Carron Iron Company to the Thames, where it was flanked by the Castle of Baynard, or an older one on the same site, known as the Palatine Tower, which defended the City on the west, as did the Tower of London on the east.

This suggestion of a wall here in Roman times is rendered probable by the fact of many sepulchral remains having been found outside of it, and notably the collection of urns and glass vessels found in Warwick Lane, on the premises of the Messrs. Tylor, and exhibited by them before the Society of Antiquaries last year. The great Earl of Warwick had his town residence afterwards on this site. There would be ample space for a large necropolis between this wall and the Fleet river; and it is probable that the road to and from London passed through it, and up to the bridge which crossed the Fleet at Holborn Hill. Such an arrangement would naturally suggest the opening of the New Gate on a spot nearly opposite the bridge, and the building of the newer wall westward of the old one, by which the boundaries of the City might be extended.

After walking up Fleet Street (as was the custom of Dr. Johnson with his friend Boswell), and hearing from Mr. G. Lambert a recital of the many worthies who once lived in Fleet Street, though their houses have departed as well as themselves, we again found ourselves in the Abbey Church of St. Bartholomew the Greater, in Smithfield, visited on a previous occasion. Professor T. Hayter Lewis, F.S.A., who has done much to preserve and restore the fabric, gave us a full and particular account of its architecture. That the nave is now wanting, hardly supports the supposition that the church never had one; nor do the words quoted from Matthew Paris, who describes what happened in the choir as "*in mediâ ecclesiâ*", strengthen such a view, because a monk would naturally call the middle of the choir the middle



of the church, whether it had a nave or not. The scuffle which occurred on the occasion, between the Prior and the Papal Legate, in 1250, was aptly brought in by Professor Lewis as shewing the state of society at the time, when the Legate was found clothed in armour under his vestments. The circular and pointed arches which support the tower, the former to the east and west, the latter to the north and south, were built at the same time, according to the evidence of the architects, who could find no traces of rebuilding or resetting in the pointed arches; and a similar construction was noticed by Mr. E. P. L. Brock in the parish church at Devizes during our Congress there.

Rahere, the founder of the Priory, whose effigy is seen in the place of honour, in the north wall of the chancel, was also the founder of the Hospital of St. Bartholomew the Less, which we next visited. This institution is a noble development of the surgeon's art, represented in its infancy, among the records of Barber-Surgeons' Hall, which was visited the next day. The stairs and entrance-hall of the Hospital are adorned with allegorical paintings, by Hogarth, of the highest interest and ascending the staircase, the collection of documents was shewn us and explained by Mr. Cross,—documents such as are rarely seen together in connection with the foundation where they are preserved. The original grant by Rahere was here, with his seal attached, on which was a design of the building, and the date 1136. There were many, in fine preservation, of the time of Edward III; and among the seals was that of the religious house of St. Giles in the Fields, which attracted our attention as we were about to visit another church dedicated to that Saint in Cripplegate.

"The way was long, the night was cold", but many of our party would not be deterred from retracing their steps to the far East before assembling at dinner in the far West. The object of interest was the Roman bath and villa under the Coal Exchange in Thames Street. As this has been often described before, I will only refer to the satisfaction we felt at seeing so well preserved and attended to, a relic of antiquity which the British Archæological Association had a hand in preserving; and we were glad to bear testimony to the attention paid us by Mr. Scott, Secretary to the Coal Exchange, by having the place lighted up, by which the hypocaust and each recess could be seen and explored. There was the old seat where the bathers sat to be anointed after the bath by the attendant, and then scraped with the *strigil*. The old wooden drain-pipe has been preserved, which once drained off the water from the bath to the river, and the timber seems still sound. The plan of this building, parts of which have been uncovered at different times, shews the usual arrangement of rooms for baths of the Romans; but the dimensions are small for public baths. But even if they were larger, they would, of course, be on a very different scale from

those colossal edifices in Rome, such as the Baths of Agrippa, of which the Pantheon, still existing, is now found to be only the *laconicum* or sweating-bath ; behind which were the usual series of apartments, the walls of which are now being brought to light, and the plan of their arrangement traced, and compared with the similar remains of the *thermæ* of Caracalla.

Before leaving the eastern end of the City, I will pay a passing tribute to that very characteristic relic of the early part of the seventeenth century, the dwelling-house of Sir Paul Pindar, which it is said will shortly be pulled down. Its oriel window still commands a view up and down Bishopsgate Street, and its barge-boards are well carved in the style of the day. The then occupier, Sir Paul Pindar, a great linguist, was ambassador to the Court of Turkey, and a large capitalist, who in 1639 is said to have amassed more than a quarter of a million of money, but was ruined by lending it to Charles I. At his death, at the advanced age of eighty-four, in 1650, his affairs were so embarrassed that his executor committed suicide, and at an inquest on the body he was brought in as *felo de se*.

On the second day, the meeting in the morning was at the Barber Surgeons' Hall in Monkwell Street, where we were received in the great room by the Master and Wardens of the Company. The antiquities and history of this foundation were given in a paper by Mr. G. Lambert, F.S.A. ;<sup>1</sup> and the plate, of which there was a large display on the table, was described by Mr. Shoppee. Among the objects specially pointed out was a beautiful cup of gold, presented by Holbein, who was a member of this Company ; and the coronets worn by the Wardens, consisting of a golden brim surmounted by crimson velvet. The junior Warden was crowned with one of green velvet. On the walls of the room were several portraits,—one of a Duchess of Richmond ; another of Sir — Frederick, who gave his name to Frederick's Place in the neighbourhood. More valuable than Holbein's gold cup was the picture he painted for this room, of Henry VIII delivering their charter to the Barber-Surgeons, by which they were incorporated in 1541. The names and descriptions of the persons represented in it will be found in an article in our *Journal* (vol. viii) by the late T. J. Pettigrew ; and a memoir of Holbein as a historical painter, in vol. xxvi, by Henry T. Holt, wherein are shewn the genuine paintings of Holbein, of which this is one, and those which have been falsely attributed to him. The first visit of this great painter to London was about the year 1526, when he brought a letter of recommendation from Erasmus to Sir Thomas More, the latter then residing at Chelsea ; and he kept Holbein three years in his house, on a visit, so much did he

<sup>1</sup> The lecture of Mr. Lambert, copiously illustrated with engravings, has been published. (Brettell and Co., 51 Rupert Street, Haymarket.)

appreciate the painter and his great talent. A plan of the theatre of the old Hall, from a drawing in Worcester College, Oxford, is given in *Journal*, vol. viii, p. 118, and is about the only representation of any portion of that building (pulled down in 1782) which has been preserved.

What shall I say of St. Giles, Cripplegate (*S. Egidius*), which has not been said on the spot by Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock? who considered it a good example of a City church of the period just anterior to the Reformation; and not a few interesting tombs and tablets of later date, recording the names of illustrious parishioners, were pointed out, some of which we noticed in the Registers carefully laid out for our inspection in the Vestry. Among the burial-registers, which begin in 1561, were the names of J. Fox, J. Milton, Daniel Defoe, Robert Somersett *alias* Glover, and Frobisher, 1594. Through the chinks in the oak panelling which lines the wall of the chancel we could see the original stone sedilia.

After viewing the bastion of the London Wall in the churchyard we passed down Wood Street, past St. Alban's Church, said to have been founded by King Athelstan, whose name is preserved in King Adel Street in this vicinity, wherein the name of Aldermanbury seems to betoken an ancient seat of government.

Emerging in Cheapside, not far from the cross erected by the pious Edward I to the memory of his Queen Eleanor, the massive tower of St. Mary-le-Bow Church (or *de Arcubus*) came in sight; and here we were to view the ancient crypt upon which Sir Christopher Wren raised his superstructure. The ancient arches are said to have given the name to the church (Bow or Arched). The crypt consists of three arches, a central, and one north and south of this. The southern is supposed to be that called a Roman temple by Sir Christopher Wren. The depth is about to the level of Roman London, and there are windows closed up at about half the height of the wall. All the columns supporting the crypt are said to be *early* Norman work.

Passing westward up Cheapside, we left on our right St. Martin's-le-Grand and Aldersgate Street, which once was lined with houses of the nobility all the way up to the Barbican. In the reign of Queen Mary an old manor-house here was possessed by Catherine, widow of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, in her own right Baroness Willoughby d'Eresby. The Earl of Bridgewater had also a house in the Barbican. Lauderdale House stood on the east side of the northern end of the street; and in Noble Street, near, was Shelley House, built by Sir Thomas Shelley in 1st Henry IV, afterwards called "Bacon House" in the time of Queen Elizabeth. Westmoreland and Northumberland Houses were here the town houses of the Neviles and the Percies. Westmoreland Court still preserves the memory of the former,

the latter was in Bull and Mouth Street. London House stood not far from St. Botolph's Church, formerly the residence of the Bishop of London. This was once called "Petre House", from having been the property of the Lords Petre. Shaftesbury House is still to be seen with its pilasters and wreaths, the work of Inigo Jones, though now doomed to destruction. This is almost opposite London House, and succeeded Thanet House, first called "Dorchester House", from the Marquis of Dorchester; becoming in after times the residence of the Tuftons, Earls of Thanet.

Following the line of Newgate Street and St. Sepulchre's Church, we passed into Ely Place, where once stood the palace of the Bishops of Ely, of which the only portion remaining is the chapel, now called of St. Etheldreda. There are some who fail to see that it was ever built for a chapel at all, but consider it to have been the hall of the Bishop's Palace. The crypt below, they say, was formerly a cellar supported on timber uprights, which have been replaced by stone pillars after the ground had been excavated several feet to give it height. Father Lockart, M.A., Oxon., said it was used as a chapel by the Spanish ambassador in the time of Elizabeth, and preserved the old faith longer than any other. It was appropriated to Welsh Presbyterians in the time of William and Mary. Since it has been purchased by the Roman Catholic Church, coloured glass windows have been inserted; figures of the Apostles, in plaster, from the originals at Nuremburg, have been added; and other additions have been made.

After the different theories on the original uses of the building had been in some way reconciled, we left Ely Place to proceed to Sir John Soane's Museum in Lincoln's Inn Fields, where we were met and welcomed by one of the new Trustees, Mr. George Godwin, F.R.S., F.S.A., and by Mr. James Wild, the Curator. This once private house, the residence of Sir John Soane, who died on January 20, 1837, was made over to the nation by an Act of Parliament in the lifetime of the donor, which came into operation at his decease. The contents of the Museum, valuable and instructive as they are, yet are even exceeded in value and instruction by the skill and invention displayed by Sir John Soane in transforming a moderate-size house into the Museum as it now stands, with its recesses, corridors, crypt, sepulchral chamber, and mediæval cloister, all closely packed with ancient relics and objects of art. It is indeed a marvel of architectural contrivance. Among the contents of the ground-floor and basement are some elegant specimens of Etruscan and Greek vases, marble fragments of Greek and Roman sculpture, bronzes, and innumerable casts of some of the best pieces of ancient sculpture and models of temples, arches, and buildings, of ancient Rome and Athens. The picture-room contains in a small space, by means of folding planes, a select collection of paintings, as



views in Venice by Canaletti; four paintings portraying scenes at elections, by Hogarth, purchased at the sale of Garrick's effects for 1,650 guineas; original drawings by Piranesi, and portraits of English artists, including one of Sir John Soane himself. In the "Monks' Parlour and Oratory" are many fragments and casts in plaster of bosses, corbels, and other portions of ecclesiastical buildings, as well as Flemish wood-carvings.

Descending into the catacombs and under-ground galleries, a fine collection is seen of Roman marble *ciste*, urns, and other antique remains, including a marble statue of the Ephesian Diana or Dea Multimamma, and a colossal bronze head of Jupiter. Models, in cork, of ancient tombs and sepulchral chambers are not wanting; and to crown all is the famous sarcophagus discovered in Egypt by Belzoni, in 1817, in a royal tomb in a valley near Thebes. This must not be passed over without a few words of description, as its merit has lately been enhanced by the discovery of the body of the very king who originally occupied this sarcophagus. This king was no less a person than Seti I, the second king of the nineteenth dynasty, which has been called by a well known authority the dynasty of "struggle", as was the eighteenth that of "triumph", and the twentieth that of "decline". This Seti I reconstituted the fleet in the Red Sea, and regained some of the foreign conquests of Thothmes III. He is also famous as being the father of Rameses II, supposed to be the Pharaoh of the Jewish captivity.

To return to the sarcophagus at Sir John Soane's, it is cut from a block of the finest alabaster, and is transparent when a light is placed within it. The length at the top is 9 feet 4 inches; breadth, in the widest part, 3 ft. 8 ins.; depth at the head, 2 ft. 8 ins.; and at the foot, 2 ft. 3 ins. The cover, when placed upon it, added 15 ins. to the height. The sides are about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  ins. thick at the top, increasing a little in thickness towards the bottom, which is about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  ins. thick. It is sculptured within and without with several hundred figures, which do not exceed 2 ins. in height. The engravings on the walls of the sarcophagus have reference to the journey of Ra (the Sun) through the chambers of Amenti, or Hades, during the hours of the night. In the centre is the boat of the Sun in the firmament, sustained by the surrounding waters; above is the figure of Osiris. Among the subjects treated of is one embodying the ancient doctrine of the metempsychosis, the weighing of the souls of the human race in the balance of Osiris. The human race is symbolised by nine men on the steps of the throne of the judge. Among the fragments supposed to belong to the lid was one, being the corner of a box, which contained the four vases of the genii of Amenti, who presided over the different parts of the viscera of the embalmed person deposited within them.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to the official description of the Museum (1879) for the



Too long would be the recital of the many objects, paintings, miniatures, architectural designs, and models, which furnish the upper part of the house, the staircases, lobbies, and recesses; but the eight paintings of William Hogarth, illustrative of the "Rake's Progress", touch a chord of human sympathy by their truth to nature, and attracted so large a portion of the attention of the visitors, that their subjects shall be noted:—1, "The Heir"; 2, "The Levée"; 3, "Orgies"; 4, "The Arrest"; 5, "The Marriage"; 6, "The Gaming-House"; 7, "The Prison"; 8, "The Mad-House." These pictures, formerly in the possession of Alderman Beckford, were purchased by Sir John Soane, in 1802, for 570 guineas.

There is a fine library of books in print and in manuscript. Among the former may be mentioned the first three folio editions of Shakespeare's works, that of 1623, of 1632, and three copies of that of 1664, which contains the seven additional plays not printed in the first two.

Thus, with the week, ended the two days' excursion to the City; but two more days in the following week were to be devoted to the western extremities of London. Want of space will, however, prevent my giving any account of them on this occasion; and I must reserve for another any notice of Fulham Palace, Chelsea Church, Holland House, Hampton Court Palace, and the interesting vicinity of Kingston and Wimbledon.

I will make but an observation or two on some of the most striking features of the session, the subjects treated on having extended over an unusually wide range. In Egyptian antiquities, Mr. Myers exhibited some interesting specimens brought by himself from Egypt, as the bronze figure of Osiris, thought to be a representation of the great conqueror, Thothmes III; and a reading priest. Mr. Park shewed portions of the flesh and bone of a mummy, which led to some interesting details about the linen material used for wrappers, and the amulets and religious emblems interred with the body were explained by Mr. W. de G. Birch. A *scarabæus*, set in gold, was exhibited by Mr. Compton.

From Cyprus some beautiful specimens of early art were commented on by Major A. di Cesnola, from his great collection. Among these were gold necklaces and bracelets for the living, rings and earrings for the dead, cornelian *scarabæi*, and sixteen beautiful types of Phœnician iridescent glass *unguentaria*, as well as fine specimens of the terra cotta statuettes for which the island was celebrated. The association of these with the many Roman remains on the table recalled the an-

dimensions and details of the sarcophagus, in which reference is made to "*The alabaster sarcophagus of Oimenephtha I, King of Egypt, drawn by Joseph Bonomi, and described by Samuel Sharpe.*" (Longman and Co., 1864.)

nexation of Cyprus by the Romans, when Ptolemy, King of the island, committed suicide rather than be despoiled of his possessions, referred to by Mr. G. R. Wright in his sketch of the history of Cyprus in *Journal*, xxxv, p. 198.

Roman tiles from London sites have not been wanting,—one from the City Wall, below the surface of the ground, just cut through (near Trinity Square) by the Metropolitan Railway Company, of very bright red and compact material; and a rubbing of a stamp on one in his possession was produced by Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock. It had been dug up, many years ago, on the site of the Cannon Street Hotel. The letters were VIDUCOS; and as this potter's mark is found on Samian ware, the fact seems to shew that some of the so called Samian (at least of the coarser kind) was manufactured in this country, as it seems hardly probable that these large tiles would be imported from abroad; therefore the pottery of Viducus must have been made on English soil. Mr. Grover confirmed the supposition that the coarser kinds of Samian ware, of which large quantities have been found on the now submerged parts of the Kentish coast, were manufactured here.

Two other tiles from the site of Leadenhall were shewn by Mr. Brent, having upon them PBERLON, read from right to left; and two tiles with the same stamp are preserved in the Guildhall Museum. These I should take to have been stamped in the imperial pottery works of the London prefecture. Mr. Way exhibited many Roman and other antiquities from the King's Arms Yard in Southwark. He as well as the Rev. S. Maude and Mr. G. R. Wright have at different times exhibited coins of Titus, Allectus, Gallienus, and Justin, and one of the Antonian legionary coins.

The discovery of two Roman villas was announced: the one at Methwold by Mr. Cecil Brent, and the other at Wingham, in Kent, by Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock. The Rev. C. Collier also described some Roman remains found near Andover, Hants. Mr. Arthur Cope had specimens to shew of early tiles at Chertsey Abbey, a place already renowned for such tiles. Dr. Hooppell has discovered a Saxon church at Gosforth, Durham,—an interesting addition to such discoveries.

The numerous stone implements exhibited from time to time by Mr. Worthington G. Smith would naturally lead to the discussion of early British habitations. Of these, some good examples are those at Birtley in Cumberland, figured and described in *Archæologia*, xlv, p. 355; and the discovery among them of Roman or Saxon swords and bronze celts should cause diligent investigation to be made of such sites. This subject was illustrated by the rude drawings carved upon rocks, and known by the name of "cup and ring markings", of which Mr. Romilly Allen has given us careful drawings and descriptions from Ilkley in Yorkshire, and from near Tealing in Forfarshire.<sup>1</sup> Such

<sup>1</sup> *Journal*, xxxvii, p. 254.



marks, and the frequency of their occurrence, can no longer be treated either as natural indentations in the stone, nor as capricious carvings of man without purpose and without meaning. Mr. J. T. Irvine has favoured us with notices on the same subject; and the late Mr. John Brent of Canterbury took a prominent part in this discussion, the last in which he was to enter before his late sudden decease, which deprives our Society of a very active and valued member.

The Duloe stone-circle, in Devonshire, has been carefully measured by Mr. C. W. Dymond; and his description of the fine effect of the white stones, as seen from a distance, is another factor in solving the problem of these ceremonial circles. Dr. Phené illustrated the subject of stone-circles as well as barrows by many diagrams, the result of a recent visit to Scotland, and an excavation of one of the barrows there. Captain J. Thorpe also gave us a description of an ancient British barrow opened on the middle of West Down, beyond Nunwell, Isle of Wight.

The "Thinghoe", or Hill of Council, near Thetford, has been dug into by Mr. Prigg, who described his discovery of two secondary interments there, the centre of the mound not having been reached. These hills of assembly and legislation were commented on by many speakers, and the well known examples in England were cited, as the "Tyn-Wald" in the Isle of Man; and the foreign examples in Norway and Sweden were supplemented by the mention, by Mr. E. Walford, of the Salt Hill near Eton, on which the students of the College used to assemble at the periodical ceremony, "*Ad Montem*", now abolished, but till lately kept up with all the accompaniments of mediæval pageantry. He said that an old religious custom may have been the origin of this ceremonial.

A screw-dollar was exhibited by Mr. Henry J. F. Swayne, containing within it a beautiful miniature-portrait, in the Dutch or Flemish style, of a young man; but the likeness could not be identified with known celebrities, though compared with many portraits of these by Mr. Stephen Tucker, *Somerset Herald*, and the Rev. Alexander Taylor.

Two curious ivory sword-hilts, elaborately carved, were exhibited by our old correspondent Mr. J. B. Greenshields of Lesmahago. They came from Ireland, and the opinion was that they were used for some ceremonial; but whether they belonged to the seventeenth or the end of the previous century was difficult to determine. The shield upon one, *sable*, a lion rampant crowned, might connect it with the Netherlands and William of Orange. On the other hilt was carved a lion's head *affronté*.

Mr. W. H. Cope's lecture upon coloured glass windows, from the earliest ages of their introduction, through successive centuries, came in very appropriately after the fine specimens we had seen at our late

Congress. Very choice examples of early Spanish, German, and Venetian glass were exhibited by the Rev. S. M. Mayhew ; and numerous miscellaneous specimens from his copious museum, of various ages and countries, among which were two medals which attracted much attention ; the one struck by the "Society of the Crown", the crown of thorns being impressed on the reverse ; and the other was commemorative of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, struck by Gregory XIII and the Sacred College to commemorate that event. The tradesmen's tokens of Mr. A. Chasemore, commemorative of the industry of our nation, were more congenial to the feelings of those whose ancestors assisted and bled with the Huguenots of France.

Dr. Sparrow Simpson's exhibition of the cast of a small metallic plate of the thirteenth century, used for determining the size of the tonsure of priests, was accompanied by interesting particulars connected with the monastic establishments of the period ; which were further exemplified by the ruins of Carrow Nunnery, near Norwich, unburied by J. J. Colman, Esq., M.P., at his own expense, and the plan of which was exhibited and explained by Mr. Brock.

Here I will close this brief abstract, to be filled up by the official account of our proceedings and the note-books of those who took part in them.

## Obituary.

MR. JOHN BRENT, F.S.A.

WE have to record the death of Mr. John Brent, F.S.A., who died, after a short illness, at his residence on the Dane John, Canterbury, on the 23rd of April 1882, in the seventy-third year of his age. He was born at Rotherhithe on the 21st of August 1808, and was the eldest son of the late Mr. John Brent, Deputy-Lieutenant for Kent, who had been several times Mayor of the city of Canterbury.

Mr. Brent occupied for many years a seat on the Council of the Canterbury Corporation, and was elected an Alderman; but resigned that position on being elected City Treasurer. He was also a member of the Local Council of the British Archaeological Association at the first Congress that was held at Canterbury in 1844. An enthusiastic lover of antiquarian pursuits from his earliest years, he contributed numerous papers to various antiquarian magazines, viz., the *Archæologia*, *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, *Archæologia Cantiana*, *Notes and Queries*, etc. He published a revised edition of Felix Summerly's *Handbook to Canterbury*, also a *Catalogue of the Antiquities in the Canterbury Museum*, of which he was Honorary Curator; and in 1860 he published his first edition of *Canterbury in the Olden Times*. The second edition was much enlarged, and shewed on the part of the author a great amount of research and ability as an antiquarian topographer. Mr. Brent's literary pursuits were not confined to archæology. He wrote several works of fiction, *Battle Cross*, *Sea Wolf*, *Ellie Forestere*, etc.; and his poetical works, *Atalanta*, *Justine the Martyr*, *Village Bells*, etc., were much esteemed.

From the *Retrospections* now being printed by one of his intimate friends, Mr. C. Roach Smith, we are enabled to add an extract containing that author's warm and reliable testimony to Mr. Brent's worth: "When I commenced these *Retrospections*, and named Mr. John Brent as having been associated with us in the Canterbury Congress, with the brief addition of 'the poet and the historian of Canterbury', I relied on saying more of him at an advanced stage of my work, and I expected him to read what I intended to say. I told him so when, a few months since, we went together to inspect the Roman villa at Wingham. This was not to be. Death outrides us with all our calculations and speculations; and apparent health is one of the delusions by which his approach is masked. On that day I had an opportunity



of knowing more of his varied accomplishments than I had previously known, and he was unusually communicative in regard to himself. I had read his *Ellie Forestere* with delight; but I did not know he had written for the stage. I knew his superior poetic powers, so well shewn in *Atalanta*, *Justine*, and other poems; but I did not know he was fond of singing, and that some of his songs had been set to music; and further, I did not know the extent to which he devoted his spare time to the education of the young, usually uncared for after they have left school. He hated everything in the shape of intrigue and meanness, and with manly courage was always prepared to combat for truth and propriety. At the Congress of the Kent Archæological Society at Sandwich an incident occurred precisely similar to that at Worcester, narrated in another part of my *Retrospections*. Mr. Brent, to the surprise, and perhaps dismay, of the President, recalled the large dinner party to a sense of what he considered their duty. It was from that very dinner, contrary to the protest of Mr. Brent and others, that the reporters of the public press were excluded, to the loss of the Society; for in consequence no reports appeared of the particularly interesting and important proceedings of the day. Illiberality was thus punished by silence.

“The *Archæologia Cantiana* will testify to the merits of Mr. Brent as an antiquary. His researches and discoveries in the Saxon cemeteries of Sarre and Stonting were conducted with remarkable intelligence and success, and they have greatly contributed to our sepulchral collections of the Saxon period, so full of historical evidence. In his *Canterbury in the Olden Times* he has introduced much valuable matter, which, in another edition, had his life been spared, would still have been added to; for I believe he had recently made fresh discoveries. From his brothers we may expect their publication. Of the poems referred to, I propose giving specimens in the Appendix to my volume. At the last Archæological Congress at Canterbury, Mr. Brent in vain tried to induce the Corporation to allow him to make some excavations, at my suggestion, to prove the character of the base and interior of the city walls, which I have no doubt are Roman, although many assert that they are wholly mediæval. Several Congresses have been held at Canterbury, and this important question remains unanswered. It could easily be solved without a Congress.”

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## Antiquarian Intelligence.

THESE paragraphs of antiquarian intelligence are prepared and condensed from miscellaneous communications made to the Secretaries; and it is earnestly requested that Associates will forward, as early as possible, notices of recent discoveries, which may be of archæological interest, coming to their cognizance.

*Bristol: Past and Present.* By J. F. NICHOLLS, F.S.A., and JOHN TAYLOR. Vol. i, "Civil History"; vol. ii, "Ecclesiastical History." (Bristol. J. W. Arrowsmith.)—The great city of western England, which was visited by the British Archæological Association as the centre of a recent Congress, has found two worthy expounders of her



Gorge of the Avon, with Pit-Dwellings on Downs.

many glories and her many treasures. The authors, who rendered invaluable services to the Association on the occasion of that Congress, are well known in the archæological circles of literature; and it may be that the stimulus which such meetings are universally acknowledged to excite to the prosecution and advancement of the study of local antiquities, was not altogether unfelt by them when this literary project was being revolved in their minds. But be that as it may, the

result of their labours, as we have it before us in these two handsomely printed and elegantly illustrated books, is a creditable monument to themselves, and a fitting tribute to the large share of English archaeology which the ancient city possesses stored up within her boundaries, and well worthy of exploration by the diligent seeker after the relics of the past.

Written in accordance with a systematic method, and in a style perfectly lucid and readable, without being commonplace or dull, this, the latest history of Bristol, is not only an invaluable pendant to the more ponderous productions of those who have previously essayed to describe Bristolian history, but inasmuch as it gathers up facts which have hitherto escaped the notice of writers, and builds up irrefragable theories from these very facts, by means of the axioms which the more advanced school of antiquaries has now established, it is an indispensable addition to the shelf of the historical student. From the earliest period, when the gorge of the Avon was studded with pit-dwellings on its banks and downs, as in the accompanying illustration ; through the

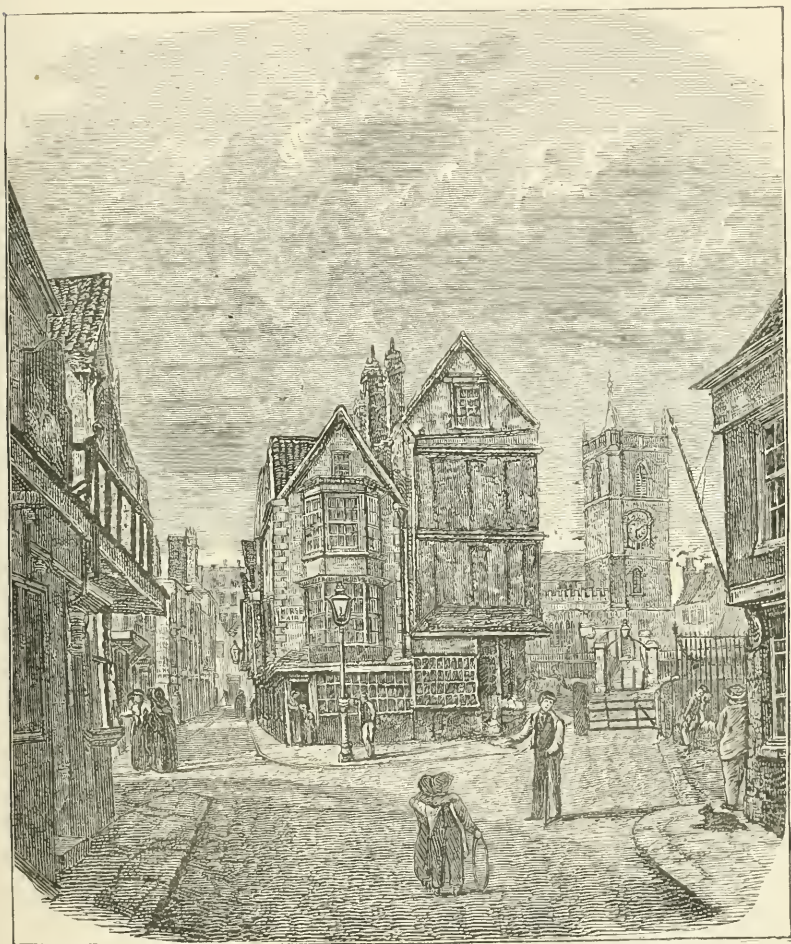


Houses built on the Frome Wall.

lithic eras, and through the Roman and the Saxon ages ; through the early middle ages of earthen camps, and moated castles, and loopholed walls ; and through the later ages of gabled roofs, and narrow, cramped styles of domestic architecture such as that shewn by the woodcut of the old houses built on the wall of the river Frome, the authors lead us, while they leave nothing worthy of notice unexplored.



As may be well imagined, the relics of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are far more numerous than those of earlier times : hence the greater share of the descriptions and illustrations in the book is devoted to a consideration of them. Among others of equally great antiquarian interest, we are enabled by the publisher to reproduce here a view of Silver Street and the entrance to St. James' Fair,—a site now



Silver Street and Entrance to St. James' Fair.

covered with very old houses of a type not difficult to match, not only in Bristol, but in several of the more important cities and towns of the west of England. Of the church of St. James, which gives its name to this fair, we gave notices and texts of several hitherto unpublished documents in the *Journal* for 1875, vol. xxxi.

Another highly interesting bit of ancient domestic architecture, with the storeys hanging one over the other, apparently in a most dangerous manner, and furnished with casement-windows and acutely pent-roof lines, may be studied in the view of the so called "Pithay", *i.e.*, the Well-Close, or "*Haia du Puit*", one of the boundary-marks of the old town, adjoining Wine Street, and now covered with the suburb known as Aylward Street, under the old fortifications.

Of picturesque places in the immediate vicinity of the city there are plenty, and many of them are well represented in the pages of this work. Such, for example, is the church at Highbury, built upon the



Highbury Church.

site of the old gallows, and standing upon the very ground where the martyrs of the reign of Queen Mary perished by fire for their adherence to principles destined so soon again to be transcendent throughout the country.





THE PITHAY, BRISTOL, LOOKING UPWARDS FROM THE GATE.



All this and much more,—the gradual rise to pre-eminence of the city's fortunes; the constant connection of the King and nobility with the locality; the local mint and coinage; the civic history; the gradual growth of the commercial spirit which to-day maintains Bristol as one of the largest centres of our insular trade and industry; the military and naval matters relating to the city and the port; the monastic and religious, the ecclesiastical and the lay elements, which have each in turn left their marks upon the sites which they once animated,—are exhaustively treated by Mr. Nicholls and Mr. Taylor. If there is a failing in the book, it is the want of a thoroughly good index, which in our opinion should embrace in one collection all the names and places mentioned in both volumes, and be placed at the end of the second. The short index prefixed to each volume is of little use to those who are searching for the mention or occurrence of an individual or a place, and from their abnormal position are likely to be overlooked; but this is a matter which can be rectified with little difficulty, and we believe we are not wrong in saying that its rectification will greatly enhance the value of the book as a text-book of reference. As it is, however, it will take an important place among the new style of books which are supplementing the older style of county and city histories; and deservedly so, for portability, compactness, and close reasoning, are more than ever they were indispensable factors in that kind of literature to which *Bristol Past and Present* is the latest and by no means the least important contribution. Our Associates and those who accompanied us in our rambles through Bristol, guided, as we often were, by the authors of this book, will experience many a pleasant reminiscence of the Congress when they peruse the pages of a work of which we are here obliged to close our notice.

*Rude Stone Monuments in Palestine.*—Lieutenant Conder's Report in the last Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund,<sup>1</sup> contains some valuable information on the subject of the cromlechs, menhirs, and stone-circles, which have been recently discovered by him in Palestine. One special point of interest is that some of the cromlechs have basin-shaped cavities formed in the upper surface of the capstones. The following is a brief summary of the Report.

In Galilee a few cromlechs still exist; but in Moab and the Jordan Valley they are very numerous. On one hill twenty-six examples were found; and in three days nearly fifty cromlechs were planned, sketched, and photographed. These monuments do not appear to be sown broadcast over the country, but are referable to certain centres which represent the old sacred places of the primitive inhabitants. One of these centres seems to be the rounded summit west of Heshbon, called

<sup>1</sup> Published by R. Bentley and Son. London, January 1882.

"Kerûmîyeh". Here were found twenty-six cromlechs, a cairn surrounded by a circle 40 feet in diameter, and a double stone-circle. An engraving is given of one of the finest of the cromlechs, the capstone of which measures 9 feet by 8 feet, the two supports being 5 feet 6 inches high. The average size of the capstones is 5 feet square, and the height of the supports 3 feet. There is a second group, of sixteen cromlechs, on the north side of Wâdy Heshbân, more than a mile west of Kerûmîyeh Hill.

It is remarkable that the mountains thus covered with cromlechs are also those where the modern Arabs pile their stone-heaps, or *keha-kîr*, which they are accustomed to place in sacred spots or along roads, at points where shrines first come into view. Lieutenant Conder had an opportunity of observing the *cultus* of these sacred circles, which consists in placing a small offering on the lintel or cromlech, which in most cases occurs on the west side of the circle. The worshipper then touches the lintel with his forehead, and mutters an invocation to the local divinity. The theory that the cromlechs were graves appears to be contradicted by the fact that the three stones stand, in most cases, on the live rock. In many cases circular holes are found in the top stones of the Heshbon groups. These are sometimes 8 or 9 inches in diameter, and 2 or 3 inches deep.

Some curious rock-cut chambers are found in connection with the cromlechs. They are generally 3 to 5 feet long by 3 feet broad and high; in other cases they are 6 or 7 feet long. They are almost always excavated in detached cubes of rock, 10 to 15 feet wide. The cromlechs appear to occur in connection with ancient towns.

*A Critical Inquiry into the Scottish Language.* By FRANCISQUE MICHEL, F.S.A. (Blackwood and Sons. Edinburgh and London.)—Our Hon. Associate M. Michel has from time to time during the long period that he has been connected with us, shewn good proof of the interest he takes in archæological and literary matters connected with the history of Britain. The present, his latest production, fully maintains the high position he holds among us, and throughout England, as an eminent scholar and philologist. We all know how enticing a study philology is, and how easily one is apt to be led away by apparent similarities of forms of words until all becomes speculation and conjecture. This cannot, however, be said of M. Michel's *Inquiry*, for the comparisons which he points out generally carry their own conviction with them. The immense number of words in the Scottish language which are to be referred to French derivations has been indicated by Jamieson in the Dictionary to which we drew our readers' attention a little while ago. Here we are reminded afresh of the intimate connection which these languages bear to one another, as far as the use of words



representing the numerous branches of domestic and every day language is concerned. The laborious reading through the whole cycle of Scottish literature, and the copious annotation which every page of this work makes manifest, deserve the highest approbation. It would have been a task worthy of great praise if a Scotelman had undertaken to illustrate the obscure words and phrases of his own language, but when we find a foreigner so keenly appreciative of the archaic and hidden beauties of a language, the credit which is due becomes enhanced, for the labour must have been far more extensive.

The headings of the chapters or sections into which the work is divided, so as to classify the words, speak eloquently as to the prolific nature of the subject M. Michel undertakes to illustrate. We find architecture, furniture, banqueting, clothing, fine arts, money, animals, education, medicine, law, punishments, war, sea-terms, music, dances, games, etc., all separately contributing useful series of words. The glossary of abstract words, and the list of phrases derived from the French, which follow in due order, are of an exceedingly interesting nature; and at every page the reader is fairly astonished at the close manner in which the Scotch has borrowed, frequently with but little or no changes, such an extensive vocabulary from the country with which she was for a long time in such intimate connection.

We may quote the following passages from the prospectus of the work:

“To the antiquarian, the student of folk-lore, and the philologist, this *Critical Inquiry* presents the fruits of a long life of special research. The illustrations of the Scottish vernacular make the book an invaluable addition to Jamieson’s Dictionary. The labour and research expended on this subject justify the presumption that this work will be found to be one of the most important contributions ever made to the literature of Scottish antiquities, and that it will prove a cyclopædia of information upon all topics connected with the ancient intercourse between Scotland and France.

“The close political and social ties that bound Scotland to France form a very striking feature in the history of both countries. On Scotland, as the more backward of the two countries, French influence made a deep impression. Scottish early civilisation was cast mainly in a French mould; the Universities drew their constitution almost wholly from French sources, the municipal institutions were largely copied from French examples, the religion at the Reformation elected to be guided by French rather than by German rites, the language, social customs, business, and pastimes, were all more or less modified by the French conviction. To understand Scottish civilisation we must seek for its important germs in French sources. We must recall the intercourse between the two countries; the Scotsmen flocking to



France for study or for military service, and coming back to imbue their students and their tenants with their own experience; the French courtiers and men-at-arms who came to Scotland in the train of each royal alliance; the scholars of the Reformation, who strove to introduce the principles and forms of the Huguenots; the Jacobite emissary of a later century, full of French sympathies and French ideas; and the French followers who often accompanied the Scot back to his own country.

"The volume is an attempt to illustrate the extent to which French influence pervaded Scottish life and progress, finding its way into every detail of life. The book is an opening up of a question of much general interest in the history of British culture, and now, after much labour, submitted to the learned of the two countries that have always shewn such good will to each other."

The subscription price of the volume, of which there is but a limited impression, is £2 : 12 : 6. It is handsomely printed in 4to. size, and bound in Roxburghe style. The printer deserves a word of praise for the elegant *ensemble* which the book presents to the eye.

*Scotland Sixty Years Ago: a Series of Thirty-two fine Copperplate Etchings of the Chief Towns in Scotland, and their Surroundings.*—Nearly sixty years ago an eminent firm of publishers in London commissioned the execution of a series of thirty-two fine copperplate etchings of the chief towns of Scotland and their environs. The commission was carefully executed by an excellent artist; but for some reason or other the series has remained unknown, and the views were, till very recently, lost sight of or forgotten. Mr. Alexander Gardner, of Paisley, the present publisher, has been so fortunate as to secure, in admirable condition, the artist's plates, and proposes to publish, by private subscription, a strictly limited impression of one hundred and fifty copies of the series, which will form a unique and magnificent double super-royal folio volume, half morocco, printed on finest plate-paper. The copies will be consecutively numbered, and issued to subscribers in the order of their applications. Most of the etchings bear the date 1824, and carry us back to a period when many Scotch towns and landscapes bore a very different aspect from that which is presented to the modern traveller. Steam had not then made rapid journeys possible, or seas and rivers navigable in spite of adverse winds and tides. The stage-coach had almost a monopoly of highway-travelling, and telegraph-posts were altogether unknown. The views bring our fathers vividly before us in their every day attire, as well as the scenes amid which they moved, and the houses in which they dwelt. As we look we are borne into the past, and more clearly than by words spoken or printed, come to understand how "the times are changed, and we with

them." With this volume before them, the present generation will be enabled to measure the changes which more than half a century has wrought upon the buildings, the boundaries, and the habits of the people, in the localities depicted. Faithfully representing the past, the work will be specially valuable to antiquaries; and, indeed, to all who are interested in the history and progress of their country. Seldom has the opportunity been afforded of securing a volume of equal interest. The publisher will do his best to make the material character of the work worthy of the subject-matter.

The impression will consist of one hundred and fifty copies only. The present price is £4 : 12 : 6; but the publisher reserves to himself the right to raise it when a certain number have been sold. A few impressions of the plates may be had separately, for framing, at 21s. per plate.

The places represented are:—Glasgow, Aberdeen, Aberdeen (from the South), Cromarty, Falkirk, Dumbarton, Forfar, Gretna Green, Dunkeld, Greenock, Hamilton, Dingwall, Inverness, Jedburgh, Renfrew, Tain, Edinburgh, Elgin, Dundee, Lanark, Inverary, Montrose, Linlithgow, Melrose, Peebles, Perth, Port-Glasgow, Peterhead, St. Andrew's, Stirling, Rothesay, Paisley.

*The Sculptured Monuments in the Church of St. Dubricius, Porlock, Somerset.* By MARIA HALLIDAY. (R. Gibbs, 3 Union Street, Torquay.)—This is an elegantly written little book upon a subject which has many votaries. It is copiously illustrated with pen and ink sketches reduced by photography, and with coloured chromolithographic plates. The gifted authoress has caught the true spirit of archæological inquiry, and appears to have elucidated her theme in a very clear and succinct manner. It is to be hoped that her example may bear good fruit in many other places, for there are scattered over the length and breadth of our land, monuments quite as important, and relics endowed with history quite as romantic, as the alabaster effigies and richly carved canopy at Porlock; but Societies such as ours have not yet enshrined them in their pages, and those who live in the vicinity of them will not take that absorbing interest in their local relics which Mrs. Halliday has taken in this. The monuments upon which this work is a charming *brochure* are two recumbent effigies of a knight and his lady, in alabaster, with traces of gilding and colours, canopied with an elaborate canopy, now placed under the easternmost arch which divides the nave from the south aisle of the church. The heraldic and genealogical clues which the writer with considerable labour has gathered together, enable her to point out, for the first time, the great mass of historical evidence on which she founds (and few will be disposed to dispute) her conclusion that the Porlock tomb was erected

towards the close of the fifteenth century, by Cecilia Bonvile, second wife of Thomas Grey, first Marquess of Dorset, to the memory of Elizabeth Courtney (who died in 11 Edward IV), widow of Sir John Harrington, fourth Baron Aldingham, and also of Sir William Bonvile, K.G. There are other archæological points of interest at Porlock, and these are incidentally treated with considerable acumen. This kind of book, we believe, does as much good in encouraging and fostering archæological studies as works far more comprehensive and pretentious.

*A New History of Norfolk*, by R. H. MASON, Esq., is now preparing for publication by subscription. It is so long since the publication of a good county history of Norfolk, that copies are scarce and costly; and from the number of changes which have occurred, it is desirable that a new and complete work should be produced. There are few counties so rich in material for the writer of local history as the county of Norfolk, yet it is a hundred and fifty years since Blomefield commenced printing, in his Vicarage-House at Fersfield, the famous book which he too modestly entitled *An Essay* towards a county history. Editions of that *Essay*, revised and extended by his coadjutor, the Rev. Charles Parkin, were published in 1805 and 1829; but they only brought down the work to the latter end of the last century. Dawson Turner says that the latter part of the work was really written, very unsatisfactorily, by Whittingham, a bookseller of Lynn. It is more than fifty years since Chambers published his *History* in two small 8vo. volumes; and it is remarkable that from his time no attempt has been made to gather into a collected form the abundant material that exists. The history of the present century, therefore, remains to be collated, and it is proposed to accomplish that in this work; whilst going over the past, corrections and additions will be made. Sources of information are now available which it is believed will add much to the valuable researches of Blomefield. In the national collections of the British Museum, in the Record Office, and in private collections, documents of great interest are preserved, and no trouble will be spared to discover whatever may add to the value of this publication.

The *History of Norfolk* will be issued to subscribers only, in about ten Parts, at intervals of three months. The terms of subscription will be as follow: Quarto edition, one guinea each Part; large paper, folio edition, one guinea and a half each Part. Communications may be addressed to R. H. Mason, 2 Byng Place, Gordon Square, London, W.C.

*Norwich Cathedral*.—Mr. J. Gunn sends us the following extracts from his paper on “The Mutilations of the Piers which support the Tower and Spire of Norwich Cathedral”:

"I pointed out, at a Meeting of the British Archæological Association held at Norwich in 1881, the mutilation of the billet-mouldings, and the plastering them over, so as to form a hood-moulding like none known in any style of architecture. Another innovation is a piece of reckless mischief. It consists in an experiment to see how much of the piers which support the grand tower and spire can be removed without bringing them to the ground. First the triple columns which descend from the capital to the base were cut away; and having succeeded in effecting that safely, the architects next pared off about 14 inches of the solid masonry, about 20 feet from the floor. Thus the piers were reduced not less than 2 feet 3 inches in width on the inside of the grand central arches spanning the choir. It is obvious that the jambs and arches above are sustained by the cohesion of particles more than by the direct support of the piers, because if the demolition were carried throughout, up to the capital, the inner part of the arch must fall, and the consequences extend further. Even supposing there were no danger, this innovation must be an eyesore to every thoughtful person to whom it is pointed out. It has been partially concealed by the Precentor's and the Minor Canons' seats under the western jambs, and by the Bishop's throne against the north-eastern jamb; and the south-eastern has been rebuilt where the Chancellor's seat stood.

"It may be asked when this extraordinary experiment was tried. I have not been able to ascertain by reference to the Treasury accounts; but I am inclined to think that it was post-Reformation work, because, as Mr. Spaul informs me, the drops or finial terminations of the truncated columns are made, not of stone, but of plaster. The carved wood stalls over the Precentor's and Minor Canons' seats, and also the Bishop's throne, are late Perpendicular.

"I trust that the restoration of the piers of Norwich Cathedral may be promoted now that I have pointed out the danger."

*National Society for Preserving the Memorials of the Dead.*—With a laudable object, and under distinguished support, this Society has been lately established, and certainly not a moment too soon: indeed, many persons will think that in order to have done much real good, it should have been called into being fully forty years ago, and before "restorers" had begun to sweep away from walls and floors of parish churches the principal part of the sculptured and graven history that did not happen to come within their charmed "Gothic" period. It cannot be denied that the loss of much of these evidences of local history lies at the door of the very persons who were their proper protectors; and it is to be hoped that the exertions of this Society may at last open the eyes of the clergy and churchwardens to the fact that memorials of



ancestors, even though they be only "rude forefathers of the hamlet," give a human interest to a church which all the crude vulgarities of modern tile-paving can never produce; and that the simple, inscribed stone of even an honest grandfather is more interesting (and what is of more importance, more historical) than an acre of encaustic tiles, be they never so garish and slippery. It is further to be hoped that this Society may be the means, not only of rescuing numberless church and churchyard monuments that are in danger of being removed from their proper places, but also of bringing out of unseemly, dark corners—restoring, in fact, in the best sense—such memorials of the dead as have in our own time been hidden away. A wise discretion has been exercised in establishing this Society upon a broad basis, by setting the amount of the subscription to it as low as possible, so that subscribers of not less than one shilling a year become members. There is thus the probability of the formation of a body of persons of all classes—for the subject should appeal to the feelings of the whole of the intelligent community—having the single and high purpose of protecting memorials of ancestors.

All communications should be addressed to Mr. W. Vincent, Lower Hellesdon Road, Norwich.

*Organ-Cases and Organs of the Middle Ages and Renaissance.* By ARTHUR GEORGE HILL, B.A., F.S.A., Jesus College, Cambridge.—Subscribers should communicate with Mr. David Bogue, 3 St. Martin's Place, London, W.C. This work is in the press, with forty full-page illustrations, imperial 4to., handsomely bound; to be issued to subscribers at two guineas per copy. The price will be raised to three guineas upon the day of publication. Among the illustrations, which include several remarkable cases now destroyed, will be given drawings of the following ancient organs:—Fourteenth century: Sion (Switzerland), church of St. Catherine. Fifteenth century: Nürnberg Laurenzerkirche and Frauenkirche (now destroyed); Amiens Cathedral; Alcala de Henares, Spain; Rome, Old St. Peter's (now destroyed); Lübeck, Marienkirche; Strasbourg Cathedral. Sixteenth century: La Ferté Bernard; Hombleux, Picardy; Chartres Cathedral; Freiburg im Breisgau; Constance Cathedral, Switzerland; Argentan, Sarthe; Angers, S. Maurice (now destroyed); and Le Mans.

The first volume of Mr. C. Roach Smith's *Retrospections* will contain notices of the first six Congresses of the British Archaeological Association; of Messrs. Bateman, Barham, Isaacson, Rolfe, Wright, Joseph Mayer, C. Warne, Thomas Waghorn, Thomas Charles, W. Bland; the author's early life, life in London, etc. To secure subscribers' copies, early applications should be made to the author at Temple Place, Strood, Kent





CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL.  
EARLY ENGLISH XIII<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY



FROM ONE OF THE WINDOWS IN THE N. AISLE OF CHOIR

# THE JOURNAL

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### ANCIENT ECCLESIASTICAL STAINED GLASS.

BY W. H. COPE, ESQ.

(*Read March 1st, 1882.*)

THE manufacture of glass is of the highest antiquity; but could the ancients, who were so well acquainted with the art of staining glass of various colours, of fashioning it into vases of every kind, of employing it (in little cubes) in the composition of mosaics,—could they also prepare it in sheets? At what period was glass first used for windows? These are the first questions that suggest themselves to the authors who have treated on the history of painting upon glass; and until lately a few texts of controverted interpretation were the only documents we possessed on the subject.

According to Pliny,<sup>1</sup> the invention of glass was the result of accident, as in other discoveries. In that part of Syria called Phœnicia, at the foot of Mount Carmel, lies a swamp or morass, to which the name of Candebeus is given. From this swamp the river Belus takes its rise, and empties itself into the sea near Ptolemy's Column. It is only at low water that its sands can be seen. It happened that a merchant ship laden with nitron having anchored at this spot, the crew prepared their food on the sea-shore, and wanting some stones to place their cauldron on, and not finding any, brought some blocks of nitron from the cargo of the vessel. These blocks, composed of azote of potash, melting from the action of the

<sup>1</sup> Liber xxxvi, ch. xxvi.

fire, mingled with the sand of the sea-shore, and transparent streams of a noble liquid began to flow.

That to some fortuitous liquefaction we owe the first suggestions for the manufacture of glass is, indeed, very possible; but it is still more certain that human industry must have been long employed before it arrived at the production of a substance which is capable of being manipulated on the marble,<sup>1</sup> of being expanded by the blow-pipe, and of being coloured by metallic oxides.

If in favour of the Phœnicians we have the testimony of several authors to their skill in making glass, the Egyptians have better evidence still. The excavations made in Egypt, and principally those of the Temple of Karnac at Thebes, in bringing to light the produce of their manufactures, demonstrate that they carried to great perfection the art of vitrification. It is a fact well ascertained, that glass, both white and coloured, opaque and transparent, was made by the Egyptians upwards of three thousand years ago. Sir Gardner Wilkinson describes the proficiency of making white and coloured glass at the period of the eighth dynasty, and glass-blowing upwards of three thousand five hundred years ago; and there are paintings on the tombs of Beni-Hassan representing figures blowing glass with the rod or "punt", as now made.

The Phœnicians and Egyptians introduced their art into Sicily, and the islands of the Archipelago, and Etruria, and manufactories of glass were established in these countries at a very remote period. The Romans soon discovered the method of staining glass, of blowing it, of working it on a lathe, and of engraving it. The early Christians were acquainted with the art of decorating vessels of glass, and large quantities have been found in the Catacombs. When Constantine removed the seat of the Roman empire to Byzantium, the art of glass-making appears to have suffered more than any other. It was afterwards carried on by the Greeks of the Lower Empire, and they preserved all the fine processes belonging to the glass-making of antiquity.

<sup>1</sup> Technically called "marver", a slab of cast iron with a polished surface, placed upon a wooden stand. Upon this slab the lump of glass is rolled, to give it a regular exterior, so that the result of expansion by blowing may be uniform in thickness of metal.

The employment of glass for the closing of windows is spoken of by Lactantius, a celebrated ecclesiastical writer of the beginning of the fourth century, St. Jerome, and others. Recent discoveries at Herculaneum and at Pompeii have brought to light fragments of panes of glass and window-frames, which are now preserved in the Museum of the Studj at Naples. It is certain that when, on the establishment of Christianity, the ancient basilicas were converted into Christian temples, the windows of these new churches were adorned with coloured glass. In these brilliant glasses of various colours there were yet no figures, no ornaments painted upon the glass; they were merely transparent mosaics.

There are three distinct systems of glass-painting, which for convenience sake may be termed the "mosaic method", the "enamel method", and the "mosaic enamel" method. Of these, the most simple is the mosaic method. Under this system glass paintings are composed of white glass, if they are meant to be white; or only coloured with yellow, brown, and black; or else they are composed of different pieces of white and coloured glass arranged like a mosaic, in case they are intended to display a greater variety of colours. The pieces of white glass are cut to correspond with such parts of the design as are white, or white and yellow; and the coloured pieces, with those parts of the design which are otherwise coloured. The glass painter in the mosaic style uses but two pigments,—a stain which produces a yellow tint, and a brown enamel called "enamel-brown". The main outlines of the design are formed when the painting is finished, by the leads which surround and connect the various pieces of glass together; and the subordinate outlines and all the shadows, as well as all the brown and black parts, are executed by means of the enamel-brown; with which colour alone, a work done according to the mosaic system can be said to be painted: the yellow stain is merely used as a colour. It therefore appears that under the mosaic method each colour of the design, except yellow, brown, and black, must be represented by a separate piece of glass. A limited number of colours may, however, be exhibited on the same piece of glass by the following processes: part of a piece of blue glass may be changed to



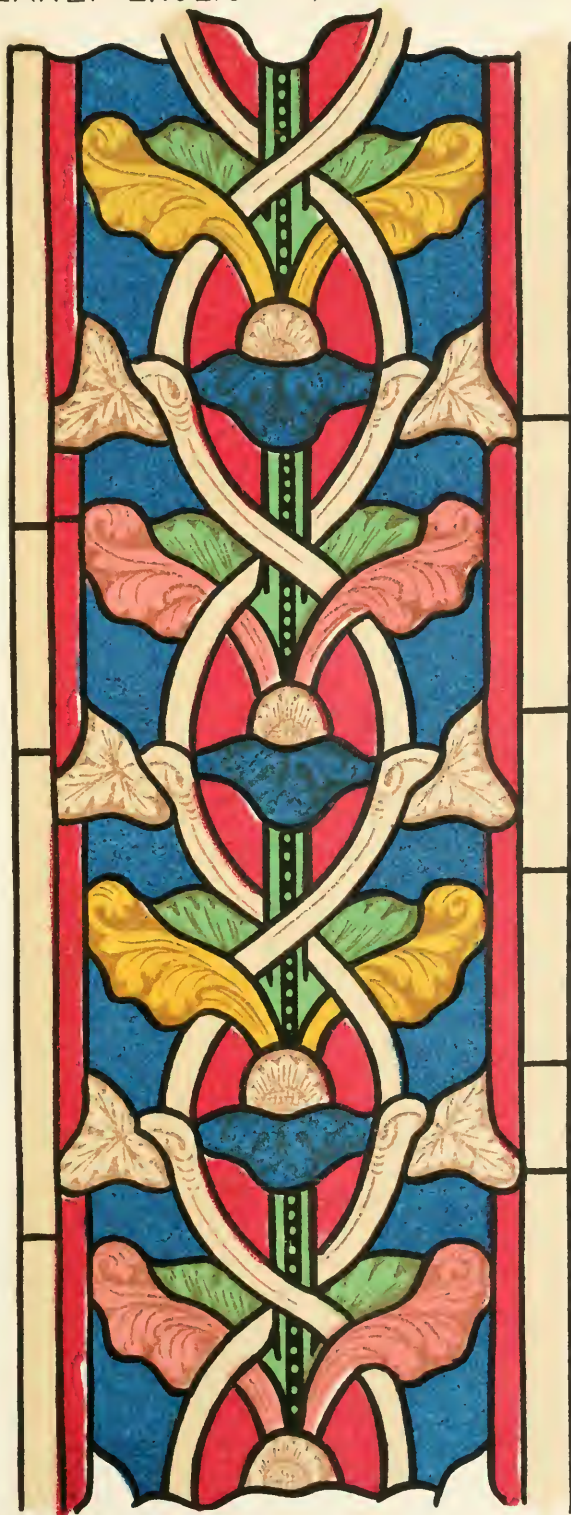
green by means of the yellow stain; the coloured surface of coated glass may be destroyed by attrition or the application of fluoric acid, and the white glass beneath it exposed to view. This may, of course, be wholly or in part stained yellow, like any other white glass. Two shades of yellow may also be produced on the same piece of glass by staining some parts twice over. But unless he adopt one or other of the above mentioned processes, the glass-painter under the mosaic system cannot have more than one colour on the same piece of glass. A variety of tint or depth may often be observed in the same piece of coloured glass, arising from some accident in its manufacture. Of this a skilful glass-painter will always avail himself to correct as much as possible the stiffness of colouring necessarily belonging to this system of glass-painting. Under the enamel method, which is the most difficult of accomplishment, coloured glass is not used under any circumstances, the picture being painted on white glass with enamel colours and stains.

The mosaic enamel method consists in a combination of the two former processes, white and coloured glass, as well as every variety of enamel colour and stain being employed in it. The practical course of proceeding under each of these three methods is nearly alike.

Glass-painting may be considered from two points of view, as glass or as painting, the glazier's or the artist's. In fact, there is a great difference between colouring glass, and painting upon it. Painted glass and stained glass are commonly used as if synonymous. The coloured glasses are obtained by mixing metallic oxides with glass in a state of fusion, by which means a uniform colour is given to the whole mass. This is called "pot-metal glass". This colouring is not superficial; it pervades the substance of the glass, the colouring matter becoming incorporated by fusion with the vitreous mass. This process produces what is called "stained glass", which must not be confounded with painted glass.

Coloured glass is of two kinds; one coloured throughout its entire substance, and the other is coloured only on one side of the sheet, and is termed "coated" or "covered glass", or white glass covered with a coating of pot-metal colour. Ruby glass is almost invariably coated glass.

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With painted glass it is different. To obtain the latter the artist makes use of a plate or sheet of translucent glass either colourless or already tinted in the mass, and gives the design and colouring with vitrifiable colours upon one or both surfaces. These colours, true enamels, are the product of metallic oxides, which give the colouration, combined with vitreous compounds known by the name of "fluxes". These fluxes serve as vehicles for the colours; and it is through their medium, assisted by the action of a strong heat, that the colouring matters are fixed upon the sheet of glass, and incorporated with it.

The charm of the brilliant mosaics, of the glasses of the first ages of Christianity, very naturally induced the wish to trace upon them figures and subjects; but the question, at what period this art of glass-painting with enamel colours was first introduced, has not been less the subject of controversy than that concerning the first use of glass for closing windows. Anastatius Bibliothecarius, who wrote at the end of the ninth century, and who has, in his *Lives of the Popes*, delighted in setting forth all the magnificence with which they had decorated their churches, never speaks of windows with painted glass, but only of windows with stained glass. Thus, when in the Life of Leo III he relates that this Pontiff caused the Church of St. John Lateran to be decorated with coloured glass, it is in terms which do not admit of our supposing the existence of any painting whatever upon the windows employed: "Fenestras de absidâ ex vitro diversis coloribus conclusit." (He filled up the windows of the apse with glass of different colours.) We must, therefore, consider it as very nearly established, that painting upon glass was unknown in the ninth century; for had it been known, the Popes, so zealous in the decoration of churches, would not have failed to welcome with delight this new means of embellishing them; and Anastatius would surely have spoken of so splendid a style of decoration.

The tenth century was a prey to so many calamities, and the arts (almost everywhere deprived of the patronage of the great) had sunk into such a state of degradation, that we cannot with any probability assign to this period so important a discovery. It is, therefore, generally acknowledged by all archæologists that we do not

know now any painted glass to which can be assigned with certainty an earlier date than that of the eleventh century.

It was during the twelfth century that the imaginative power of the artist was exerted to the utmost. A species of sympathy existed between this divine art and the religion it strove to elevate, that it venerated and adored : hence it was that enthusiastic endeavours were made to produce works of the highest order on the leading subjects of the creed of the Fathers of the Church. Painting on glass took the lead ; and connected, as it was, with religious worship, took possession of the minds of men, and dissipated the thick darkness which had overspread Europe.

The varieties of glass-painting have been arranged under five styles or classes, viz., the Early English, extending from the date of the earliest specimens extant to the year 1280 ; the Decorated, from 1280 to 1380 ; the Perpendicular, from 1380 to 1530 ; the Cinque-Cento, from 1500-1550 ; and the Intermediate, from the end of the Cinque-Cento style down to the present day.

The oldest examples to which a date can be assigned with any degree of certainty, appear to be some plain windows or remains in the abbey church of St. Denys in France, supposed to be the work of Abbot Suger in the middle of the twelfth century. No English glass-painting exists of an earlier date than this.<sup>1</sup> The painted windows of the twelfth and those of the thirteenth century have nearly the same character. The general design consisted of little historical medallions of various forms, symmetrically distributed over mosaic grounds comprised of coloured glass, borrowed from preceding centuries. This ground is arranged in square or lozenge-shaped panels filled with quatrefoils, trefoils, and other ornaments. The whole design is surrounded with borders of varied patterns, of scroll-like foliage, interlacings, palms, and other leaves of different kinds. The subjects of the medallions are taken from the Old or the New Testament, or more often from the legendary history of the saints. The principal out-

<sup>1</sup> The monks of the Abbey of Rivaulx, in the north of England, were the first in that part of the kingdom to discover a taste for enriching their convent with fine paintings on glass, brought from France about the year 1140.



lines of the design, both of the medallions and of the grounds, are formed by the lines of the lead used for holding the different pieces of glass together, and which thus formed a black boundary to each subject. The pieces of glass are in general coloured, rarely plain. Upon these pieces of glass, which are always of small size, the folds of the draperies and the details of the ornaments are portrayed by a reddish or bistre colour laid on with a brush. Some "hatches"<sup>1</sup> of this colour form the shading. The flesh tints themselves are not expressed by any application of colour; but a glass slightly tinged with violet forms the ground, and the features are indicated with this same bistre enamel. At the end of the twelfth century the whole subject was drawn in bistre, but giving a more detailed outline. "Hatches" scratched out upon the coloured ground produced a very happy effect of light; so that with one enamel colour only the painters on glass succeeded in obtaining three different tints. We soon after find, upon some windows, the little medallions with subjects replaced by isolated figures of larger size, with a background of mosaic.

The chief merit of the windows of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and which, notwithstanding the many imperfections, causes them to be esteemed, is their perfect harmony with the general effect of the edifices to which they belong. At whatever distance we examine them we are struck by the elegance of their form and the brilliancy of their colour. The artist has had no intention of an independent work; he has given himself little trouble about a faithful copy of nature; his whole aim has been to contribute, under the direction of the architect, in the ornamentation of the building; and he has never failed of success, through the skilful arrangement and harmonious distribution of his colours, which, notwithstanding their brilliancy, shed over the interior of the temple a mysterious light, adding much to the solemn grandeur of the architecture. This harmony of effect did not exclude a richness of detail. The mosaics of the grounds, and the borders which surrounded them, are always of graceful patterns, of infinite variety, and of charming originality.

<sup>1</sup> French, *hachures*,—close, equal, and parallel lines used in engraving and drawing to mark the shadows.

The subjects are characterised by a touching simplicity neither devoid of life nor movement.

Theophilus<sup>1</sup> shews us (from the 17th to the 31st chapters inclusive, of his second book) the manner in which the painter upon glass drew his composition; how he cut the glass, how he painted it. On a wooden table which had been previously whitened with pulverised chalk, and sprinkled with water, the artist first marked with a rule and compass the exact size of the window or pane of the window to be composed. This done, he sketched out with lead or tin, and afterwards with a red or black colour, the subject to be represented on the glass, together with the borders and other ornaments with which it was to be decorated; marking out the shadows with "hatches", such as afterwards would be expressed by the bistre enamel. He then noted down the colour of each part of the composition, either by colour applied upon the table, in the different compartments which formed the design, or by a conventional letter which referred to a given colour. The artist, from these memoranda, then placed as many pieces of glass, one after the other, on the spaces they were to fill. He traced upon them, with chalk ground in water, the outlines of the design he saw through the glass upon the table. The glass-makers were not then acquainted with the method of cutting glass with the diamond, which did not begin to be used until the sixteenth century. To cut out these pieces of glass they made use of an iron rod called "the dividing iron". This was heated in the fire, and drawn along the lines to be divided, which they took the precaution of slightly moistening if the glass were hard and did not easily divide. All the portions being thus cut out, any remaining asperities were removed by filing them with a kind of iron tool or claw called "riesel iron" (*grosarium ferrum*), and the parts made to fit accu-

<sup>1</sup> The artist-monk Theophilus lived in the twelfth century. He wrote a treatise generally known under the title of *Diversarum Artium Schedula*, in which he describes the processes of the various arts cultivated in the middle ages. He devoted thirty-one chapters of his book to the art of glass-making, and to that of painting upon glass. Six MSS. only of this work are extant. The work itself affords no information whatever of a positive date. A careful study of the book of Theophilus has led to the general belief that it cannot have been written before the twelfth century.

rately. All the pieces of glass thus cut out were then carried back to the table upon which the design was drawn, and each laid over the place it was to occupy. The painter then proceeded with the bistre-enamel colour, of which Theophilus gives the composition in his 19th chapter, to retrace upon the glass the lines and shadows marked upon the table.

Theophilus teaches, moreover, how to degrade<sup>1</sup> the tones with this single enamel colour, in such a manner as to give the effect of three colours; and he also makes known other resources of the glass-painters of his time. When the enamel-painting thus applied upon the tinted glass was dry, the pieces of glass were carried to the furnace or kiln to be burned. The burning finished, and the glass cooled, the different pieces composing the design were again put together and fastened by strips of lead.

The glass employed in the middle ages, and down to the middle of the sixteenth century, is similar in general character to the modern style, but differs materially in texture and colour. In old glass it appears to have been always painted, burnt, and leaded together, as at present. The mosaic system of glass-painting was admirably adapted to the nature of the material.

In the fourteenth century the painter upon glass endeavoured to copy nature with fidelity, and sometimes he was successful. He began to seek the effects of *chiaroscuro*, to introduce lights and shades into the ornaments and draperies. The flesh-tints are no longer expressed by violet-tinted glasses, but painted upon white glass in a reddish grey colour; and their models approach more nearly to nature; the pieces of glass are larger; the strips of lead are placed at wider intervals; large single figures became more common, occupying an entire window, and at the end of the century we find them of large dimensions. These figures are placed under elaborate canopies, and no longer on a mosaic ground, but one of plain blue or red. The consequence of this progress in the art of design is seen in the efforts of the glass-painter to create an individual work, yet without an absolute neglect of

<sup>1</sup> "Degradation." The diminishing of the tones of colour, lights, and shades, according to the different degrees of distance.

the general effect to be produced. If he did not yet venture upon a design with large figures, subject to the rules of perspective, he gave up the small medallions filled with legendary subjects.

Regarding painted windows in the light only of a monumental decoration, we may say that the glass pictures of the fourteenth century produce a less striking effect than the brilliantly coloured mosaics, relieved by historical medallions, of the preceding centuries; yet the architectural ornaments employed in the fourteenth century to form a frame to the figures are often very favourable to the decoration of the edifice, of which they appear to prolong the extent. Besides, the improvement in the drawing and colouring is an ample compensation for the mysterious effect of the painted glass window of the thirteenth century; and the end of the fourteenth century may be considered as one of the finest epochs in the history of painting upon glass.

All the arts kept nearly equal pace with each other. Painting upon glass followed the progress of painting in oils during the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth century. The amendment of the drawing, the costume of the figures, and the style of the composition, serve particularly to determine the age of the painted windows during these hundred and fifty years. The tendency of the artists in glass to produce individual works is more and more observable from the beginning of the fifteenth century. The decorations which, like frames, surround the figures and subjects, and which always are borrowed from the architecture of the time, are increased from day to day, and present a great complexity of lines and ornaments which have often a very beautiful effect.

During a great part of the fifteenth century the legends painted upon the phylacteries explain the subjects most commonly by a verse of Scripture. The blue or red hangings introduced behind the figures are of damasked stuffs of great richness. Borders are rare, and when formed consist of branches of rather meagre foliage painted upon long strips of glass. The artists made frequent use of "grisailles", which admit a great deal of light into the edifices, and produce none of those fine effects of the coloured mosaics of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In the



second half of the fifteenth century, buildings and landscapes in perspective were first introduced. In the sixteenth century artists shewed great skill in producing graceful compositions, depth of backgrounds, trees, fruits, and flowers. Subjects taken from the lives of saints are abundant, with scenes from the Gospels; while figures of apostles, prelates, and abbots, prevail in the composition. As regards the materials and means of execution, these remained during all this period much the same as in the preceding centuries, although some improvements in the ancient processes had been introduced.

From the thirteenth century, and particularly in the fourteenth, use was made of a red glass coated or cased<sup>1</sup> with a layer of white, which was turned to good account. According as the composition required, certain parts of the red glass which formed the ground of the draperies was ground away in such a manner as to uncover the layer of white glass; and in those parts thus removed were introduced new layers of glass variously coloured, which imitated fringes, embroidery, and even precious stones, and were fixed by firing under the "muffle".<sup>2</sup>

In the fifteenth century the cased glasses were made of blue, green, and violet. Very beautiful effects were thus produced, and a great variety of tones of colour placed in juxtaposition, without having recourse, as before obliged, to as many pieces of glass as there were colours. From the first year of the fifteenth century much less use was made of glass coloured in the mass, and artists preferred white glass and the use of enamel colours for expressing the lines and giving the colouring.

In the middle of the fifteenth century the revolution in the art of painting upon glass was complete. The palette of the painters had been greatly enlarged by means of chemistry; and the quantity of enamel colours at their disposal enabled them to give up entirely glasses coloured in the mass, and to paint upon a single piece of white glass with enamelled colours laid upon its surface. Thence-

<sup>1</sup> French, *doublé*, a term also applied to precious stones when cemented on glass or coloured crystal, to double their thickness and brilliancy by artificial and sometimes fraudulent means.

<sup>2</sup> Earthen vessels in which delicate substances may be strongly heated, and at the same time protected from the contact of the fire.



forth glass was nothing more than the material subservient to the painter, as canvas or wood in oil-painting. Glass-painters went so far as to copy upon white glass, as upon canvas, the masterpieces of Raffaele, Michael Angelo, and the other great painters of the Italian Renaissance. They executed small pictures most highly finished, and attained to great richness of colouring through their skillfulness in coating the enamel colours upon each other. The use of grisaille became very frequent; a simple stroke upon the white glass sufficed to give the outlines, light grey tints for the shadows, and the high lights expressed by a bright yellow,<sup>1</sup> completed the composition. We also find entire windows painted in monochromatic tints. Claude, Bernard Pallissy, Guillaume, Jean Cousin, Pinai-grier, and many others, distinguished themselves in this style of painting, and produced works of great correctness of drawing and remarkable execution.

But the era of glass-painting was at an end. From the moment that it was attempted to transform an art of purely monumental decoration into an art of expression, its intention was perverted, and this led of necessity to its ruin. The resources of glass-painting were more limited than those of oil, with which it was unable to compete. From the end of the sixteenth century the art was in its decline, and towards the middle of the seventeenth century was entirely given up.

At the beginning of the fifteenth century, according to Kùghler, in his *Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte*, painted glass had been used, as observed before, in the decoration of private houses,—a taste which prevailed chiefly in Germany and Switzerland. Nuremberg, Ulm, Freiburg in Breisgau, possessed at the end of the fifteenth century, and at the beginning of the sixteenth, first-rate masters of the art of glass-painting. From these schools issued artists who settled in German Switzerland, and who carefully preserved until the beginning of the eighteenth cen-

<sup>1</sup> The yellow stain, neither pot-metal nor enamel, was discovered and came into vogue, about the fourteenth century. By applying on the surface of the glass a solution of nitrate of silver, and passing it through the furnace, a yellow stain was produced, lighter or darker, and remarkably clear and golden. The glass-painters of that period were not slow to avail themselves of this method.

ture the style of the large church windows of the fifteenth, by uniting with the brilliant colouring of the glass tinted in the mass, and the coated glasses before mentioned, all the finish that can be obtained on the flesh-tints and small subjects by the application of vitrifiable colours upon the surface of colourless glass. The windows of the castles, town halls, rich abbeys, and private habitations, in Germany and Switzerland, were decorated with this admirable painted glass; for the nobility, artists represented the arms of the family framed by architectural decorations; for the houses of the commonalty, the coats of arms of the town or of the canton, supported by standard-bearers in the costume and armour of the time; for the abbeys, a full length figure of the founder of the order; citizens and artists had the badges of their profession placed on a shield; lastly, nobles, citizens, and artisans, often had their own portraits taken in proper costume, accompanied by their wives and children.

These painted windows, therefore, possess a great interest independently of their artistic merit, inasmuch as they exhibit the manners, customs, and arms, of a period already very remote; and they give the portraits of persons who, without having a name in history, have yet occupied in their time a distinguished rank in the cities they inhabited. Among the most skilful masters of the art of painting upon glass, in this style of workmanship, are named the brothers Stimmer and Christopher Mauer, who flourished in the third quarter of the sixteenth century.

The original windows of ecclesiastical buildings as well as military towers, and the residences of the feudal barons, were of the genuine Saxon, round-headed form mixed with the Norman loophole. These evidently shew a struggle between the admission of light and the exclusion of cold. A greater breadth was afterwards introduced: first a single light, and then expanded into two or three divisions included in the sweep of one common arch. Soon after this change followed the introduction of coloured glass, then painting on glass; and this suggested a still further enlargement in width and height, both for the full display of the vivid colours employed, and to give sufficient space for historical arrangement. The church

windows of the middle ages, which have escaped the numerous causes of destruction, may afford valuable assistance to the history of the art at that period ; but it is in neither private collections, nor even in public museums, that the study of painted glass can be pursued. Those who are interested in the investigation should visit those cathedrals in which these large, transparent pictures are preserved unblemished, and in which they produce so wonderful an effect.

Taylor states in his work on the Fine Arts of Great Britain, that another beautiful feature of the ecclesiastical style of architecture began to attract much attention during the latter part of Henry's reign. Stained glass had been used on a very small scale in some of the principal churches about the middle of the ninth century ; but its progress was very slow in England. The earliest specimens of any note in this art, now remaining, are in the aisles of the choir at Canterbury Cathedral. Of existing early glass there remains more in the choir of Canterbury Cathedral than in any other church in this country ; some of it very fine, and all of it representative of the period. In the trefoil-headed lights of the triforium, west of the choir-transept, at Canterbury Cathedral, the general effect of colour is most gem-like : the glass sparkles like gorgeous, barbaric jewellery. There is a quantity of "grisaille glass", white and silvery, in Salisbury Cathedral, and much of it in very beautiful patterns. The best known windows of this character (grisaille) are the five long lancets occupying the end of the north transept of York Minster, which go by the name of "the Five Sisters of York." Their size is such that the whole of the end of the transept presents itself as one huge screen of the most delicate and silvery glass. The effect is simply perfect ; something to be enjoyed rather than described or criticised ; also those executed by Thornton about the year 1400. St. Martin's Church, Acaster ; Malbis Church ; St. John's Church, Michelgate ; St. Mary's Church, Castle-gate, in the city of York, are fine examples of Early English painted glass. The churches of Ramsay in Huntingdonshire, and Long Melford in Suffolk, are only to be seen to be equally appreciated ; as also the Priory Church at Great Malvern.





CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL  
EARLY ENGLISH XIII<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY

EASTERMOST WINDOW. BECKET'S CROWN.



The north and south transept windows of Lincoln Cathedral are very fine. The north transept has a large rose or wheel-window retaining its original stained glass ; one of the most splendid, and in its present state one of the most perfect works of the thirteenth century. The window itself, which is probably part of St. Hugh's work, and may date about 1200, is filled with plate-tracery, and on the exterior is delicately ornamented. The subject of the glass is "The Church on Earth and the Church in Heaven." The extraordinary intensity and vividness of the colours, the strength and boldness of the outline, the tallness of the figures, their vigorous and spirited attitudes and classical heads, and conventional foliated ornaments, as displayed in the borders and white patterns, and which resemble the ornaments of the contemporary sculpture, are all characteristics of the Early English style of glass-painting, and are all traceable in this window. Very little white glass is used, so that the window consists of a mass of rich and variegated colouring, of which the predominant tints are those of the grounds.

The end of the south transept has at the top a rose-window of extreme richness, the date of which is about 1350, and which is quite as remarkable as an example of the pure Decorated period, as the window in the opposite transept is of the Early English. Pugin has compared the tracery to the fibres of a leaf. The stained glass in the window consists of fragments collected from different parts of the Cathedral, and for the most part Early English. The great richness of the colouring is quite as noticeable here as in the window opposite. According to the symbolism of the different parts of the church, in the *Metrical Life of St. Hugh* (written between the years 1220-1235), these windows typified the bishop and the dean,—"*Ecclesiæ duo sunt oculi.*" The bishop looked toward the south, the quarter of the Holy Spirit, as though inviting His influence ; the dean toward the north, the region of the Devil, in order to watch his advances.

We may also point out the collegiate chapels and halls of Oxford, and the matchless chapel of King's College, Cambridge,<sup>1</sup> the glazing of which last was executed in the

<sup>1</sup> Holbein is said to have finished the cartoons for the windows of King's College, Cambridge.

time of Henry VIII by glazier-artists (Bernard Flowers, glazier, Southwark; Francis Williamson of St. Olyff, Southwark; and Symond Symondes, St. Margaret's, Westminster), at the total price of 1*s.* 4*d.* per foot, and appears to have been finished about 1531.

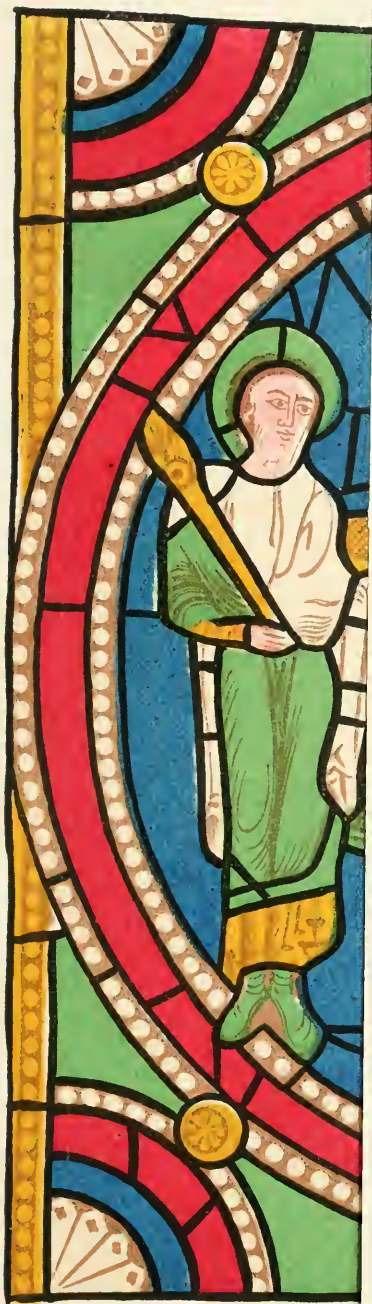
The magnificent restoration of the windows of the Temple Church, in exact representation of the glass of the thirteenth century, affords evidence of the talent of the late Mr. Willement, and that artists of the present day are equal to original design and to ancient restoration, aiding it with an improved knowledge of drawing and chemistry.

In the year 1248 we find a rescript directed to the Sheriff of Southampton, enjoining him, out of the receipts of the county, to have painted in the Queen's Chapel, Winchester, over the great west window, the image of St. Christopher, as he is elsewhere painted, bearing Christ in his arms; and the figure of St. Edward the King when he gave his ring to a pilgrim, whose figure was also to be painted.

The church of Fairford, in Gloucestershire, is justly celebrated for the beauty of its painted windows. The glass consists of a series of Scripture histories. The chapel of the Society of Lincoln's Inn contains six painted windows, in which are represented twenty-four full-length Scriptural portraits painted by Abraham Van Linge.

The painted glass in the windows of the apsidal choir of St. Jacques Church, Liège, though inferior both in extent and subject to many other examples, may safely be pronounced to be one of the most splendid specimens of the Cinque-Cento style, and merits particular attention on account of its execution and brilliancy of its effect. Its goodness as a specimen of glass-painting will be the more readily appreciated by the student since it has lately been repaired and restored to its original lustre by a careful and judicious cleaning. Its principal subject is the family alliances of the Counts of Horn.

The glass in the choir of Lichfield Cathedral, the windows of which are filled with glass brought from the diocese of Liège, strongly resembles that of St. Jacques Church in its general character and execution. The Lichfield glass is dated 1534, 1535, 1538, 1539. As glass-





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paintings they are indeed finer than those at St. Jacques Church, Liège. The glass belonged to the dissolved Abbey of Herkenrode, in the diocese of Liège. It was obtained by the Dean and Chapter of Lichfield in 1802, through the assistance of Sir Brooke Boothby, who, travelling through the diocese of Liège (then in the occupation of the French), purchased it for the trifling sum of £200.

We have nothing in England to compare for quantity, and therefore for effect, with the early glass to be found in the French cathedrals. It is not generally understood how very greatly the effect of glass depends upon its abundance, or rather upon the absence of any plain windows in its vicinity. Every ray of light that penetrates into a building, excepting through the stained glass itself, does injury to the effect of what coloured glass is there. It is far worse than if we were called upon to judge a picture without its frame. You see and admire the beauty of the windows at Strasburg probably without realising how much their beauty is due not only to the circumstance that there is no white light, but in the fact that the red sandstone of the Cathedral reflects so little light. The windows are seen absolutely at their best.

To be impressed with the grandeur of early coloured glass we must go to Chartres, Le Mans, or Bourges. Chartres particularly is very rich in coloured glass. It far exceeds any other cathedrals. The colours are deep without losing their brilliancy; and the light is stronger than at Rheims, although the windows of the aisles, with only one or two exceptions, are painted, as well as those of the clerestory. Each of the above mentioned cathedrals is a perfect treasure-house of jewels. There is something barbaric about the brilliancy of this early mosaic; something that, perhaps, belongs to Byzantine origin.

The painter on glass must refrain from attempting to imitate oil-painting. On the contrary, he must acquire the conviction that, although these two arts have unquestionably a point of contact, they, nevertheless, possess sides extremely dissimilar. To these belong, in the first place, the proper modes of practising them respectively; lastly, the different conditions under which their effects are produced. Thus, for example, painting on glass, on account of the distance at which the picture is placed



from the spectator, requires to be treated in a perfectly distinct manner. It excludes detail, which on an opaque surface is susceptible of great effect ; but which, through the transparency of the glass, is lost, even should not a defect in the burning have done injustice to the talent of the painter. But if, after all, the artist be bent upon giving to his performance all the harmony of an oil painting, he must sacrifice the transparency and the liveliness of the colours, which constitute the most beautiful feature of this kind of painting. Besides, the presence of the leading and the iron or cross-bars which unite the various portions of a painted window, and which it is in vain to attempt to conceal entirely in the shadows of the picture, must ever prove the stumbling-block on which the claim of the artist to imitate oil-painting is sure to founder.

Mr. Lewis Foreman Day concludes his paper on stained glass, read at the Society of Arts, February 1, 1882, thus : " In tracing thus far the history of glass-painting, it is as well to bear in mind what stained glass should be. It should be on a level with the art of our time,—original, artistic, and not a servile copy of the earlier ages of glass-painting. But first, and before all things, it should be glass,—translucent, sparkling, gem-like, and not an elaborate painting. It means that the artist should have studied old glass as a painter studies the old Masters. We want the archæologist, the glass-painter, and the artist ; we want the three fused into one,—a man who is at once familiar with old work, master of his craft, and an accomplished artist."

The taste for glass-painting has been of late revived under favourable auspices, and the productions of artists by whom it is now practised, encourage the expectation that it will be cultivated with a success worthy of the present age.

The west window of St. George's Chapel, Windsor, lately restored and rearranged by the late Mr. Willement, is an example of large dimensions, with great beauty in effect. It is a surpassing accomplishment of art. According to Mr. Willement—

" The glass is of the time of Henry VII, and consisted partly of fifty-nine figures of saints, prophets, kings, and knights, all of which had been removed to this window from various parts of the Chapel, in

1774, by the Rev. Dr. Lockman, Canon, who had placed the figures on a ground of clear white glass. The remaining openings were filled by reticulated patterns in common and glaring colours placed also on clear glass. With all its defects, this window, particularly towards the time of sunset, had, from its great dimensions, a very imposing and pleasing effect. The removal of the glass being necessary previously to the removal of the stonework, it was thought desirable to make some considerable alterations in the arrangement. It was found that ten more of the ancient figures still remained in the stores of the Chapter. With these, and by the addition of six new effigies, the glaziers' patterns were excluded, and every opening became then occupied by a full-length figure. The plain ground of white was removed, and superseded by ancient diaper-patterns in a quiet tone of drab; rich canopies, columns, and bases, were added to each figure; and on a scroll which now runs through the whole of the bases of the lowest compartments, is inscribed the prayer peculiar to the service in this Chapel: 'God save our gracious Sovereign and all the Companions of the most Honourable and Noble Order of the Garter.'"

To the kindness of Messrs. Heaton, Butler, and Baynes, of Garrick Street, Covent Garden, I am indebted for the loan of the illustrations, from which reproductions have been made for my paper.

Among the works which the student may refer to, and which have helped me considerably in the preparation of this paper, I may mention—

*Handbook of the Arts of the Middle Ages and Renaissance.* Translated from the French of M. Jules Labarte.

*Magazine of Art.* November Number, 1881. Article on Glass-Painting by Lewis F. Day.

Also a paper read by Lewis Foreman Day at the Society of Arts, on "Stained Glass-Windows as they were, are, and should be."

*An Inquiry into the Difference of Style in Ancient Glass-Painting, especially in England; with Hints on Glass-Painting by an Amateur.* C. W. John Henry Parker. Oxford, 1847.

*Kühler. Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte.*

Divers works of early masters in Christian decoration, and an account of the works of Albert Durer; examples of ancient painted and stained glass; and *Illustrations of Painted and Stained Glass at Gouda, in Holland, and the Church of St. Jacques at Liège.* Edited by John Weale. 2 vols. 1846.



## ST. AGNES.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A. SCOT.

*(Read January 18, 1882.)*

AT the commencement of the last decade of the third century of the Christian era, a girl is said to have been born in Rome, whose brief career extended over but thirteen years, but whose memory still lives in legend under the name of St. Agnes, or Anneys as she is sometimes called.<sup>1</sup> This child is described as of such surpassing beauty, that, young as she was, she kindled the affection of the son of a Roman prefect, whose offer of marriage she rejected, having determined to devote her life to the service of the Almighty. The repulsed lover was so incensed at the rebuff that he in revenge denounced the little girl as a Christian; and, after refusing to sacrifice to the heathen deities, she was doomed to torture and death. When her virginity was assailed in the public Bordellos, to which she was condemned, she was miraculously preserved by lightning and thunder from Heaven. When stripped by her persecutors, the angels immediately veiled her whole person with her flowing hair, and she is so exhibited by Sebastian le Clerc; but in the window of Gillingham Church an angel is depicted covering the Saint with a mantle.<sup>2</sup> According to Peter Ribadeneira, the next act of her cruel foes was to light a huge pile of faggots, into the midst of which they cast the hapless child; but no sooner was this done than the flames were extinguished, and Agnes remained unhurt. Hence it is that we frequently see flames accompanying representations of the Saint, as in the engraving by Petrus de Ballin.

If we are to believe all that is related of the young maiden, she must have had as many lives as a cat is fabled to possess; for after various horrible tortures, any one of which would have sufficed to kill any other mortal, she

<sup>1</sup> This Roman child is sometimes confounded with St. Agnes of Monte Pulciano, a virgin who died in 1317, and whose festival falls on April 20. Jacques Callot has represented her in an open tomb with sick persons praying around it.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Brit. Mus. MS. Reg. 20, D. vi, f. 77.

was at last beheaded at Rome (some say in 304, others in 306); and a church dedicated to her honour is pointed out as marking the spot where, according to the legend, she suffered martyrdom in the reign of the Emperor Diocletian, and during the tenth persecution of the Christians.<sup>1</sup>

St. Ambrose and St. Augustine both affirm that Agnes was but thirteen years of age at the time of her death, yet she is always represented by painters and sculptors as a fine, full-grown young woman well out of her teens. She may generally be recognised in art by the presence of a large sword, the instrument of her martyrdom; and the frequent accompaniment of a lamb, an emblem which is evidently connected with her name, and which is made to play a part in her story.<sup>2</sup> We are told that eight days after her decease she appeared to her parents surrounded by angels, and with a white lamb by her side, and bade them cease to sorrow, for she was in Heaven, and united for ever to her Saviour.

This brief review of the legend of St. Agnes will enable us to more fully comprehend the delineation of the Saint upon the south screen in the church of Eye, Suffolk, executed in the second half of the fifteenth century. Agnes is there shewn standing in a pensive attitude, with her nimbed head declining to her right, and her hands pressed together as if in prayer. So much for pose of figure. Now for its details. The Saint has long, golden hair, with a chaplet of red roses on her brow. She wears a green robe secured at the waist with a belt, the rich, golden pendant of which hangs far down in front. Beneath this robe is seen the skirt of a white garment, and over the shoulders is a green mantle with a deep, golden tippet. Through the damsel's throat is thrust horizontally a great two-edged sword with oval pomel, and with the quillons bent down at right angles to the straight cross-guard, characteristic of the weapons of the fifteenth century. On the

<sup>1</sup> There are two churches at Rome dedicated to St. Agnes; one outside the Porta Pia, the other in the Piazza Navona. In a crypt beneath the latter is a bas-relief by Algardi, representing Agnes clothed alone by her flowing hair.

<sup>2</sup> Our Hon. Secretary, Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., and Mr. H. Jenner, in their *Early Drawings and Illuminations in the British Museum*, give a long list of figures of St. Agnes, many of great beauty.

lady's neck and dress are long gouttes of blood. On a blue band behind the figure are the letters SCA AGN.; and at the bottom of the picture is a green sward with trees in the distance.

On the rood-screens at North Elmham and Westhall the Saint is also seen with her throat pierced with a sword, and at both places she is attended by a lamb. In some examples St. Agnes holds the sword in her hand, as, for instance, on the rood-screen formerly in St. James' Church, Norwich; in the painting on the church-chest at Denton; and on the font of Taverham Church, Norfolk. The figures on the chest and font are both accompanied by a lamb. The presence of these lambs reminds us of a curious custom observed on the Saint's festival in the church at Rome which bears her name. The old ceremony is described as follows in Barnabe Googe's translation of Naogeorgus' *Popish Kingdom* (1570, f. 46):

"Then commes in place St. Agnes' Day, which here in Germanie  
Is not so much esteemde nor kept with such solemnitee;  
But in the Popish Court it stands in passing hie degree  
As spring and head of wondrous gaine, & great commoditee.  
For in St. Agnes' Church upon this day, while Masse they sing,  
Two Lambes as white as Snowe the Nonnes do yearly use to  
bring;  
And when the Agnus chaunted is upon the Aulter hie  
(For in this thing there hidden is a solemne mysterie)  
They offer them. The servants of the Pope, when this is done,  
Do put them into Pasture good till Shearing time be come.  
Then other Wooll they mingle with these holy Fleeces twaine,  
Whereof, being Sponne & Drest, are made the Pals of passing  
gaine."

Stopford, in his *Pagano-Papismus*, gives a full account of this lamb-blessing on St. Agnes' Day; and in *The Present State of the Manners, etc., of France and Italy, in Poetical Epistles to Robert Jephson, Esq.* (8vo., London, 1794, p. 58), may be seen a further description of this strange custom, under the heading of *St. Agnes' Shrine*. The death of Agnes, as already stated, is set down to the era of Diocletian; and yet this ceremony in her honour is said to have commenced in the time of Bishop Linus, A.D. 66-78. Well may Naogeorgus ask—

"Where was Agnes at that time? Who offered up, and how,  
The two white Lambes? Where then was Masse, as it is used  
now?"



Yea, where was then the Popish state & dreadfull Monarchie ?  
Sure, in Saint Austen's time, there were no Palles at Rome to sec."

Though St. Agnes was very popular in England, few churches seem to have been dedicated to her. There is one bearing her name at St. Perron in Cornwall ; and in Aldersgate Street, London, we have a church dedicated conjointly to her and St. Anne ; and within these few years a hideous brick building has been raised at the back of Kennington Park, Surrey, which is entitled St. Agnes' Church. In Cambridgeshire there is the village of Papworth St. Agnes ; but its church is dedicated to St. John the Baptist. One of the Scilly Islands bears the name of St. Agnes ; but there is no proof that this is in honour of the Roman child.

Among the holy wells which once existed in and about London was one bearing the title of St. Agnes le Clair, which was on the site of part of Old Street Road and Hoxton Square. Stow describes it as "curved square with stone"; but not a vestige of it now remains.

The Christmas rose (*Helleborus niger flore albo*) is sacred to St. Agnes, and her festival was held on January 21. But of far higher importance than her festival was St. Agnes' Eve. Then it was that pining lovers sought the maiden's aid in solving their doubts, and lulling their fears by resorting to strange divinations. Damsels were enjoined to fast during the day, and so qualify themselves to receive revelations during sleep : hence, says Ben Jonson,—

"And on sweet St. Agnes' night  
Please you with the promis'd sight,  
Some of husbands, some of lovers,  
Which an empty dream discovers."

In *Cupid's Whirligig* (1616, iii, p. 1), Pag exclaims: "I could find in my heart to pray nine times to the moone, and fast three St. Agnes's Eves, so that I might bee sure to have him to my husband." The Rev. Robert Burton, in his *Anatomy of Melancholy* (ed. 1660, p. 538), speaks of maids fasting on St. Agnes' Eve to find out who shall be their first husband. In *Mother Bunch's Closet Newly Broke Open* are directions how to divine so as to obtain St. Agnes' assistance. Here you are told not to let any one kiss you during the day; and when you go to bed, to

put on clean linen, and lay as straight as you can on the back, with the hands placed under the head, and in this posture repeat the following lines :

“Now, good St. Agnes, play thy part,  
And send to me my own sweetheart,  
And shew me such a happy bliss,  
This night of him to have a kiss.

And then be sure to fall asleep as soon as thou canst, and before thou awakest out of thy first sleep thou shalt see him come and stand before thee.” John Keats has thus gracefully recorded this species of love divination on the night of January 20, in his beautiful poem entitled *The Eve of St. Agnes* :

.....“upon St. Agnes’ Eve  
Young virgins might have visions of delight,  
And soft adorings from their loves receive,  
Upon the honey’d middle of the night,  
If ceremonies due they did aright :  
As, supperless to bed they must retire,  
And couch supine their beauties, lily white ;  
Nor look behind, nor sideways, but require  
Of Heaven with upward eyes for all that they desire.”

Pins seem to have been looked upon as essential objects in one kind of St. Agnes’ divination. Good old Aubrey, in his *Miscellanies* (p. 136), gives the following quaint directions : “Upon St. Agnes’ night, you take a row of pins, and pull out every one, one after another, saying a ‘Paternoster’, sticking a pin in your sleeve, and you will dream of him or her you shall marry.”<sup>1</sup> Similar directions are to be found in *Raphael’s Chart of Destiny*.<sup>2</sup>

Another mode of invoking the assistance of St. Agnes was this. The maiden was, for the occasion, to change her place of abode, and on retiring to rest to take the stocking she had worn on the right leg, and tie round it her left garter, repeating at the same time the following lines :—

<sup>1</sup> Pins are also employed as a love-charm on the night of the 29th of February. Twenty-seven tiny ones are to be stuck in a tallow candle, lit at the lower end, and then set up in a stand made of clay from a virgin’s grave. For full directions see *Mother Bridget’s Dream and Omen Book*. The sticking pins in a waxen heart, to procure the death of an enemy, was an old practice.

<sup>2</sup> A two-penny chap-book published by H. Elliot, 475 New Oxford Street.

“I knit this knot, this knot I knit,  
 To learn the thing I know not yet,  
 And in the hope that I may see  
 The man that shall my husband be.  
 Not in his best nor worst array,  
 But dress he weareth every day ;  
 That I tomorrow may him ken  
 From out a crowd of other men.”

Her next act was to lay herself flat on her back, with her hands crossed beneath her head, and during her first slumber the future husband would appear to her in a dream, and gently kiss her lips.

Here is one more invocation for January 20 :

“THE MAIDEN’S PRAYER ON ST. AGNES’ EVE.

“Gentle Agnes, unto thee  
 Do I humbly bend the knee.  
 Gentle Agnes, heed my prayer,  
 Lull my pangs and ease my care.  
 Thou hast power to send this night  
 In my dream, yet clear to sight,  
 Lover faithful, lover true,  
 One who me alone will woo.  
 If such be, then seal my bliss,  
 Pressing on my lips a kiss.  
 Bid him then to glide away,  
 But to meet on the third day ;  
 And on that day, if we meet,  
 Let him with kind looks me greet.  
 Gentle Agnes, ever kind,  
 In thee let me mercy find.  
 Gentle Agnes, to me guide  
 Him to whom I shall be bride.”

We must not pass from St. Agnes’ Eve without citing a charm for the ague, which is then to be repeated up the chimney by the oldest female member of the family in the house :

“Tremble and go !  
 First day shiver and burn.  
 Tremble and quake !  
 Second day shiver and learn.  
 Tremble and die !  
 Third day never return.”

Here, too, is a charm for a burn, good for all times and seasons :

“Fire, thou hath burnt me sore !  
 Agnes, I thy aid implore !

Cure me of this painful burn,  
So I may thy kindness learn."

St. Agnes, or rather one of her effigies, once got mixed up with a strange love-affair, which is duly incorporated in her legend. It was in brief as follows. A certain priest who officiated in a church dedicated to St. Agnes, getting weary of a single life, begged the Pope's licence to marry, which he obtained together with an emerald ring, and an injunction to pay his court to an image of Agnes which then adorned his church. He did as the Pope had bidden him, and the dumb idol stretched forth her finger, on which the priest slipped the ring; and, *mirabile dictu*, the image immediately drew back her digit, and kept the ring fast, and so deprived her votary of his jewel. The legend adds, "and yet, as it is sayd, the rynge is on the fynger of the ymage." The priest remained a bachelor, and perhaps entertained no very friendly feeling towards one who had behaved so shabbily to him.

But enough of Agnes, with all her charms and incantations. It is no gracious task to hurl a popular idol from its lofty pedestal, and tell the love-sick lads and lasses that they have all along been invoking the aid of a myth; but there is such discrepancy in the dates associated with the story of St. Agnes, and such gross improbability in the whole legend, that we are constrained to regard the young damsel as nothing more than a fancy portrait; an ideal embodiment of female beauty, virtue, innocence, constancy, faith, and patience. That her existence was once credited, and that it was believed that her power in earth and Heaven was co-ordinate with that of divinity itself, is evident from a prayer to her in a Roman Missal printed at Paris in 1520, and of which Bishop Patrick has given us the following translation :

"Agnes, who art the Lamb's chaste spouse,  
Enlighten thou our minds within !  
Not only lop the spreading boughs,  
But root out of us every sin.

"O lady, singularly great !  
After this state, with grief oppressd,  
Translate us to that quiet seat  
Above, to triumph with the blest !"

ON A  
BRONZE SWORD AND AN IRON SPEAR-HEAD,  
FOUND AT HENLEY-ON-THAMES.

BY JOSEPH STEVENS, M.R.C.P.

(*Read April 19, 1882.*)

A LEAF-SHAPED bronze sword, in good preservation, was dug out during the last year in making a cutting close alongside of the Thames river at Henley, and at a short distance from it a spear-head of iron was found in the same section; but although I made a visit to the place purposely, I could not ascertain the relative depths at which the implements were buried. The sword is, in type, Swedish, and similar forms are found in Ireland.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Thomas Wright gives the same type;<sup>2</sup> and a very similar blade, taken from the Thames at Battersea, is now in the British Museum. A weapon of the same form is figured (344) in Dr. Evans' work;<sup>3</sup> but there is in that figure some difference in the arrangement of the rivet-holes in the hilt, and it has slight flanges at the edges of the hilt-plate to retain the horn or wood.

The usual form of swords of this kind is leaf-shaped; and their average length is about 24 inches, although they range from about 16 inches up to 30 inches. The number of rivets also varies, the common number being seven. In some the ends of the rivets have conical depressions in them, as if a punch had been used as a riveting-tool; but in the Henley specimen the rivets have been closed by a hollow punch, so as to leave a small stud projecting in the middle of each, surrounded by a hollow ring. With these rivets the plates, which usually consisted of horn, bone, or wood, were secured on each side of the hilt-plate. The Henley sword has a very shallow bead or ridge extending along each side of the blade, within the fillet. It is undoubtedly of the bronze period

<sup>1</sup> *Prehistoric Times*, p. 16, figs. 14, 15.

<sup>2</sup> *The Celt, Roman, and Saxon*, p. 75.

<sup>3</sup> *The Bronze Implements of Great Britain*.



(*Celtic*); for although their advocacy as being Roman has met with some considerable support from archæologists of reputation, as the late Mr. Thomas Wright, the weight of opinion, from evidence which we have not space to detail here, has determined that weapons of this kind are to be regarded as anterior to the Roman period.

In Scandinavia it is not uncommon to find bronze swords with interments in barrows; but such is not the case in Britain. In Britain, therefore, Dr. Evans classifies the bronze age as comprehended in three stages, placing the sword in the latest group. The first group is characterised by the presence in tumuli of flat or flanged celts and knife-daggers with instruments of stone. The second is determined by more heavy dagger-blades, flanged celts, and tanged spear-heads or daggers. While the third comprehends paalstaves, socketed celts, and other forms of tools and weapons, as well as swords and socketed spear-heads; and he attributes the bronze period in Britain as having extended to eight or ten centuries, which would place the beginning of the period some 1,200 or 1,400 years B.C.

The moulds employed for casting are of stone, burnt clay, and sometimes of bronze; and occasionally, as in Ireland, sand or loam has been used. But the moulds found are mostly of stone. The lengthened sword-blades required great skill in casting; and in addition there were the processes of hammering out and sharpening the edges, which were conducted not only by those who first made the weapons, but also by their subsequent possessors.

The art of casting, no doubt, originated on the Continent: indeed, their manufacture appears to have been localised at particular places; and they must have formed an important article of commerce, as the same type has been found in countries widely separated. But the fact that some British types are rarely found abroad, with the discovery of moulds, would seem to prove that they must have been cast in this country. The alloys used in casting have been found to vary in different countries; in some cases lead and other impurities having been found to be present. But an amalgam of 9 parts copper to 1 of tin furnishes the most tough and durable bronze.

The development in form of the bronze sword, from the



Bronze Sword.  
27 in. long;  $1\frac{1}{4}$  in. wide.



Iron Spear-Head.  
18 in. long; 2 in. wide.

WEAPONS FOUND AT HENLEY-ON-THAMES.



rudé stone spear-head, is traceable through the bronze spear-head, thence onwards to the bronze dagger, which is simply a spear-head hilted; the bronze, leaf-shaped sword being an elongated form of bronze dagger.

The iron spear-head (fig. 2) has details regarding it attached to the figure. It is in good preservation as an iron instrument, has a socket with rivet-holes for fixing the shaft, together with the somewhat unusual addition of guards. Its period is probably Roman.

The weapons are both in my possession.

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THE TONSURE-PLATE  
IN USE IN ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL  
DURING THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

BY REV. W. SPARROW SIMPSON, D.D., F.S.A.,  
SUB-DEAN OF ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL.

(Read April 5, 1882.)

IN the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum is preserved a circular copper plate, slightly convex on one side, and concave on the other, like one of the scales of a balance. The convex side of the plate is quite plain; but on the concave side is engraved, very boldly, a lion rampant, *queue fourchée*. The plate is as nearly as possible 3 inches in diameter. It has evidently been, at some time or other, reduced in size, as the rampant lion engraved upon it has lost the right fore-foot and the left hind-foot, part of the right hind-foot, and the junction of the tail to the body. The plate itself is probably as old as the thirteenth century. Attached to the plate is a narrow strip of vellum, on which may be read (not without difficulty<sup>1</sup>) the following words:

“Ista est mensura seu forma coronarum officiariorum ecclesiæ Sancti Pauli London ex primaria fundacione ejusdem ecclesiæ [assi]gn[ata]; et per diversos venerabiles patres Episcopos, Decanos, et Capitulum ...ste conformata et observata.”

The purpose to which the plate was applied is thus rendered certain. It was the standard by which the tonsure of the clergy of St. Paul's Cathedral was regulated.

Dr. Rock<sup>2</sup> observes that, “of the ecclesiastical tonsure there were known to the Anglo-Saxons, in the early period of their Church, two distinctive shapes, the Roman and the Irish. The Roman form was perfectly round; the Irish was made by cutting away the hair from the upper part of the forehead, in the figure of a half-moon, with the convex side before. In this, as well as every other ritual observance, the Anglo-Saxons followed Rome, and adopted

<sup>1</sup> I am much indebted to Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., for his help in the decipherment.

<sup>2</sup> *The Church of our Fathers*, vol. i, p. 185-188.





ANCIENT TONSURE PLATE IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.



the form of tonsure for their clergy; but after, as well as before, St. Osmund's times, the canons of our national Church required her ministers to wear this mark of their clerkhood about them, that they might ever have in mind they were the servants of a crucified Master who wreathed His head with thorns for them." The notes which Dr. Rock subjoins to this passage are very full of interest. Archbishop Ecgberht, he says, traces the tonsure to St. Peter:<sup>1</sup>

"Petrus itaque Apostolus clericali tonsura primo usus est, gestans in capite imaginem coronæ spinæ Christi."

Amongst the canons enacted under King Edgar, the 47th provides that no man in holy orders shall hide his tonsure;<sup>2</sup> and by the law of the Northumbrian priests it was ordained that "if a priest enwrap his tonsure, let him pay bōt for it"; that is, a fine.<sup>3</sup> He proceeds to relate that Abbot Ceolfrid, in a letter written 710 A.D., to Naitan, King of the Picts, allows us to see how the Roman and the Irish tonsures differed:

"Quia Petrus in memoriam Dominicæ passionis ita attonsus est, idcirco et nos, qui per eandem passionem salvari desideramus, ipsius passionis signum eum illo in vertice, summa videlicet corporis nostri parte gestamus.....Formam quoque coronæ quam ipse [Dominus] in passione spinæam portavit in capite, ut spinas ac tribulos peccatorum nostrorum portaret, id est, exportaret et auferret a nobis, suo quemque in capite per tonsuram præferre, ut se etiam irrisiones et opprobria pro illo libenter ac promte omnia sufferre ipso etiam frontispicio doceant; ut coronam vitæ æternæ quam repromisit Deus diligentibus se, se semper expectare, proque hujus perceptione et adversa se mundi et prospera contemnere designent.....Quæ [tonsura<sup>4</sup>] in frontis quidem superficie, coronæ videtur speciem præferre, sed ubi ad cervicem considerando perveneris, decurtatam eam, quam te videre putabas, invenies coronam."<sup>5</sup>

Dr. Rock further explains that by the old English use the clerical tonsure consisted, rightly speaking, of two things: "1. The hair was shorn away from the top of the head in a circular shape, more or less wide, according as the wearer happened to be high or low in Order. 2. The hair was clipped over the ears, and all about the neck, in such a way that from behind and on the sides it looked like a ring or crown around the head. On all our old English grave-brasses, and every other kind of pictorial

<sup>1</sup> Excerpt., *Ancient Laws*, vol. ii, p. 124.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 255.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 297, note 40.

<sup>4</sup> That worn by the Irish monks.

<sup>5</sup> Bedæ, *Hist. Eccl.*, lib. v, cap. xxi, § 439, 440, curâ Roberti Hussey, pp. 300, 301.

monument, not only the tonsure as now understood, but the clerical cut of the hair is very marked."

Caxton, in the *Liber Festivalis*, speaking of Maundy Thursday,<sup>1</sup> says that in English it is called "Shere-thursday, for in old fathers' days the people would that day sheer their heads, and clip their beards, and poll their heads, and so make them honest against Easter Day. On Sherethursday a man should do poll his hair and clip his beard, and a priest should shave his crown."

For a clergyman to wear his hair long was regarded as effeminate and worldly by the English canons. "The Council of London, A.D. 1342, blames the dressy clerk of those days":

"In sacris etiam ordinibus constituti, coronam quæ regni cœlestis et perfectionis est indicium, deferre contemnant, et crinium extensorum quasi ad scapulas utentes discrimine, velut effœminati, militari potius quam clericali habitu induti."<sup>2</sup>

So far Dr. Rock has been our guide. The Statutes of St. Paul's Cathedral<sup>3</sup> are very strict upon this matter, and contain many references to the tonsure of its clergy. I will select a few of these :

"DE TONSURA, HABITU, ET GESTU CLERICORUM.—Ad hec omnes chorum intrantes si in tonsura vel habitu minus honesto aut gestu fuerint ex assueto reperti, nisi moniti, se compositos et correctos ostendant. In brevi nullatenus incorrecti tollerentur, cujuscumque ordinis, officii, et dignitatis."<sup>4</sup>

"DE TONSURA.—Tonsuram insuper que deceat habeant sine scrupulo angulari, crinibus ad rote speciem succisis."<sup>5</sup>

And again, in a later statute,—

"Omnes insuper in choro dicte Ecclesie divinum ministerium prosequentes conveniant in habitu decenti secundum congruenciam temporum, et decenter tondeantur, crinibus ad modum rote subtilis sine scrupulo angulari; coronam eciam habeant secundum exigenciam ordinis sui latitudinis congruentis."<sup>6</sup>

A still more stringent statute is to be found :

"Clerici comam non nutriant, set capud desuper in modum spere radant. (xxiii, D. *Prohibete*.<sup>7</sup>) Non clericis liceat comam nutrire, set

<sup>1</sup> I am still indebted to Dr. Rock.      <sup>2</sup> Wilkins, *Concilia*, ii, p. 703.

<sup>3</sup> See *Registrum Statutorum et Consuetudinum Cathedralis Sancti Pauli Londinensis*, edited by the author of the present paper.

<sup>4</sup> *Statutes*, book i, part ii, chap. 14, p. 28.      <sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, part iii, chap. 20, p. 44.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, part v, Preamble, pp. 65, 66.

<sup>7</sup> The references are to the Decretals. See *Opus Decretorum* (opera

attonso capite et patentibus auribus incedere debent, ne capilli crescentes aures operiant xxiii<sup>d</sup> non liceat. Longitudo enim capillorum multitudinem significat peccatorum, ideo in Cartagenensi Concilio statutum est, ut clerici neque comam nutriant neque barbam."<sup>1</sup>

The references here also are to the Decretals,<sup>2</sup> lib. iii, cap. iv,—“Si quis ex clericis comam relaxaverit, anathema sit” (*Ex Concilio Carthagenensi*); cap. v, “Clericus neque comam nutriat neque barbam” (*Ex Concilio Triburicensi*).

The fourth Council of Carthage decreed as follows:—“Clericus nec comam nutriat, nec barbam.”<sup>3</sup> In the *Epistola Aniceti Papæ ad Gallie Episcopos*,<sup>4</sup> in the fourth section, we find words to the same effect:

“Prohibete, fratres, per universas regionum vestrarum ecclesias, ut clerici, qui laicis et simplicibus, virtutis, honestatis, pudicitiae, et gravitatis exemplar esse debent, ac seipsos, tanquam signum purioris vitæ, rudioribus ad imitationem prudenter exhibere, juxta Apostolum, comam non nutriant, sed desuper caput in modum spheræ radant; quia sicut discreti debent esse in conversatione, ita et in tonsura et omni habitu discreti debent apparere.”

The editor of the sumptuous edition of the *Concilia*, from which I am quoting, adds in the margin of this letter a reference to 1 Corinth. xi; and in a note on the words “in modum spheræ” says:

“Id est coronæ vel circuli qui Patres et Concilia dum prædictis locis de tonsura clericorum aut monachorum loquuntur, eam communiter coronam nominant, propterea nimirum quod tonsura coronæ figuram habeat.”

Bishop Gibson, in his *Code*,<sup>5</sup> gives a similar definition taken from Lyndwode's *Provinciale*:<sup>6</sup>

“*Coronam*. Hoc est signum regni et perfectionis, cum sit circularis, carens angulo, in signum carentis sordium; quia ubi angulus, ibi sordes.”<sup>7</sup>

Francisci Fradin. Fo. Lugduni, 1525.) Prima Pars. Distinctio xxiii, fo. 122b. “Prohibite, fratres, per universas regionum vestrarum Ecclesias, ut clerici, juxta Apostolum, comas non nutriant, sed desuper caput in modum spere radant.”

<sup>1</sup> Extra. *De Vita et Honestate Clericorum*, cap. “Clericus”, xxiii, D., “Siquis.” *Statutes*, book i, part iii, cap. 23.

<sup>2</sup> *Decretales Epistole Gregorii Noni*. Folio. Paris, 1527. “Ex Officina Claudii Chevallonii.”

<sup>3</sup> *Concil. Carthag. IV*, cap. xlv; *Concilia*, fo., Paris, 1644, iii, 398. There are various readings here: “barbam tondeat, alias sed radant, vel tondeant.”

<sup>4</sup> *Concilia*, ut supra, i, 239.

<sup>5</sup> Second edition. Fo. Oxon., 1761. Vol. i, p. 166.

<sup>6</sup> See *Lyndwode*. Fo. Oxon., 1769.

<sup>7</sup> *Bonifacius*, 1261; *Lyndwode*, p. 68.



"*Tonsuram.* Signum quod prescindenda sunt vitia cordis et corporis, ne intuitum divinorum impediant."<sup>1</sup>

And in another place Bishop Gibson says :

"Nec alii clerici comam nutriant : sed honeste tonsi et coronati convenienter incedant, nisi forte justa causa timoris exegerit habitum transformari."<sup>2</sup>

Those who desire to study the matter more fully may well be referred to Bingham's *Antiquities*, book iv, chap. v, secs. 15, 16, 17; book vii, chap. iii, sec. 6; and to Mr. Mackenzie Walcott's *Sacred Archaeology*, art. "Tonsure."

Mr. Maskell points out<sup>3</sup> that a distinction is sometimes made between *tonsura* and *corona*, and that "when both are named, one must, doubtless, be understood to relate to the length of the hair, the other to the bare circle on the top of the head (the shaven crown)." He quotes from Lyndwode a gloss upon the words :

"*Tonsi.* Hæc tonsura sic fiet, ut aures sint patentēs. Et hoc, si religiosus sit, altius : si sæcularis, dimissius. Et sic, quod inter presbyterum et alios inferiores sit differentia."

"*Coronati.* Rasura superior, et tonsura inferior, faciunt de circulo capillorum coronam."<sup>4</sup>

An excellent article on the "Tonsure", written by the Rev. F. E. Warren, D.D., Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford, will be found in Dr. Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*. The writer points out that there were three distinct varieties of ecclesiastical tonsure :

"1. The Roman tonsure, associated with the name of St. Peter, which was formed by the top of the head being shaved close, and a circle or crown of hair being left to grow round it. In breadth this coronal tonsure was said 'to be like the golden crown which is placed on the head of kings!'"<sup>5</sup>

"2. The Eastern or Greek tonsure, styled 'St. Paul's', which was total. When Theodore was selected to be Archbishop of Canterbury (A.D. 668), he was obliged to wait four months to let his hair grow in such a manner as would enable him to receive the coronal tonsure in the Roman manner, 'for he had previously, as subdeacon, received the tonsure of St. Paul, according to the manner of the Easterns!'"<sup>6</sup>

"3. The Celtic tonsure known as 'St. John's', in use in the Celtic Church of Great Britain and Ireland. It consisted in shaving all the hair in front of a line drawn over the top of the head from ear to ear. The Anglo-Saxon Church attributed this form of tonsure in use among

<sup>1</sup> *Lyndwode, ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> *Codex*, vol. i, p. 163.

<sup>3</sup> *Monumenta Ritualia*, 2nd edition, ii, pp. c, ci.

<sup>4</sup> *Lyndwode*, lib. iii, tit. 1.

<sup>5</sup> *Isidore, De Div. Off.*, ii, 4.

<sup>6</sup> *Bede, Hist. Eccl.*, iv, 1.





THE ANCIENT RITE OF TONSURE.

British Museum, *Harley Roll*, Y 6.

their opponents to Simon Magus. Abbot Ceolfrid discussed the subject at length in his letter to Nectan, King of the Picts, A.D. 710.<sup>1</sup> Although not brought forward by St. Augustine either at 'Augustine's Oak' or at Bangor, this question of the shape of the tonsure formed the subject of the most frequent and violent controversy in England during the seventh and eighth centuries."<sup>2</sup>

Mr. Warren examines briefly the alleged antiquity of the tonsure. He quotes the express authority of Hege-sippus, who says of St. James, "upon whose head no razor was compassed";<sup>3</sup> and suggests that it is exceedingly improbable that the Apostles or their successors should, in time of persecution, have adopted an outward mark which would at once have led to their identification as leaders of a body whose members were liable to torture and to death.

Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*, in his *Memorials of St. Guthlac*,—a very valuable contribution to hagiology, and to the history of Christian art,—has presented us with an illustration of our present subject. The third cartoon which he figures represents St. Guthlac at the Monastery of Rypadun (now Repton), in Derbyshire, in the very act of receiving the tonsure. "The Bishop, with his mitre, pastoral staff, embroidered and fringed stole, and ample surplice, holds in his right hand a veritable pair of shears, such as may be seen at any sheepshearing of the present time, with which he is cutting the hair from Guthlac's head. Guthlac himself kneels to receive the ancient and important rite, in the foreground of the picture."<sup>4</sup>

As an appendix to this paper, I print the Cotton Roll, xiii, 4 (a MS. of the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century), which contains an office for the conferring of the tonsure, together with many ancient forms of benediction. I have compared it with the office now in use in the Roman Church, as it is found in the *Pontificale Romanum*, printed at Malines in 1845 (pp. 753-757). The variations in the text of the prayers, though numerous, are not of great importance. I have noted only

<sup>1</sup> Bede, *Hist. Eccl.* v, 21.

<sup>2</sup> The whole article is well worth perusal. At the end of it a series of references to original authorities will be found.

<sup>3</sup> Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.*, ii, 23.

<sup>4</sup> *Memorials of St. Guthlac*, p. xxxix.

those which seemed worthy of observation. Those who are desirous of a more minute collation should consult Mr. Maskell's *Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, where will be found<sup>1</sup> an early "Modus faciendi tonsuras et coronas primas", together with the variations exhibited by the Pontificals of Bangor, Winchester, and Exeter. I gladly acknowledge my obligation to Mr. Kirk for his very careful transcript from the original Roll.

## OFFICIUM AD PRIMAM TONSURAM,

TOGETHER WITH A SERIES OF BENEDICTIONS,

*Printed from Rot. Cot., xiii, 4.*

*Officium ad primam tonsuram.*

Adiutorium nostrum in nomine Domini.

Qui fecit celum et terram.

Sit nomen Domini benedictum.

Ex hoc nunc et usque in seculum.

Oremus dilectissimi fratres<sup>2</sup> Dominum nostrum Ihesum Christum pro hiis famulis suis qui ad deponendam capitum suorum comam<sup>3</sup> pro eius amore festinant, ut donet eis Spiritum Sanctum, qui habitum religionis in eis perpetuo<sup>4</sup> conseruet, et a mundi impedimento uel seculari desiderio, corda eorum defendat, et sicut immutantur in uultu, ita manus dextere sue, eis<sup>5</sup> uirtutem perfectionis et boni operis tribuat incrementa, et abiecta omni cecitate humana, spirituales illis oculos aperiat, et lumen eis gratie eterne concedat. Qui cum Patre et eodem Spiritu Sancto uiuit et regnat Deus, per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.

Dominus vobiscum.

Et cum spiritu tuo.

*Oremus.*

Adesto Domine supplicationibus nostris, et hos famulos tuos bene + dicere dignare, quibus in sancto nomine tuo, signum sacre religionis imponimus, ut te largiente, et deuoti in ecclesia tua persistere, et uitam percipere mereantur eternam. Per Dominum n. I. X. etc.

*Deinde dicatur Psalmus, Conserua, usque ad versum, Dominus pars, et quilibet tondendus dicat Dominus pars. Et mox tondeat eos successive et omnibus tonsis dicatur residuum Psalmi, quo dicto dicatur Antiphona, Tu es Domine qui restitues hereditatem mihi. Tunc dicat Episcopus, Dominus vobiscum.*

<sup>1</sup> *Mon. Rit. Eccles. Anglic.*, 2d edition, ii, pp. xciv-cii, and pp. 153-161.

<sup>2</sup> "Fratres charissimi." (*Pontif. Rom.*)

<sup>3</sup> The original Roll interlines the singular form above the plural: thus, over "hiis" is written "oe"; over the *is* in "famulis" is written "o". I have not thought it necessary to retain this.

<sup>4</sup> "In perpetuum".

<sup>5</sup> "Virtutis tribuat incrementa et ab omni cecitate spirituali et humana oculis", etc.



*Oremus.*

Presta quesumus omnipotens Deus ut hii famuli tui quorum hodie comam capitis, pro diuino amore deposuimus, in tua dilectione perpetua maneant, et eos sine macula in sempiternum custodias. Per Dominum nostrum.

*Deinde dicatur Psalmus, Domini est terra, cum Antiphona, Hii accipient benedictionem a Domino et misericordiam a Deo salutari suo.*

*Deinde Episcopus conuersus ad altare dicat :*

*Oremus.*

Flectamus genua. Leuate.

*Mox Episcopus ad illos conuersus dicat oracionem,*

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus propiciare peccatis nostris, et ab omni seruitute secularis habitus hos famulos tuos emunda; ut dum<sup>1</sup> tuo amore comam capitis depouunt, tua semper<sup>2</sup> perfruantur gratia; et<sup>3</sup> sicut similitudinem corone tue eos gestare facimus in capite, sic tuam uirtutem et<sup>4</sup> hereditatem subsequi mereantur<sup>5</sup> in corde.<sup>6</sup> Per Dominum nostrum, &c.

*Deinde Episcopus tenens in manu sua superpelliceum dicens :*

Induat vos Dominus nouum hominem, qui secundum Deum creatus est in sanctitate et iusticia veritatis. R'. Amen.

*Mox Episcopus immittat superpelliceum, seriatim immittens usque ad scapulas,<sup>7</sup> et immediate retrahens, sicque faciens usque ad ultimum, qui totaliter induatur. Postea aspergat eos aqua benedicta.*

[Videte ut quod ore cantatis corde credatis et quod corde creditis operibus probetis, et respondeant, Deo gracias. Deinde iniungantur uel ante ab Episcopo ut orent pro ipso corditer.]

#### [BENEDICTIONES DIVERSE ]<sup>8</sup>

##### ¶ *Benedictio Patene.*

Aditorium n. &c.

Consecre + mus et sanctifica + mus hanc patenam, ad conficiendum in ea corpus Domini nostri Ihesu Christi, qui passus est in cruce pro omnium salute. Qui cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto uiuit et regnat Deus per o. s. s. Amen.

*Deinde faciunt crucem cum pollice de oleo sancto super patenam, et benedicat eam dicens :*

Consecre + re et sanctifi + care digneris Domine Deus omnipotens, patenam hanc per istam sanctam unctionem et nostram benedic + tionem in Christo Ihesu Domino nostro. Qui tecum, et cum Spiritu Sancto, uiuit et regnat Deus per o. s. s. Amen.

*Oremus.*

Deus, qui post typicum pascha esis agni carnibus sacrosanctum corpus tuum discipulis tuis distribuere dignatus es, te supplici deuotione deposcimus, ut quicumque ex hac patena illud perceperint, te uiuum et

<sup>1</sup> "Dum ignominiam sæcularis habitus deponit."

<sup>2</sup> "Semper in ævum."

<sup>3</sup> "Ut."

<sup>4</sup> "Tua uirtute."

<sup>5</sup> "Mereatur æternam."

<sup>6</sup> "Qui cum Patre", etc.

<sup>7</sup> In the margin of the Roll is the word "Verte". This refers to the next paragraph, in brackets, which is written on the back of the Roll.

<sup>8</sup> These Benedictions should be carefully compared with those printed by Mr. Maskell, *Monumenta Ritualia*, 2nd edition, i, 169-182.

uerum panem corde concupiscant et capiant et benediceionem mereantur percipere sempiternam. Per te Domine Ihesu Christe. Qui uiuis et regnas Deus per o. s. s. Amen.

*Benedictio Calicis.*

Oremus, dilectissimi fratres, ut Deus et Dominus noster calicem hunc in suo ministerio consecrandum, celestis gratie inspiracione sanctifi + cet; et ei ad humanam benedic + cionem plenitudinem diuini fauoris accomodet : Qui uenturus es. i.

*Oremus.*

Dignare Domine calicem istum benedi + cere in usum ministerii tui pia famulatus deuocione formatum, et ea sanctificacione perfundere qua Melchisedech famuli tui sacrum calicem perfudisti, et quod arte uel metallo effici non potest altaribus tuis dignum, fiat tua benedictione preciosum atque sanctificatum. Per Dominum n.

*Tunc faciat cum pollice crucem de crismate super calicem dicens :*

Consecre + re, &c.

Dominus vobiscum.

Et cum s. t.

*Oremus.*

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, manibus nostris quesumus opem tue benediceionis infunde, ut per nostram benediceionem, hoc uasculum sanctifi + cetur, et corporis et sanguinis Domini nostri Ihesu Christi nouum sepulcrum Spiritus Sancti gratia perficiatur. Qui tecum &c.

¶ *Benedictio Corporalium.*

Clementissime Domine, cuius inenarrabilis est uirtus, cuius misteria archanis mirabilibus celebrantur, tribue, quesumus, ut hec corporalia, tue propiciacionis benedicti + one sanctificentur ad consecrandum super illa corpus Domini nostri Ihesu Christi. Qui tecum.

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, bene + dic corporalia ista ad tegendum inuoluendumque corpus et sanguinem Domini nostri Ihesu Christi. Qui tecum.

*Et aspergantur aqua benedicta.*

*Benedictio generalis ad omnia Ornamenta Ecclesie.*

Adiutorium n., &c.

Sit no., &c. Dominus vo.

*Oremus.*

Visibilium et inuisibilium creator Deus, adesto propicius inuocacionibus nostris, et hec ornamenta sanctitatis effigiem pretendencia desuper gratia tua irrigante tua ingenti benedictione per nostre humilitatis seruitutem purifi + care, bene + dicere et consecra + re digneris ad laudem et gloriam nominis tui. Per Christum Do. n.

*Et aspergantur aqua benedicta.*

¶ *Ad reconciliandum Ornamenta Ecclesie.*

Adiut. n. &c.

*Oremus.*

Deum indultorem criminum, Deum sordium mundatorem, Dominum qui conerctum peccatis originalibus mundum aduentus sui nitore purificauit, supplices deprecemur, ut contra Diaboli furentis insidias, fortis

nobis pugnator assistat, et quicquid eius nirosa calliditate cotidianisque infestationibus maculatum hic corruptumque fuerit. efficiatur celesti sanctificatione ac mundatione purgatum, quia sicut illius est solidum perfectumque quassare ita auctoris nostri est lapsa restaurare, et corrupta purgare. Cuius maiestatem precamur, ut hic locus, *uel* calix, *uel* hec uestimenta, *uel* corporalia, fiat ab omni pollutione purgatus et sanctificatus, atque in priorem statum restitutus et reconciliatus ac sacratus. Per eum qui in Trinitate perfecta uiuit et gloriatur Deus : per infinita secula seculorum. Amen.

*Postea aspergatur aqua benedicta.*

¶ *Benedictio Baptisterii, siue lapidis fontium, hoc modo fiat.*

Adintorium n.

*Oremus.*

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, baptisterium hoc salutis eterne celestis uisitatione dedica, et Spiritus tui illustratione miseratus illustra, ut quoscunque fons iste lauaturus est, trina ablucione omnium delictorum suorum indulgentiam consequantur. Per Christum Do.

*Oremus.*

Multiplica super nos Domine benedictionem tuam, et Spiritus Sancti munere fidem nostram corabora, ut qui hec fluentia descenderint in libro uite ascribantur. Per Dominum.

*Et aspergat eum aqua benedicta.*

Here ends the original compilation, which is written in a large hand, with rubrics and ornamental initial letters. What follows is written on the back of the Roll by a later hand, in an inferior style, and with very pale ink. It is not rubricated, but the directions are mostly underlined.

*Benedictio Amicti.*

*Oremus.*

Benedic, Domine, quesumus, omnipotens Deus, Amictum istum tam Leuitice quam sacerdotalis officii, et concede propicius ut quicumque eum capiti suo imposuerit benedictionem tuam accipiat, sitque in fide solidus et sanctitatis gravedine fundatus per Christum.

*Benedictio Albe.*

Deus invicte virtutis auctor, et omnium rerum creator et sanctificator, intende propicius ut hanc albam Leuitice ac sacerdotalis glorie tuo ore proprio bened + icere sanctific + are atque consecr + are digneris, omnesque ea utentes tuis misterijs aptos, et tibi in ea deuote et amicaliter seruientes, gratos effici concedas per Christum.

*Benedictio Manipuli.*

Exaudi nos, Domine, sancto Pater, omnipotens eterne Deus, ut hunc manipulum sacri ministerij vsui preparatum benedic + ere sanctific + are atque consecr + are digneris per Christum.

*Benedictio Stole.*

Deus, qui stolis predicatoribus collum et pectus muniri concessisti, exaudi propicius, ut quicumque tuorum sacerdotum uel Leuitarum huic

stole colla subiecerint, quicquid boni ore protulerint corde credant, et quod verbis docuerint opere festinant per Christum.

*Benedictio Casule.*

Deus fons pietatis et iusticie, qui tui operis ministros ad extremum vestimentorum casula cuius munimine interius omnia tegerentur vestiri sanxisti, concede petitionibus nostris, ut hec planeta a te sit sanctificata et bene dicta quatenus ea induti enumeratis intus omnium virtutum ornamentis uinculum perfecte caritatis super omnia habeant, quo perficere que iuste desiderant te prestante valeant, per Dominum.

*Benedictio Zone.*

Omnipotens eterne Deus, qui Aaron et filios eius in sacerdotali ministerio cingulo cum baltheo in renibus stringi iussisti, adesto supplicationibus nostris, et presta, ut omnes tue sancte operationis ministri hac zona iusticie circumcepti, renes lumbosque suos virtute sancte pudicie precingere valeant et satagant, quatenus nullo vento elacionis uel frigore iniquitatis tabescant, sed te opitulante corroborari ad tibi placita semper queant, per Dominum.

*Benedictio Lintheaminum Altaris.*

Omnipotens et misericors Deus, qui ab initio utilia et necessaria hominibus creasti, quique per famulum tuum Moysen velamina et ornamenta et cetera necessaria ad cultum et decorem tabernaculi et altaris tui fieri decreuisti, exaudi propicius preces nostras et hec ornamenta uel lintheamina in usum ecclesie uel altaris tui et ad honorem et gloriam tuam preparata, purifica et sanctifica et are benedice et consacre per nostre humilitatis seruitutem digneris, ut diuinis cultibus sacris misteriis apta et benedicta existant, hijsque confectioni corporis et sanguinis Ihesu Christi Filij tui Domini nostri dignis famulatus pareatur, qui tecum, &c.

*Alia Benedictio Lintheaminum.*

Solus ineffabilis et incomprehensibilis Rex, omnipotens Deus, qui per Moysen famulum tuum Legisq. latorem mysticas tibi munerum species et ad demonstrandum boni operis finem tandem in sacrificio offerri precepisti, ostendens quod ille bene immolat, qui bonum opus usque ad finem debite actionis perducit, te ergo, Domine, humili prece supplicique famulatu deprecemur, ut hoc lintheamen ad sacrosancta corporis et sanguinis Filij tui libamenta offerenda preparatum tua benedictione dotari celesti sanctificatione perfundere digneris, quatenus offerrent in beneplacitum munus suscipias, et summentibus vitam propicius concedas eternam, Saluator mundi, qui in Trinitate perfecta uiuis et gloriaris Deus per cuncta seculorum secula.

*Benedictio ad quodcumque uolueris.*

Visibilium et invisibilium Creator, Deus, adesto propicius inuocationibus nostris, ut hec ornamenta sanctitatis effligem pretendencia desuper gratia tua irrigante tua ingenti benedictione per nostre humilitatis seruitutem purificare bene dicere et consecrare digneris, ad laudem nominis tui qui in Trinitate perfecta uiuis et regnas Deus &c.

*Tunc aspergatur aqua benedicta.*

In nomine Patris, &c.

*Benedictio Preculorum.*

Deus, omnium benediceionum largus infusor, ac omnis bone accionis inspirator, qui omnia tabernaculi federis ornamenta ad denocionem populi tuo ore proprio fieri precipisti, te humili prece deposcimus, ut hec oracula sine precaria sanctitatis effigiem pretendencia et ad denote orandum beatissimam Virginem Mariam Dei genitricem adaptata, et ad psallendum eiusdem sanctissime Virginis psalterium confecta et preparata, illa benediceione perfundas et benedicas, qua olim per manus sacerdotum vtensilia tabernaculi perfudisti. Concede ut quicunque in hijs oraculis siue precarijs ipsam gloriosissimam Virginem suppliciter honorare studuerint, aut in hijs quocunque loco coram sua ymagine preces effundere decreuerint, aut eius patrocinium postulauerint, illius precibus et optentu gratiam et gloriam consummato vite presentis termino optineant, et tue propiciacionis indulgenciam consequantur.

Solus ineffabilis et incomprehensibilis Deus, cuius verbo et potestate omnia sunt creata, cuius dono percepimus que ad vite remedia possidemus, te supplices obnixis precibus deprecamur, ut de sede maiestatis tue hec oracula sine precaria fidelium famulorum tuorum sanctitati conueniencia tua benedic+ione et celesti santificatione perfundere digneris, quatenus beneplacitum munus in hijs orancium accipias. Sint-que hec oracula siue precaria in conspectu clemencie tue libenter accepta sicut Abel alumni tui uel sicut Melchisedech munera tibi placuerunt oblata: ut qui in hijs beatissimam Dei genitricem Mariam suis sanctis nititur decorare obsequijs, Filius eius Dominus noster Ihesus Christus magna pro paruis recompenset, deuocionem eius accipiat, peccata dimittat, fide cum repleat, indulgenciam foveat, misericordia protegat, aduersa destruat, prospera concedat. Habeat in hoc seculo bone accionis documentum, caritatis studium, sancti amoris affectum, et in futuro cum sanctis angelis gaudium adhipiscatur perpetuum per Dominum, &c.

*Benedictio Nauis.*

Deus, cuius prouidencia vniuersa reguntur et conseruantur, qui dominaris potestates maris et mitigas motum fluctuum eius, qui Noe famulo tuo ne genus humanum totum periret in diluvio archam facere precipisti, qui ventis et tempestatibus imperas et obediunt, qui Petrum super aquas maris ambulantem ne mergeretur erexisti, tuam Domine clemenciam obnixè petimus et humiliter imploramus, quatenus hanc nauiculam per virtutem sancte Crucis et per intercessionem beate et gloriose Marie semper Virginis et omnium sanctorum, tua dextera digneris bene+dicere omnesque insidias hostium visibilibus et invisibilibus ab ea repellere, ut in ea sub tua protectione nauigantes nullis illudantur fantasmatis, nullis deiciantur aduersis, non eos vorago terribilis sorbeat, non tempestas impellat, non frangat scopulus, non invadat aduersarius, sed uniuersis expedita terroribus, nomen tuum collaudantes ad propria cum gaudio reuerti mereantur, per te, Saluator mundi, qui cum Deo Patre et Spiritu Sancto vivis et regnas Deus per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.

*Deinde aspergatur navis aqua benedicta.*

*Benedictio Corporalium.*

Clementissime, &c., *ut infra.*<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> I.e., on the face of the Roll.



Deus, qui pro generis humani saluacione verbum caro factus es, et habitare totus in nobis non dedignatus es, quique traditori tuo perfido osculum pium dedisti dum pro omnium vita pius voluisti agnus macrari atque in syndone lino texta totum te involui permisisti, respice propicius ad vota nostra qui tua fideliter carismata amplecti cupimus. Quesumus, Domine, sancti + ficare, bene + dicere, conse + crareque digneris hec corporalia in vsum altaris tui, ad consecrandum super illud, sine ad tegendum, involuendumque, sacrosanctum corpus et sanguinem tuum, Domine Ihesu Christe, dignisque pareant famulatibus ut quicquid sacro ritu super hec immolabitur, sicut Melchisidech oblatum placeat tibi holocaustum : et optineat per hec premium quicumque optulerit votum. Te quoque humiliter rogamus ac petimus ut hec corporalia tue sanctificationis ubertate per Spiritus Sancti gratiam puri + fices et sanctifices, qui te pro nobis omnibus sacrificium offerre voluisti ; et presta ut super hec sint tibi libamina accepta, sint grata, sint piugua, et Spiritus Sancti tui rore perfusa, Saluator mundi, qui vivis et regnas.

Deus, qui digne tibi seruiencium nos imitari desideras famulatum, respice propicius ad humilitatis nostre seruitutem, et hec corporalia nomini tuo dicata, et seruitutis tue vsibus preparata, celestis virtutis benediccione sanctifi + ca puri + fica et con + seera ; quatenus super illa Spiritus tuus Sanctus descendat, qui oraciones et oblaciones populi tui benedicat et corda siue corpora sumencium benignus reficiat per D.

*Benedictiones in omni tempore.*

Benedicat vobis Dominus et custodiat vos semper. Amen.

Illuminet faciem suam super vos et misereatur vestri. Amen.

Convertat uultum suum ad vos et det vobis pacem. Amen.

..... vobis prestare dignetur ..... re..... permanet in secula seculorum. Et benedictio Dei Pa + tris et Fi + lij et Spi + ritus Sancti descendat super vos et maneat semper. Amen.

Et pax eius sit semper vobiscum.

Et cum spiritu tuo.

Agnus, &c.

*Benedictio Vasculi pro Eucharistia.*

Adiutorium nostrum.

Qui fecit.

Dominus vobiscum, &c.

*Oremus.*

Omnipotens sempiternus Deus, maiestatem tuam supplices deprecamur, ut vasculum hoc pro corpore Filij tui Domini nostri Ihesu Christi in eo condendo fabricatum, benedictionis tue gratia dicare digneris, per eundem Dominum nostrum.

*Tunc asspergit [sic] aqua benedicta.*

## ROMANO-BRITISH MOSAIC PAVEMENTS.

BY THOMAS MORGAN, F.S.A., V.P., HON. TREASURER.

(Read January 18, 1882.)

THE discovery of the Roman mosaic pavement at Morton, near Brading, Isle of Wight, and quite lately that at Wingham in Kent, has excited an interest in these remains which has induced me to bring together, for the purpose of comparison, the various Roman pavements throughout the kingdom; and I had hoped to give an account of them in a short paper, but the subject has so extended itself on investigation, that I find a fourth of a volume of the *Journal* would hardly suffice to give an account of nearly one hundred pavements of which I have collected the descriptions from various authors too numerous to particularise here. In many instances the pavements have been destroyed or reburied, and therefore are only known by these descriptions in print; some have been removed to public museums or private collections; and useful as the full details of them would be, I must here confine myself to a mere list of names in two tables: No. 1 giving the places where the mosaics are found, arranged in counties; and No. 2 giving a list of the subjects with reference to the mosaics on which they are depicted; and these lists embrace forty of the principal figured mosaics in England.

The list will begin with Woodchester,<sup>1</sup> at one time the finest of the British pavements, but which now has even been excelled in interest by the late discovery in the Isle of Wight, with which I shall conclude; and in offering some observations upon this, there will be little need of expatiating much upon the others.

The south-western counties have furnished the most, and some of the best, examples; but as instances are found in nearly all the other counties, it is probable that many more may hereafter see the light. The pavements

<sup>1</sup> Fully described in vol. iii of that sumptuous work, *Reliquiæ Britannicæ Romanæ*, fol., by S. Lysons, F.S.A.

were formed of cubes of various sizes, colours, and materials, measuring mostly half an inch to an inch each. Mr. Lysons calculated that in the mosaic at Woodchester not less than a million and a half of these *tessellæ* were employed. The materials there were principally the produce of the country, except the white, which is of a very hard, calcareous stone, bearing a good polish, and resembling the Palomino marble of Italy.

The Romans took much pains to keep out damp from their floors and walls, and hence the mosaics have been so well preserved: thus the greater part were "suspended"; that is, built on a platform of tiles, which rested on pillars of brick, tile, or stone; and into the hollow space below, or the hypocaust, was blown the heated air from a great furnace lighted outside the house, and the blast rushed into the hypocaust through one or two narrow channels. When the pavement had no hypocaust below it, then it was laid upon a thick bed of different materials, by which the same purpose of keeping out the damp was effected.

According to Mr. Thos. Wright, the foundation of one at Wroxeter measured between 2 and 3 feet in thickness; but the example at Woodchester, above referred to, had a foundation of nearly 5 feet. These foundations were probably influenced by the nature of the soil, a moist clay requiring a thicker foundation than a subsoil of gravel.

These mosaics were called *opera segmentata*, *opus musivum*, and *musaceum*. The workmen, in laying them down, kept the *tessellæ* of different colours in divisions, as does the printer his types. The bed to receive them was of lime, sand, and ashes, and the cement used to set them in was composed of pounded slate, white of egg, and gum-dragon, which was to be moist when the *tessellæ* were laid upon it, as it soon hardened; and these were then pressed down with a heavy roller, which fixed them in their places. The surface was then polished, or rather such of the *tessellæ* as would take a polish; and the inequality of materials, some being polished, and others retaining their natural, dull surface, produced a very pleasing, chromatic effect.

Some say the words *musivum* and *musaceum* are derived from the Muses, often introduced in designs for

floors. Cean-Bermudez, in his summary of Roman antiquities in Spain, mentions two pavements at Ulia, near Montemayor, on one of which is a female head with the letters EVTERPE; and on the other are female busts, which he supposes to represent the Muses. The Muses, it will be remembered, are said by Euripides to be the offspring of Harmony, an abstract being, much connected with our British mosaics, as I will shew hereafter. In the meantime let me introduce Harmony in the words of Euripides, addressed to the Athenians, which rendered in English say,—

“Happy of old, ye sons of Erechtheus,  
Children of good gods, happy for ever;  
Nurtured on wisdom the most distinguished,  
In a land sacred, untrodden by enemies,  
Leading refined lives in brightest of atmospheres,  
Where, as report says, the flaxen-haired Harmony  
Planted of old nine Pierian Muses,  
And where, as they say, the fair-flowing Cephissus  
Offered to Venus her pure stream to drink,  
As she breathed o’er the land odoriferous breezes  
While braiding with chaplets of roses her hair,  
Sending her sweet loves attendant on wisdom,  
And helpmates in excellence, science, and taste.”<sup>1</sup>

If we apply these lines to our own land, and compare the river Thames with the Cephissus, the less said the better, perhaps, of the “brightest of atmospheres”.

We may trace Epicurean ideas prevalent when our mosaics were laid down. They would justify the satirist in saying that the hungry Muse had migrated into the antechamber;<sup>2</sup> for the favourite subjects here, in the best rooms, were Orpheus and the Bacchic theogony, and the Hours or Seasons had taken the place of the Muses.<sup>3</sup>

The subjects must be studied chronologically, according to the prevailing ideas of the time when the mosaics were designed, and considerable changes must have taken place in them during the four or five centuries of Roman rule in Britain. We have, in fact, several instances of floors upon three separate levels, and of different degrees of merit, representing the dwellings of successive generations.

<sup>1</sup> Eurip., *Medea*, 820 et seqq.

<sup>2</sup> “Esuriens migraret in atria Clio.” (Juvenal, *Sat.* vii, 6-7.)

<sup>3</sup> The Muses, according to Cicero, were originally only four in number.

In the decline of the Empire, the conservative ideas of the old Roman aristocracy, when heathenism was dying out, dictated the designs, and the eclecticism of the philosophers was striving to modify, in some degree, the mythology of the ancients, and to bring it more into harmony with the experiences of man and the lessons of nature. The spread of Christianity, too, may have had the effect of encouraging, on the part of its adversaries, the pictorial treatment of subjects which held up Epicureanism as the *summum bonum*.<sup>1</sup> The old theogony of Homer and Hesiod, though forming the groundwork of the system, had been gradually giving place to the Orphic or Bacchic. This system may be traced back to Onomacritus, who lived between 520-485 B.C. He seems to have collected the myths and traditions concerning Orpheus, the pupil of Apollo, who taught him to play on the lyre. So apt was the pupil that not only wild beasts, but even trees and rocks were moved by the power of his song; and even the queen of the infernal regions was inclined to give back Eurydice, his wife, whose loss Orpheus ceased not to deplore.

At about the same time that Onomacritus was establishing Orphic societies in Greece, Pythagoras was introducing his philosophy into Italy, and Meton had made that great discovery in astronomical science, the cycle of nineteen years, when the sun and moon revert again to the same position relatively to the earth and to each other,—a cycle which is still used and preserved in our Golden Number in the Calendar; and this cycle of 19 years, or 235 months, or 6,940 days, only differed from the true time of modern astronomers by little more than seven hours in the whole period, shewing considerable accuracy in his observations.<sup>2</sup> He intercalated one month seven times during the cycle; that is, in the 3rd, 5th, 8th, 11th, 13th, 16th, and 19th years.

These three men mark an epoch in the world's history, and from them science and religion took a mould which

<sup>1</sup> The Stoics and Cynics did all they could to bring Epicurean doctrines into ridicule. Hierocles the Stoic, one of the most moderate (quoted by Anlus Gellius, ix, c. 6, 8), sums them up very bitterly.

<sup>2</sup> Clinton (*Fasti Hellenici*, Appendix) shews how each of the successors of Meton, Calippus, B.C. 330, and Hipparchus, B.C. 146, made gradual progress towards correcting the excess of his predecessors.



poets and artists rendered permanent. The Bacchic theology, under the auspices of the son of Semele, youngest daughter of Cadmus of Thebes, encouraged, and was acted upon by the Epicurean ideas of the age, which were introduced not without a revolution which spread from Thebes to the islands of the Ægean, and to Argos, the stronghold of the stately and jealous Juno, where, though first opposed, the system was introduced, and lastly into Athens. The ultimate stage of this mythology may be studied in the *Dionysiaca* of Nonnus, a native of Panopolis (the city of Pan) in Egypt, and his contemporaries Claudian and Ausonius, who lived also at the time of Cyrus of Panopolis, and of Coluthus, Tryphiodorus, John of Gaza, Musæus, Comtos of Smyrna, and the poets of the *Anthologia*.

After the first Dionysus, called Zaggræus, had disappeared in the great war with the Titans and powers of darkness, appeared the second Dionysus or Bacchus, the Theban. Born amidst the thunders of Jupiter, he had to flee from the vengeance of Juno and of Athamas, the husband of Ino, who had suckled the child and brought him up. The young hero, after profiting by the education given him by Rhea, or Cybele, in Phrygia, proceeds to destroy the enemies of civilisation, and to spread it over the earth. The arts of agriculture were promoted, and particularly the cultivation of the vine. He taught the manufacture of wine from grapes all through India, following the line of march of Alexander the Great in that country at a later period. We find him at Tyre, the dwelling-place of his grandfather Cadmus; and passing through Cilicia and Lydia, he brings his influence into Europe, by way of Illyricum and Macedonia, towards Thebes, where he was born. Athens is initiated into his mysteries. At Naxos he dries the tears of the deserted Ariadne, and marries her. Then comes his struggle with Juno at Argos, and the episode of Perseus. He then conquers inhospitable Thrace, and makes rebellious Pallene submit to be cultivated. After again repairing to Cybele in Phrygia, the scene of his youth, where he had learnt to drive great Rhea's chariot, drawn by lions, and performing many great and useful works in that country, he is admitted to Olympus, among the immortal gods.

I will now refer a little more in detail to the Dionysiac myth which illustrates the designs of our mosaics. The marriage of Cadmus and Harmony is celebrated with all honour, Apollo himself being present with his lyre, and the nine Muses also assisting. Polyhymnia directed the dance, and Venus brought presents for the daughters yet to be born, who played important parts in the myth hereafter. The following are the names of the four daughters: 1, the eldest, *Autonoe*, married *Aristæus*, and they had a son, the hunter *Actæon*; 2, *Ino*, who married *Athamas*; 3, *Agave*, who married *Echion*, and they had a son named *Pentheus*; 4, *Semele*, the youngest, who, though a mortal, had a son by Jupiter, called the Theban *Bacchus*. This child was born amidst the thunders of the god, which burnt up the unfortunate mother,<sup>1</sup>

“Ortus in igne  
Diceris, et patriâ raptus ab igne manu.”<sup>1</sup>

An account is given of a very mixed army of Centaurs, Satyrs, Fauns, and others too numerous to mention here; and among the first was *Actæon* the hunter. These were to accompany *Bacchus* on his Indian expedition; and a very curious series of campaigns are described. The splendid reception is recorded of *Bacchus* at the court of Assyria, in the palace of *Staphylus* and his son *Botrys*. Here we have an interesting contest on the lyre between the two great players, *Ægrus*, the father of *Orpheus*, and *Erechtheus*, to compete for prizes. *Erechtheus* sings first; but the wreath of ivy is placed on the brow of *Ægrus*, who receives the first prize, while *Erechtheus* of Athens has to walk sulkily away with only the second prize, which was the long-bearded goat.

We are next introduced to *Lycurgus*, son of *Mars*, and King of Arabia, who is a great enemy to *Bacchus*, and determines his destruction. *Juno* arms him with a double-headed axe, with which he attempts to break the crown of *Bacchus*. The queen of heaven also sends *Iris* down to *Bacchus* to threaten him with war. *Iris* puts on the *talaria* of *Mercury*, and *Bacchus* has to throw himself into the sea to escape, and is well received by *Thetis* and old *Nereus*. Homer describes the axe of *Lycurgus*, and calls

<sup>1</sup> Ovid, *Fasts*, lib. iii, 503-4.

it *Βουπλῆξ*, the "ox-smiter".<sup>1</sup> The punishment of Lycurgus is referred to by Seneca,<sup>2</sup>

"Regna sceurigeri Bacchum sensere Lycurgi."

The campaigns against Deriades, the Indian king, and his ally, Hydaspes, are the occasion of many poetical adventures, and a war of seven years was not sufficient to bring into subjection the Oriental nations. On a portion of the stucco found at Morton, which once adorned the side of a room, is painted the head of a parrot, well designed, and perhaps emblematic of these Eastern campaigns,—

"Psittacus Eois, imitatrix ales ab Indis."<sup>3</sup>

The victories of Bacchus are contrasted with the feeble exploits of Perseus against a woman,—

"Ἀλλ' οὐ τοῖος ἔην Βρομίου μόθος.

The poet makes little of what Perseus accomplished by killing one woman,—

Οὐκ ἄγαμαι Περσῆα, μίαν κτείναντα γυναῖκα.

The Bassarides and Mœnades women on the side of Bacchus take a prominent part in the fight. The former derived their name from the *bassaræ*, or dresses of fox-skins, worn by the Thracian Bacchanals.

An interesting episode is that of the Indian Morrheus and the Bassarid Chalcomedia. The former has left his black wife, and makes several Bassarides prisoners, tying their hands behind their backs, and leaving them to his father-in-law Deriades. He sees the beautiful Chalcomedia wearing a transparent cloak and a brilliant tunic,—

Φάρεα λεπτὰ φέρουσα καὶ ἀστράπτοντα χιτῶνα.<sup>4</sup>

He pursues her ; she flies before the winds, exposing her beautiful neck and shoulders, which rival the pallid moon,

αὐχένα γυμνῶσαντες εριδμαίνοντα Σελήνη.

She escapes, and hides herself among the troops of Bassarid women, who then disperse and fly towards Eurys, Notus, and Boreas. The Mœnads at last think it prudent

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad*, vi, 135.

<sup>3</sup> Ovid.

<sup>2</sup> *Ædip.*, Act ii.

<sup>4</sup> *Dionys.*, v. 266.

to exchange their *thyrsi* of Bacchus for the spindles of Minerva. After a fight between Deriades and the women, Morrheus again chases Chalcomedia, and is about to seize her when a serpent coiled about the nymph's waist seizes the pursuer by the throat. He had been persuaded by the woman's stratagem to take off his buckler, and put down his arms, so that he was helpless against the attack of the angry reptile. Deriades then meditates a naval attack upon Bacchus; but in the meantime funeral rites to the dead are performed, games are described, and Erechtheus this time gains the first prize. At length the Hours bring in the seventh year of the war.

The punishment of Cadmus of Thebes and his family is the appropriate epilogue to the foregoing events. The tragedy of Agave is told by Nonnus much as it is by Euripides in the *Bacchæ*; and Pentheus is killed by the hand of his mother, who mistook him for a wild beast: indeed, his head is much like that of a lion. Agave holds up the bleeding head. "Hang it up", she says, "under the portico of Cadmus, that it may be seen how Jupiter has doomed the Cadmean family to destruction." Autonoe consoles her sister Agave, and Bacchus consoles them both, and sends off Cadmus and Harmony into Illyria to wander there till they are petrified into serpents. Bacchus, after a variety of other incidents, closes the drama with his Pans and Satyrs in immortal Athens, the never silent ἀσυνήτοιςιν Ἀθήναις.

The poems thus explain the myths as well as tone of thought pervading the mosaics; and as the pavement at Morton, near Brading, Isle of Wight, is about the fullest in subjects of any, I will say a few words about its interpretation, and there will then be little left to explain as to the pictures on mosaics elsewhere. I will number the rooms according to the plan given in the Guide to the Roman Villa by J. E. Price, F.S.A., and F. G. Hilton Price, F.G.S. (1881).

Room No. 3 has a female head in the centre, which I should be inclined to attribute to Harmonia, and around it are three pictures which seem to represent the three seasons of the day; that is, the early morn, or cock-crow, when the *lanistæ*, or keepers of the gladiators, were in the habit of bringing out their men to fight with wild beasts:

“In matutinâ nuper spectatus arenâ.”<sup>1</sup>

Seneca<sup>2</sup> says, “Mane leonibus et ursis, homines meridie spectatoribus suis objiciebantur.” The panthers are represented with wings, which express the figurative, ideal animal sacred to Bacchus. The *lanista* is dressed in the tunic (probably woollen) which he usually wore, as on the pavement at Bignor, and on the bas-reliefs from Cardinal Maximini’s palace at Rome, figured in the *Vetusta Monumenta*, vol. i, p. 65. The man with head, wattles, and spurs of a cock is emblematic of the early part of the Roman day.

The next scene is midday, when men fought with men for the recreation of the Roman world. The principal work of the day was then over, and after a light meal and short repose the Roman rose up refreshed for the afternoon amusements. Here we see the *secutor* with helmet and sword, the *retiarius* with net and trident. The latter endeavours to entangle his adversary in his net, and then attack him with the trident. The *secutor* has to avoid this, and then follow up his antagonist sword in hand. The origin, perhaps, of this display of force is the personification of the land and sea-combat.

In the third scene we probably behold the evening, or time of the principal meal of the Romans; the time being indicated by the fox stealing into the vineyard to eat the grapes at nightfall. The division of the Roman day was similar to that of the Greek; but the space of forty-eight hours was reckoned differently by different nations (Macrobius). The Athenians reckoned from sunset to sunset; the Babylonians from sunrise to sunrise; but the Roman day extended from midnight to midnight, and the first part was called *mediæ noctis inclinatio*; the next, *gallicinium*, or cock-crow; the third, *conticum*, or the silent, when not only cocks cease to crow, but men also take their rest; the last is the *diluculum*, when day begins to decline.<sup>3</sup>

In the centre of the long gallery is Orpheus with Phrygian cap, *cothurni* on feet, the attributes of divinity, the

<sup>1</sup> Martial, x, 25; and again in same author, xiii, 95. See also Suetonius in *Claudio*, c. 34.

<sup>2</sup> *Epist.*, lib. i, 7.

<sup>3</sup> *Saturnalia*, lib. i, cap. iii.



lyre on left knee, and the flowing robe. The picture is well drawn, both as to the principal figure as well as the monkey, and what remains of the animals. This favourite subject may be compared with the many other examples at Woodchester, Withington, and elsewhere.

The northern room, numbered 12, extends 39 ft. 6 ins. from west to east, and is divided into four principal compartments,—a square towards the west, then an oblong panel, another square, and another oblong panel eastward. The square towards the west is mutilated, the centre is gone, and we have no means of divining the subject. The corners represent the seasons of the year. The angry Juno seems to stand for the spring, and Ceres for the summer. Winter is placed to the north of the latter, and autumn has been destroyed. The only one remaining of the four pictures which surrounded the centre in this western compartment, is that attributed to Perseus and Andromeda, the former holding up Medusa's head; but my interpretation would be more appropriate to the unity of the design, with reference to the poems, by considering the two figures to be females,—the one, Agave holding up the head of Pentheus, whose mangled remains appear at foot; and the other, Autonoe or her sister Ino. This is the catastrophe to the house and fortunes of Cadmus. Besides the three daughters just referred to, the fourth, Semele, the mother of Bacchus, was burnt up by the lightnings of Jupiter, represented possibly by the labyrinth pattern involving the *suastika* (the emblem of fire), which is clearly depicted on the western margin of the pavement between the pictures and the western wall. Autonoe, the eldest daughter, escaped the catastrophe; but it fell upon her son Actæon, whose fate has been referred to, and is depicted on a pavement at Cirencester. The intrusion of the hunter Actæon upon Diana and her attendants when bathing, was speedily chastised by the goddess, who became purple with rage;<sup>1</sup> and she was not satisfied till, after changing him into a stag, he had been torn to pieces by his own dogs.<sup>2</sup>

Then follows the oblong panel with the astronomer seated; and who this may be it is difficult to conjecture. It might be one of the wise men of the age of Onomacri-

<sup>1</sup> Ovid, *Met.*, lib. iii, v. 183.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, v. 250.

tus, Pythagoras or Meton. The figure stands by itself in a separate panel, and with the instruments around him which called forth the jealousy of the gods, according to Claudian. This figure has also been attributed to Hipparchus (B.C. 146) the astronomer, who wrote a commentary on Aratus, and made a list of the fixed stars.

The next square panel is a continuation of the story of the enemies of Bacchus, and I should be inclined to consider the central head as that of Pentheus, though usually ascribed to Medusa. The first picture in this square represents the man with the double-headed axe, who can be no other than Lycurgus. The axe was given to him by revengeful Juno, with which to crack the Osiris skull of Bacchus between the horns;<sup>1</sup> but Bacchus was too much for him, as Ovid says, in addressing the god,

“Pentheas, tu, venerande, bipenniferumque Lycurgum  
Sacrilegos mactas.”<sup>2</sup>

The robed figure well represents Juno. The myth of Ceres and Triptolemus shews how she rewarded those who had received her hospitably, and taught the young farmer to sow corn and till the ground; but jealous of Bacchus for his gifts to man, she is here placed among his enemies. This myth is sung by Erichtheus in honour of Athens; and the other melody before referred to was that sung by Æagrus, the father of Orpheus, about Staphylus, who was the son of Bacchus and Ariadne, and who received the first prize. This young man, from the island of Naxos probably, is dressed in the costume of that island, and with the Pandean pipe in hand is educating a nymph for her part of a Bacchante. She plays the tambourine, and her attitude is not inelegant.

“Motus doceri gaudet Ionicos  
Matura virgo”,

was said by Horace of his young countrywomen, as it may be told of ours on this mosaic. This is the third picture of the eastern square.

The fourth has delineated upon it a nymph pursued, and with her drapery torn from her back. This seems to

<sup>1</sup> Propertius (111-17) speaks of his horns,—

“Quod superest vitæ per te et tua cornua vivam Bacche.”

<sup>2</sup> *Met.*, iv, 22-3.

answer very well the description of the Bassarid Chalcomedia pursued by the Indian Morrheus. As a pair of thin legs is all that remains of the pursuer, these legs answer better to the Indian prince than they would to Apollo, on the supposition that the scene represented Apollo and Daphne; and here is another of the episodes in the expedition of Bacchus to India. The four female heads having on them the wings of Mercury may represent Iris sent down by Juno to proclaim war on Bacchus, which they do by the trumpets (*tubæ*) they are blowing; but it is more likely they personify the four winds with wings expressive of speed.

In the easternmost panel the scene is changed to the realms of Neptune. Ino threw herself into the sea, and was welcomed by Thetis; but was afterwards changed into a rock, under the name of Leucothea. Bacchus, to avoid Lycurgus and the stroke of his axe, had also to leap into the sea, and was hospitably received by the queen of the deep, to whom he presented the golden vase which had been given to him by Venus. The two figures with human bodies and tails of fishes are possibly intended for old Nereus and Neptune, each carrying his wife on his back; the former Thetis, the latter Amphitrite.

If I have rightly explained the figures, the unity of the whole mosaic is established; and a beautiful illustration it is of the Dionysiac myth; the early Bacchus or Orpheus; Harmony, and the seasons of the day and year regulated and explained by the astronomer on his instruments; then the enemies of Bacchus, and his final triumph both by sea and land. The fearful catastrophe to the house and fortunes of Cadmus is held up as a warning to those who oppose the god; while Staphylus (the vine) perpetuates the race of the wine-god, and delights the agricultural population with the sounds of his Pandean pipes.

It will be seen that room No. 12, in its entirety, is divided into four parts, corresponding with the four elements of nature,—*fire* in the semicircular division at the west end; then *earth*, on which are enacted the fables here pictured; *air* in the astronomical compartment; and *water* at the western end.

By reviewing the subjects depicted upon the various mosaics which are classified in list No. 2 at the end of this

paper, it will be seen which are those most often repeated. Thus Orpheus with his lyre, taming the animals, is at Woodchester, Withington, Barton Farm, Winterton (near Horkstow), Littlecote, Chedworth, Cirencester, and Morton, Isle of Wight.

Bacchus and panther at Cirencester, Pitney, Thruxton, Stunsfield, Bignor, and London;<sup>1</sup> and without his panther at Frampton. His *cantharus* at Bignor, Cotterstock, Littlecote, Crondall (near Farnham), Lee (near Shrewsbury), Itchen Abbas, Bramdean, Stunsfield, Carisbrook, London, and Morton, Isle of Wight.

Harmonia, once at the latter place.

The seasons of the year at Littlecote, Thruxton, and Morton, Isle of Wight; and at the latter place, the seasons of the day also.

The realms of Neptune with his Naiads, Nereids, Tritons, dolphins, and fishes, at Withington, Cirencester, Bramdean, Bignor, Frampton, Horkstow, Woodchester, and Littlecote.

The enemies of Bacchus, as Lycurgus with his axe; Pentheus, whose head is held up by Agave, the mother, who killed him; and the head itself in another compartment, are all at Morton, Isle of Wight; where also the angry Juno is depicted in her interview with Lycurgus; and she appears also through her emblem, the peacock, at Wellow (near Bath), London, and Morton Farm, where also are depicted her winged messengers, or Iris, sent to proclaim war against Bacchus, unless their winged heads are meant for the four winds.

Mercury is shewn five times at Frampton, and once at Bramdean.

The episode of the black king Morrheus, and the Basarid Chalcomedia, seems portrayed at Morton; and a grandson of Cadmus, Actæon, son of his daughter Antiope, fills up the tragic catastrophe which overwhelmed the family of Cadmus, and is seen at Cirencester.

The goddess Isis is only once drawn at Pitney, even if the figure should really be that divinity, who holds what looks like a *sistrum*, but may be something else. Sir

<sup>1</sup> "Armenias tigres, et fulvas ille lecnas  
Vicit et indomitis mollia corda dedit."

Tibullus, lib. iii, Eleg. vi.



R. C. Hoare, Bart., calls it a book, and thinks she may be the keeper of accounts to a smelting establishment, to which he attributes the other figures, said by him to be scattering coin from a cylindrical vessel; but which it seems to me is more likely corn, and the figures to be connected with the various myths of Bacchus, as at Morton. Thus we may conjecture the horned figure, No. 1, to be Bacchus, from his attributes; No. 2, Ceres; No. 3, Triptolemus; No. 4, female figure difficult to appropriate to any particular goddess; No. 5, Staphylus with Phrygian cap; and No. 6, nymph whom he is teaching to dance; No. 7, unknown figure; No. 8, perhaps Isis with *sistrum*. The animals at the corners, with cornucopiæ, may perhaps represent the four seasons.

Cupid is represented at Bignor, and at Lincoln and Leicester, and riding on a dolphin at Cirencester.

"Good Luck" is honoured at Woodchester. "*Bonum eventum bene colite*"; and as this divinity was worshipped at Rome, much more should it be so in Britain, where the climate renders agricultural results so uncertain.

Reference is made to agriculture in the young man fighting the Hydra, by which was understood the swampy stream with many heads, which had to be drained or its channels turned. This is at Pitney; and at Woodchester is seen foliage issuing from the head of Pan, who is the personification of Nature, both of woods and plain country. A curious statue of him is figured in the *Monumenta Vetusta*, vol. ii, p. 21, § 22.

The occupations and amusements of men are shewn in hunting scenes, as the tree and animal at Aldborough; three dogs at Cirencester; animals at Pitney; figure in cloak, standing by a stag, at Leicester; an equestrian figure fighting a lion, at Frampton and Withington.

There are gladiatorial combats and *lanistæ* at Bignor and at Morton. The gladiators at Bignor are represented with wings, as well as the *lanistæ*. It is possible this may mean they are the *umbre*, or ghosts, of an institution passed or passing away.

The old gods (*majorum gentium*) are not so often drawn. Jupiter and Ganymede are seen only at Bignor; Jupiter and Mars at Frampton; Mars, Venus, and Diana at Bramdean; Apollo and his lyre at Littlecote and Bignor, unless the figure is meant for Orpheus.



At Brandeau also we have Æsculapius and Hercules and Antæus, who thus only appear once, though it is quite possible that this figure with the lion-skin may be Bacchus fighting the giant Rhætus.<sup>1</sup>

The star is introduced into many of the pavements, astrology and astronomy being kindred sciences among the ancients. Many of the personages referred to in this paper were transferred as stars to the skies. The Greeks called a human being a "light"; and when it went out here, it shone forth in the sky above :

"Micat inter omnes  
Julium sidus, velut inter ignes  
Luna minores."

The borders of the mosaics are not without their significance. The single, the braided, and double braided guilloches are beautiful designs, with their blended colours which shew off to advantage the pictures of which they form the frames. The labyrinth-border is a combination of those emblems of fire which were used as such by the most primitive nations. The element of water is represented by the spiral pattern well known to students of Greek art, and examples of which, as well as of the double-headed axe of Lycurgus, are seen on the pavement found on the site of the old India House, London.<sup>2</sup> The earth is represented by lilies and foliage in flowing designs, and birds personify the air which they inhabit.

The Rev. S. M. Mayhew, who first brought a portion of the Morton pavement to the notice of the British Archæological Association in the spring of 1880, pointed out at the time that the subjects then discovered were purely Bacchic. This is confirmed by the discoveries which followed.

The best introduction to Romano-British pavements is a careful study of the magnificent examples of Roman pavements in the British Museum, where they are placed in the Græco-Roman basement with annex.<sup>3</sup> They are chiefly from the discoveries at Carthage, 1856-8, and from Halicarnassus in 1856. For an account of the former, see *Archæologia*, xxxviii, pp. 202-30, by Augustus W. Franks,

<sup>1</sup> See Horace, Ode 19, lib. ii, 20-4.      <sup>2</sup> Now in the British Museum.

<sup>3</sup> For a detailed notice of all of them, see *Builder*, 1882.

F.S.A., and *Carthage and its Remains*, by the excavator, Mr. N. Davis; and for the latter, Newton, *History of Discoveries at Halicarnassus*, vol. ii. There are also in the Roman Gallery on the ground floor, specimens of English mosaics found at Withington, Woodchester, and in Threadneedle Street, in the Bank of England, and at Abbott's Ann, Hampshire.

## LIST OF FORTY FIGURED MOSAICS.

TABLE I.

<i>Gloucestershire :</i>	<i>Lincolnshire :</i>
1. Woodchester	22. Winterton, near Horkstow
2. Withington	23. Lincoln
3. Church Piece	<i>Yorkshire :</i>
4. Combe End	24. Aldborough
5. Hockby Field	<i>Essex :</i>
6. Chedworth	25. Stanway
7. Barton Farm	26. Colchester
8. Cirencester	<i>Kent :</i>
<i>Somersetshire :</i>	27. The Mount, near Maidstone
9. Pitney	28. Canterbury
<i>Wiltshire :</i>	<i>Middlesex :</i>
10. West Dean	29. London, Bucklersbury, in the
11. Littlecote	Guildhall Museum
12. Bromham	30. Site of old East India House, in
<i>Shropshire :</i>	the British Museum
13. Wroxeter	<i>Sussex :</i>
14. Lee, near Shrewsbury	31. Bignor
<i>Oxfordshire :</i>	<i>Dorsetshire :</i>
15. Stunsfield	32. Frampton
<i>Leicestershire :</i>	33. Tarrant-Hinton
16. Leicester	<i>Hants :</i>
<i>Nottinghamshire :</i>	34. Itchen Abbas
17. Mansfield-Woodhouse	35. Thruxton
<i>Northamptonshire :</i>	36. Crondall
18. Colterstock	37. Bramdean
19. Harpole	38. Gurnard's Bay, Isle of Wight
20. Castor	39. Carisbrook, ditto
21. Nether-Heyford	40. Morton Farm, nr. Brading, ditto

TABLE II.—SUBJECTS OF THE MOSAICS.

*The Numbers refer to List No. I.*

Orpheus and animals	.	.	Woodchester	.	1
" "	.	.	Withington	.	2
" "	.	.	Barton Farm	.	7
" "	.	.	Horkstow, near Winterton	.	22
" "	.	.	Littlecote, Wilts	.	11
" "	.	.	Morton, Isle of Wight	.	40
Bacchus	.	.	Cirencester	.	8
"	.	.	Pitney	.	9
Bacchus and panther	.	.	Thruxton	.	35
" "	.	.	Stunsfield	.	15

Bacchus, or perhaps Ariadne	.	.	Bignor	.	31
Bacchus and panther	.	.	London	.	30
Bacchus and panther or leopard	.	.	Frampton	.	32
Cantharus, or double-handled cup	.	.	Bignor	.	31
"	"	"	Colterstock	.	18
"	"	"	Littlecote	.	11
"	"	"	Crondall	.	36
"	"	"	Lee, near Shrewsbury	.	14
"	"	"	Itchen Abbas	.	34
"	"	"	Bramdean	.	37
"	"	"	Stunsfield	.	15
Harmonia	.	.	Morton, Isle of Wight	.	40
Four Seasons	.	.	Chedworth	.	6
"	.	.	Morton, Isle of Wight	.	40
"	.	.	Cirencester	.	8
"	.	.	Bignor	.	31
"	.	.	Thrupton	.	35
Same riding on animals	.	.	Littlecote, Wilts	.	11
Seasons of the day	.	.	Morton, Isle of Wight	.	40
Neptune	.	.	Withington	.	2
"	.	.	Cirencester	.	8
"	.	.	Bramdean	.	37
"	.	.	Bignor	.	31
"	.	.	Frampton	.	32
"	.	.	Pitney	.	9
Nereus	.	.	Morton, Isle of Wight	.	40
Naiads, Nereids, Tritons, dolphins, and fish	.	.	Woodchester	.	1
"	"	"	Bromham	.	12
"	"	"	Cirencester	.	8
"	"	"	Horkstow, near Winterton	.	22
"	"	"	Frampton	.	32
"	"	"	Bramdean	.	37
"	"	"	Littlecote	.	11
"	"	"	Woodchester	.	1
"	"	"	Withington	.	2
Lycurgus and Juno	.	.	Morton, Isle of Wight	.	40
Ino, and Agave with head of Pentheus	.	.	"	"	40
Head of Pentheus	.	.	"	"	40
Gorgon's Head	.	.	Cirencester	.	8
"	"	"	Bignor	.	31
"	"	"	Bramdean	.	37
Isis	.	.	Pitney	.	9
Cupid	.	.	Lincoln	.	23
"	.	.	Pitney	.	9
"	.	.	Bignor	.	31
"	.	.	Leicester	.	16
Cupid on a dolphin	.	.	Cirencester	.	8
Staphylus and nymph	.	.	Morton	.	40
"	"	"	Pitney	.	9
Morrheus and Chalcidæa	.	.	Morton	.	40
Ceres and Triptolemus	.	.	"	.	40
"	"	"	Pitney	.	9
Iris four times, or the four winds	.	.	Morton	.	40
Peacock	.	.	Wellow, near Bath	.	
"	.	.	Morton, Isle of Wight	.	40
"	.	.	London and elsewhere	.	
Dancing figures	.	.	Chedworth	.	6
Foliage proceeding out of the mouth of Pan	.	.	Woodchester	.	1
Bonus Eventus	.	.	"	.	1

Actæon . . . . .	Cirencester . . . . .	8
Apollo and lyre, if this is not Orpheus . . . . .	Littlecote, Wilts . . . . .	11
" " " " " " . . . . .	Bignor . . . . .	31
Gladiators with <i>lanistæ</i> . . . . .	" . . . . .	31
" " " " " " . . . . .	Morton . . . . .	40
Chariot-races . . . . .	Horkstow, near Winterton . . . . .	22
Young man striking at Hydra . . . . .	Pitney . . . . .	9
Figure with cloak standing by a stag . . . . .	Leicester . . . . .	16
Equestrian figure fighting a lion . . . . .	Frampton . . . . .	32
" " " " " " . . . . .	Withington . . . . .	2
Tree and animal . . . . .	Aldborough . . . . .	24
Three dogs . . . . .	Cirencester . . . . .	8
Animals . . . . .	Pitney . . . . .	9
Venus and glass . . . . .	Bramdean . . . . .	37
Diana . . . . .	" . . . . .	37
Jupiter and Ganymede . . . . .	Bignor . . . . .	31
Jupiter . . . . .	Frampton . . . . .	32
" " " " " " . . . . .	Bramdean . . . . .	37
Star . . . . .	Woodchester . . . . .	1
" " " " " " . . . . .	Lincoln . . . . .	23
" " " " " " . . . . .	Aldborough . . . . .	24
" " " " " " . . . . .	Bignor . . . . .	31
Undescribed figures . . . . .	Pitney . . . . .	9
" " " " " " . . . . .	Frampton . . . . .	32

*Lettered Inscriptions.*

BONYM EVENTVM								
BHNU C.....	.	.	.	.	.	Woodchester	.	1
εAH								
€WN	.	.	.	.	.	Aldberough	.	24
NEPTVNI VERTEX REGMEN								
SORTITI MOBILE VENTIS								
SCVLTVM CVI CERVLEA EST								
DELFINIS CINCTA DVOBVS						Frampton	.	32
In another part :								
.....NVS PERFICIS VLLVM								
.....GNARE CVPIDO								
QVINTVS NATALIVS NATALINVS ET BODENI								
						Thruyton	.	35

## THE ORIGINAL CAMDEN ROLL OF ARMS.

BY JAMES GREENSTREET, ESQ.

(Read April 17, 1882.)

WHEN the Camden Roll was printed, in 1879, from the best of the then known copies,<sup>1</sup> no one (so far as I am aware) had any idea that the original still existed. Its recent discovery among the Cottonian Rolls in the British Museum, by W. de Gray Birch, Esq., F.S.A., Hon. Secretary of this Association, at whose request I have prepared the present paper, is a matter of great importance, the document being the earliest English example of a collection of coat-armour in the strict sense of the term "*Roll of Arms*", Matthew Paris' collections taking the form of a book.

The copy from which I printed in the pages of *The Genealogist*, now turns out to be the work of Richard Kimbey, apparently an assistant to the heralds of the day; and, in addition to the version in trick in Vincent's *Collections*, which I mentioned in a final note, it has since transpired that at least one more copy exists at the College of Arms. These copies are useful, inasmuch as they were made when the designs and colouring on the face of the Roll were, doubtless, in a very different condition from what they are now.

In two out of these three known copies it is expressly stated that the collection consisted of two hundred and fifty-three coats. It was difficult, therefore, to account for Vincent's version comprising, as it does, more than that number; and I made a note to that effect when his version first came under my observation, at a time prior to Mr. Birch's discovery. These discrepancies are easily explained by the Roll itself. Heraldic students of those times usually copied one from the other; and Kimbey, or some other who first set down the contents of the Roll,

<sup>1</sup> For knowledge of, and access to, the copies in the College of Arms, I have to express my obligation to my friend Mr. Alfred Scott Gatty, *Rouge Dragon*.



evidently took cognizance only of such coats as had names attached, and went by the French blazon on the back; assuming that it corresponded with the face of the document, whereas comparison shews differences. As a matter of fact there are on the face of the original Roll two hundred and seventy coats (forty-five rows of six shields each); but on the back the French blazon comprises one hundred and eighty-five coats only, answering to arms in the first portion of the collection. The document consists of three consecutive membranes of vellum; in length, 5 feet 3 inches; and width,  $6\frac{1}{4}$  inches.

The date of the writing upon the back (the series of entries of blazon being evidently unfinished), though of about the same time as that on the face, may be somewhat later. One reason for thinking so is, that where the name of the King of Scotland, with the description of his arms, should be set down, a blank space is left. This indicates the date of the explanatory French blazon to be a period subsequent to the assertion of Edward's claim to suzerainty over Scotland, namely close upon A.D. 1286.

Camden had this Roll in his possession in or about the year 1605, as appears from Kimbey's copy, which he describes as "The copy of an ould Role wherein these coates following were lymmed of the one syde, and in blason on the other syde, as here is sett downe; whiche Role remains in the custody of Mr. Wm. Camden, Clarencieux Kinge at Armes. Made by his coniecture in the tyme of King H. 3 or E. 1." The copy in Vincent's *Collections* has a title worded somewhat differently, as follows: "Arma que hic describuntur excerpta fuerunt ex Rotulo de pergameno antiquissimo, in quo suis coloribus depingebantur. The blazon is also in French, wrytten on the backsyde of the same Roll; w<sup>ch</sup> Roll is in the handes of Mr. Wm. Camden, Clarentius K. of Armes, & is supposed by him to be made in K. H. 3."

Here, it will be observed, Camden is said to have restricted the compilation to the reign of Henry III. Probably he was disposed to consider the Roll earlier in date than it really is. On this point I drew attention, in *The Genealogist*, to two circumstances which tend to shew that any assignment of date must be confined to about seven years, 1278-85:

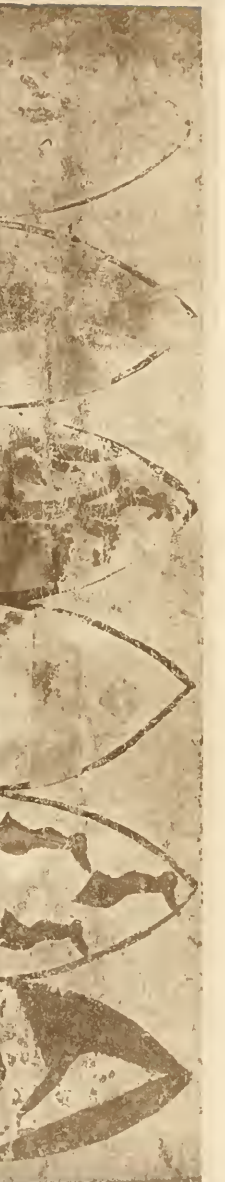
Robert de Walsingham. Will. de Walsingham. Will. de Walsingham. Will. de Walsingham.



Will. de Walsingham. Will. de Walsingham. Will. de Walsingham. Will. de Walsingham.



John de Walsingham. Will. de Walsingham. Will. de Walsingham. Will. de Walsingham.





1. Patrick de Chaworth, whose name and arms figure in the Roll, succeeded his brother Pain in the barony in 1278, the arms of the latter not being given even retrospectively, as those of some other barons apparently are, in cases where the successor's name has not been substituted, or where issue has failed.

2. The Roll includes both Roger Clifford, the father, and his son of the same Christian name. This could hardly have occurred after 1285, when the father died; for his son had predeceased him, and *Robert* was the name of the son's child, the heir to the barony, aged only eleven.

The arms of Geoffrey de Langley, recorded in this Roll, doubtless commemorate the person bearing that name, who was of much distinction in those times. When the European scare occasioned by the rapid and seemingly overwhelming immigration of the Tartar tribes into Central Asia had reached this country, Langley was selected by Edward to visit the Khan. Considerable portions of the daily accounts of money disbursed by him during the embassy yet exist in the Public Record Office.<sup>1</sup> In the accounts relating to the return journey mention is made of things brought home that were probably presents from the Khan: such as a silver vase, a lion (styled, as was usual at that date, "the leopard"), and an elephant. Another Roll of Arms of the same period ("The Segar") gives a representation of the armorial bearings then ascribed to the Tarter ruler.

Kimbey erred in judgment when he rendered "Bealme" in his copy "Bedlme", explaining by a note that it meant Bethlehem.

In order that an accurate estimate of the contents of the Roll, as it at present exists, may be arrived at, I have thought best to print all that can now be discerned of the shields on the face, side by side with the Norman French blazon on the back. The entries in each column have been numbered separately throughout, to facilitate future reference both to the Roll and to this edition. Where no description of the arms is set down in the first column, it will be understood that the design on the shield is now totally effaced.

<sup>1</sup> Exchequer, Treasury of Receipt, Miscellanea, No.  $\frac{4}{2}$ .

## BRITISH MUSEUM, COTTONIAN ROLL, xv, 8.

Row.	Shield.	Face.	Dorse.
(1.)	1	1. Le Rey de Ier'l'm (Ierusalem)	(1.) .....rlm porte le escu de argent, a une croiz de or, crusele de or
(2.)	2.	Emperur de Rome	(2.) ..... porte l'escu d'or, [a un e]gle de deus testes de sable
(3.)	3.	Rey de Espayne. Quarterly in 1 and 4, traces of lion rampant	(3.) ..... [p]orte argent et gules ..... rampans en l'argent, et deus toreles (?).... en le goules
(4.)	4.	Emperur de Alam' (Alamaine)	(4.) ..... a un egle .....
(5.)	5.	Rey de France	(5.) ..... l'escu de azur [florette] de [or]
(6.)	6.	Rey de Aragon	(6.) ... de ..... .. l'escu pale d'or et de goules
(7.)	2	1. Rey de Engleterre	(7.) Le Rey de Engleterre, l'escu de goules, od treis leopars d'or
(8.)		2. Rey de Cezile	(8.) Le Rey de Cezile, l'escu de azur, florette d'or, a un label de gules [A space left blank]
(9.)		3. Rey de Escoce	(9.) Le Rey de Nauare, l'escu parte de azur et de goules, od demy charboele d'or, a une bende d'argent, od deus cotices d'or
(10.)		4. Rey de Nauarre	(10.) Le Rey de Cypre, l'escu de azur, od treis targes d'or
(11.)		5. Rey de Cypres	(11.) Le Rey de Bealme, l'escu de azur, od treis barges d'argent
(12.)		6. Rey de Bealm[e]	(12.) Le Rey de Griffonie, l'escu de azur, od un griffun d'or
(13.)	3	1. Rey de Griffonie	(13.) Le Rey de Norway, l'escu de goules, a un leun rampant de or, od une hache d'argent
(14.)		2. Rey de Norweye	(14.) Le Rey de Ermenie, l'escu de ermine a une croiz de goules, od une corone d'or
(15.)		3. Reyde Ermyne. Ermine, a cross passant gules	(15.) Le Rey de Denemarche, l'escu de goules, od treis haches d'or
(16.)		4. Rey de Denemarch	(16.) Seynt Edward le Rey, l'escu de azur, od une croiz d'or, a quatre merloz d'or
(17.)		5. Seynt Edeward	(17.) Le Rey de Man, l'escu de gules, a treis iambes armez
(18.)		6. Reyde Man. Gules, three mailed legs embowed, and conjoined at the thighs, argent	
(19.)	4	1. Duc de Braban	(18.) Duc de Breban, l'escu de sable, a un leun d'or
(20.)		2. Duc de Loreyne	(19.) Duc de Loreyne, l'escu d'or, od une bende de gules, a treis egles d'argent
(21.)		3. Duc de Venise	(20.) Duc de Uenise, l'escu de gules, od un chastel d'argent
(22.)		4. Duc de Brusewic	(21.) Duc de Brusewic, l'escu d'or, od deus leuns passans de gules



Row.	Shield.	Face.	Dorse.
(23.)	4	5. Duc de Lamburg	(22.) Duc de Lamburg, l'escu d'argent, a un leun rampant de goules od la couwe furche
(24.)		6. Duc de Beyuere	(23.) Duc de Beyuere, l'escu burelee de azur et de argent, a une bende de goules
(25.)	5	1. Cunte de Nicole. Quarterly or and gules, a bend sable. Traces of the label	(24.) Cunte de Nichole, l'escu esquartere d'or et de gules, od une bende de sable, a un label d'argent
(26.)		2. Sire Aunfour	(25.) Sire Aunfour porte les armes le rey de Engleterre a un label de azur
(27.)		3. Cunte de Gloucestre	(26.) Cunte de Glocestre, l'escu d'or, od treis cheueruns de gules
(28.)		4. Prince de Gales. Quarterly or and gules. The charges have disappeared	(27.) Prince de Gales, l'escu esquartere d'or et de gules, a quatre lepars del un en l'autre
(29.)		5. Cunte de Hereford	(28.) Le Cunte de Hereford, l'escu de azur, od sis leuncels d'or, a une bende d'argent, od deus cotices d'or
(30.)		6. Cunte de Oxenefo[rd]. Quarterly gules and or (the mullet has disappeared)	(29.) Cunte de Oxeneford, l'escu esquartere d'or et de gules, a une molette d'or
(31.)	6	1. Cunte de Bloys. Gules, three pales (traces of vair), and a chief ...	(30.) Cunte de Blois, l'escu pale de vair et de gules, od le chef d'or
(32.)		2. Cunte de Puntif. Bendy ... and or, withiu a bordure gules	(31.) Cunte de Puntif, l'escu bende d'or et de azur, od la bordure de gules
(33.)		3. Cunte de Seynt Pol. Gules, three pales (traces of vair), a chief ..., and label of five pendants ...	(32.) Cunte de Seynt Pol, l'escu pale de vair et de gules, od le chef de or, a un label de azur
(34.)		4. Cunte de Cornwaile. Argent, a lion rampant gules, within a bordure sable charged eleven roundles ...	(33.) Cunte de Cornwaile, l'escu d'argent, od la bordure de sable besante d'or, a un leun rampant de goules, corone d'or
(35.)		5. Cunte de Flaundres	(34.) Cunte de Flandres, l'escu d'or, a un leun rampant de sable
(36.)		6. Cunte de Richemund. Bordure gules, and over all a canton ermine, remaining	(35.) Cunte de Richemund, l'escu escheckere d'or et de azur, od le quarter d'ermine, od la bordure de gules
(37.)	7	1. Cunte de Wareyne	(36.) Cunte de Wareyne, l'escu escheckere d'or et de azur
(38.)		2. Will' de Sey. Quarterly ... and ...	(37.) Munsire Will' de Sey, l'escu esquartere d'or et de gules
(39.)		3. Thom' de Clare. Traces of the chevrons and a label of five pendants	(38.) Munsire Thom' de Clare, l'escu d'or, od treis cheueruns de gules, a un label de azur
(40.)		4. Will' de Vescy. Traces of a cross passant sable	(39.) Munsire Johan de Vescy, l'escu d'or, od une croiz de sable

Row.	Shield.	Face.	Dorse.
(41.)	7	5. Otes de Cransun. Paly of six azure and ..., with traces of the bend	(40.) Munsire Otes de Cransun, l'escu pale de azur et de argent, od une bende de gules, a les escalops d'or
(42.)		6. Johan de Vescy. Traces of a cross passant sable	(41.) Munsire Will' de Vescy, l'escu d'or, od une croiz de sable, a un label de gules
(43.)	8	1. Gerard del Ildle	(42.) Munsire Gerard de Ildle, l'escu de gules, od un leopard de argent, corone d'or
(44.)		2. Sire de Botresham. Traces of the three lozenges, and on a chief gules three pales ...	(43.) Sire de Botresham, l'escu d'or, od treis losenges percee de azur, od le chef pale de argent et de gules
(45.)		3. Sire de Waudripun	(44.) Sire de Waudripun, l'escu d'or, a deus leuns rampans de gules dos a dos
(46.)		4. Sire de Hundescote. Ermine, a bordure gules	(45.) Sire de Hundescote, l'escu de ermine, od la bordure de gules
(47.)		5. Sire de Viane	(46.) Sire de Viane, l'escu de or, a un leun rampant de gules, biletteé de gules
(48.)		6. [No name.] Traces of three (?) mullets of six points gules	
(49.)	9	1. Cunte de Gelre	(47.) Cunte de Gelre, l'escu de azur, a un leun rampant d'or, bilettee d'or
(50.)		2. Aunsel de Guyse. Gules; traces of three pales vair and the canton	(48.) Munsire Aunsel de Guyse, l'escu pale de vair et de goules, od le quarter d'or
(51.)		3. Sire de Louayne	(49.) Sire de Louayne, l'escu de sable, a un leun rampant de argent, corone d'or
(52.)		4. Will' Paynferer. Argent, three fleurs-de-lis sable	(50.) Munsire Will' Peynferer, l'escu d'argent, od treis flurs de glagel de sable
(53.)		5. Will' de Betune. Argent, a fess gules, and in the dexter chief a lion passant <sup>1</sup> sable	(51.) Munsire Will' de Betune, l'escu d'argent, od vne fesse de gules, a un leun passant de sable
(54.)		6. Sire de Ramerne. Traces of a lion rampant sable	(52.) Sire de Ramerne, l'escu d'argent, a un leun rampant de sable, od une bende de gules
(55.)	10	1. Henr' de Penebrugge	(53.) Henr' de Penebrugge, l'escu barre d'or et de azur
(56.)		2. Prince de la Morree. Traces of three chevrons	(54.) Prince de la Morréé, l'escu d'or, od vn fer de molyn de sable
(57.)		3. Sire ou de Narde	(55.) Sire de Oudenarde, l'escu barre d'or et de gules
(58.)		4. Sire de Asche. Argent, a fess azure, and over all a saltire gules	(56.) Sire de Asche, l'escu de argent, od une fesse de azur, a un sautur de gules
(59.)		5. Louwis Bertout. Gules, three pales ...	(57.) Munsire Louwis Bertout, l'escu pale d'argent et de gules

<sup>1</sup> In the Harleian MS. 6137 the lion is tricked, in error, passant regardant.

Row.	Shield.	Face.	Dorse.
(60.) 10	6.	Sire de Beyuere. Traces of bars azure, and over all a saltire gules	(58.) Sire de Beyuere, l'escu burele de azur et de argent, od un sautur de gules
(61.) 11	1.	Sire de Gaure	(59.) Sire de Gaure, l'escu de gules, a treis leuns rampans d'argent corone d'or
(62.)	2.	Tebaud de Verdun	(60.) Munsire Tebaut de Verdun, l'escu d'or, frette de gules
(63.)	3.	Will' Marmiun. Vair, a fess gules	(61.) Munsire Will' Marmiun, l'escu verre de azur et d'argent, a une fesse de gules
(64.)	4.	Peres Corbet	(62.) Munsire Peres Corbet, l'escu d'or, a deus corbyns de sable
(65.)	5.	Johan Giffard	(63.) Munsire Johan Giffard, l'escu de gules, a treis leuns passans de argent
(66.)	6.	Johan de Cantelo	(64.) Munsire Johan de Cantelo, l'escu de azur, od treis flurs de glagel d'or
(67.) 12	1.	Robert de Munteny	(65.) Munsire Robert de Munteny, l'escu de azur, a une bende d'argent, od sis esmerloz d'or
(68.)	2.	Robert de Quency	(66.) Munsire Robert de Quency, l'escu de gules, od une quintefoille d'argent
(69.)	3.	Johan de Eyuile	(67.) Munsire Johan de Eyuile, l'escu d'or, od une fesse de gules, od le fleurs de glagel del un en l'autr[e]
(70.)	4.	Robert Typotot. Argent, a saltire engrailed gules	(68.) Munsire Robert Typotot, l'escu d'argent, a un sautour engrasle de gules
(71.)	5.	Cunte de Guynes. Vairy ... and ...	(69.) Cunte de Guynes, l'escu verre d'or et de azur
(72.)	6.	Sire de Antoyne	(70.) Sire de Antoyne, l'escu de gules, od leun rampant d'or, bilette d'or
(73.) 13	1.	[No name.]	(71.) Munsire Johan Lestrangle, l'escu d'argent, od deus leuns passans de gules
(74.)	2.	Johan le Estrange	(72.) Munsire Ernaud de Guynes, l'escu verre d'or et de azur, od la bordure de gules
(75.)	3.	Ernaud de Guynes. Traces of vairy within a bordure gules	(73.) Munsire Henri de Basores, l'escu pasle de veir et de gules od le chef d'or, od demy flur de glagel de sable
(76.)	4.	Henri de Basores. Gules, three pales vair, and on a chief or a demi-fleur-de-lis sable issuant	(74.) Munsire Will' de Rodes, l'escu de azur, od un leun rampant d'or, a une bende de gules
(77.)	5.	Will' de Rodes. Traces of field azure and baston gules	(75.) Munsire Johan le Bretun, l'escu esquartele d'or et de gules, od la bordure de azur
(78.)	6.	Johan le Bretun. Quarterly ..... and gules within a bordure. ....	(76.) Munsire Henri de Percy, l'escu de azur, od une fesse d'or endentee
(79.) 14.	1.	Henri de Percy	

Row.	Shield.	Face.	Dorse.
(80.)	14	2. Johan de Gaure	(77.) Munsire Johan de Gaure, l'escu d'or, a un leun rampant de gules, corone de vert, od la bordure de sable endentee
(81.)		3. Johan de la Hay. Argent, an estoile of thirteen points gules	(78.) Munsire Johan de la Haye, l'escu d'argent, od un ray de solail de gules
(82.)		4. Elmari de Lucy	(79.) Munsire Almari de Lucy, l'escu de azur, od treis luz d'or, crusile d'or
(83.)		5. Sire de Dist	(80.) Sire de Dist, l'escu d'or, a deus barres de sable
(84.)		6. [No name.] Argent (?), three lions passant in pale [sable ?]	
(85.)	15	1. Roger de Clifford. Traces of a fess gules	(81.) Munsire Roger de Clifford, le pere, l'escu escheckere d'or et de azur, a une fesse de gules
(86.)		2. Johan Giffard. Traces of three lions passant <sup>1</sup>	
(87.)		3. Gefrey de Picheford. Traces of a fess gules charged with three lions rampant	(82.) Munsire Gefrey de Picheford, l'escu escheckered d'or et de azur, a une fesse de gules, a treis leunceus d'argent rampant
(88.)		4. Cunte de Chalun	(83.) Cunte de Chalun, l'escu d'or, a une bende de gules
(89.)		5. Robert le fiz Roger. Quarterly... and gules	(84.) Munsire Robert le fiz Roger, l'escu esquarterle d'or et de gules, a une bende de sable
(90.)		6. Robert de Offord	(85.) Munsire Robert de Offord, l'escu de sable, a une croiz engrasle d'or
(91.)	16	1. [No name.] Gules, a saltire engrailed argent (traces of the metal)	
(92.)		2. [No name.]	
(93.)		3. Roger de Clifford le fiz. Chequy ... and ..., on a fess gules three pierced cinquefoils argent (traces of the metal)	(86.) Munsire Roger de Clifford, le fiz, l'escu escheckere d'or et de azur, a une fesse de gules, od treis roses d'argent
(94.)		4. Rey de Hungrie. Gules, a lion rampant ...	(87.) Rey de Hungrie, l'escu de gules, a un leun rampant d'or
(95.)		5 Robert le fiz Walter	(88.) Munsire Robert le fiz Walter, l'escu d'or, od une fesse de gules, a deus cheueruns de gules
(96.)		6. Hue Turberuile	(89.) Munsire Hue Turberuile, l'escu d'argent, a un leun rampant de gules
(97.)	17	1. [No name.]	
(98.)		2. Ditto. Argent (?), a cross passant sable	
(99.)		3. [No name.]	
(100.)		4. Ditto. Gules, a cross passant ...	

<sup>1</sup> Vincent's version has, in trick, argent, three lions passant gules.

Row.	Shield.	Face.	Dorse.
(101.)	17	5. ... la Souche	(90.) Munsire Will' la Zouche, l'escu de azur, besante d'or
(102.)		6. Cunte de Cessun. Traces of bordure gules	(91.) Cunte de Cessun, l'escu de gules, a un escuchun d'or, od un leun passant de gules
(103.)	18	1. [No name.] The field appears to have been sable	
(104.)		2. [No name.]	
(105.)		3. Aleyn la Zouche. Gules, semée of 11 roundles, 3, 2, 3, 2, and 1, ...	(92.) Munsire Aleyn la Zouche, l'escu de gules, besante d'or
(106.)		4. Johan Tregoz	(93.) Munsire Johan Tregoz, l'escu d'or, od deus listes de gules, a un leopard de gules
(107.)		5. Jorge de Cantelo. Gules, three fleurs-de-lis ...	(94.) Munsire Jorge de Kantelo, l'escu de gules, a treis fleurs de glagel d'or
(108.)		6. [No name.]	
(109.)	19	1. Baudewyn Wake	(95.) Munsire Baudewyn Wake, l'escu d'or, a deus barres de gules, od treis pelotes de gules
(110.)		2. Will' de Audelée. Gules, frettée ...	(96.) Munsire Will' de Audelee, l'escu de gules, frette d'or
(111.)		3. Roger de Mortimer. Barry of six ... and ..., on a chief ... two pales ... between two gyrons ..., and over all an in-escutcheon ...	(97.) Munsire Roger de Mortimer, l'escu pale, barre et geroune d'or et de azur, od un escuchun d'argent
(112.)		4. Robert del Ildle	(98.) Munsire Robert de Ildle, l'escu d'or, a une fesse de sable, od deus cheueruns de gules
(113.)		5. Geffrey de Lucy. Gules, crusilly and three lucies hauriant... 2 and 1	(99.) Munsire Gefrey de Lucy, l'escu de gules, od treis luz d'or, crusile d'or
(114.)		6. Nich' de Seygraue. Field sable; traces of the three garbs	(100.) Munsire Nicholas de Seygraue, l'escu de sable, od treis garbes de aueyne d'argent
(115.)	20	1. Cunte de Warewic. Traces of field gules, the fess and crusilly fitchy	(101.) Cunte de Warewic, l'escu de gules, od une fesse d'or, crusile d'or
(116.)		2. Roger de Leyburne	(102.) Munsire Roger de Leyburne, l'escu d'or, od sis leuncels rampans de sable
(117.)		3. Cunte de Anegos. Gules, crusilly fitchy and a pierced cinquefoil ...	(103.) Cunte de Anegos, l'escu de gules, od une quintefoile d'or, crusile d'or
(118.)		4. Peres de Munfort	(104.) Peres de Munfort, l'escu pende d'or et de azur
(119.)		5. Johan de Seynt Johan. Argent, on a chief gules, two mullets of six points ...	(105.) Munsire Johan de Seynt Johan, l'escu d'argent, od le chief de gules, od deus molettes d'or
(120.)		6. Roger de Trumpynton'	(106.) Munsire Roger de Trumpynton', l'escu de azur, od deus trumpses d'or, crusile d'or



Row.	Shield.	Face.	Dorse.
(121.)	21	1. Will' de Leyburn'	(107.) Munsire Will' de Leyburne, l'escu de azur, od sis leuncels rampans d'argent
(122.)		2. Robert Agilun. Gules, a fleur-de-lis argent (traces of the metal)	(108.) Munsire Robert Agilun, l'escu de gules, a une flur de glagel d'argent
(123.)		3. Johan de Armenters	(109.) Munsire Johan de Armenters, l'escu escheckere d'or et de azur, od un leun rampant de gules
(124.)		4. Steuen' de Penecestre. Gules, a cross passant argent (traces of the metal)	(110.) Munsire Esteuene de Penecestre, l'escu de gul[es], a une croiz d'argent
(125.)		5. Phelip Marmiun. Field, sable; traces of the sword in pale, point upward	(111.) Munsire Phelip Marmiun, l'escu de sable, od une espee d'argent
(126.)		6. Johan de Cameys. Gules, three roundles argent (traces of the metal)	(112.) Munsire Johan de Cameys, l'escu de gules, od treis gastels d'argent
(127.)	22	1. Johan de Vaus. Chequy argent (traces of the metal) and gules	(113.) Munsire Johan de Vals, l'escu escheckere de argent et de gules
(128.)		2. Aleyn de Plokenet. Ermine, a bend engrailed gules	(114.) Munsire Aleyn de Plokenet, l'escu de ermine, a une bende engrasle de gules
(129.)		3. Rauf Basset. Gules, three pales or, and a canton ermine	(115.) Munsire Rauf Basset, de Drayton', l'escu pale d'or et de gules, od le quarter d'ermine
(130.)		4. Hue le fiz Otes	(116.) Munsire Hue le fiz Otes, l'escu bende d'or et de azur, od le quarter d'ermine
(131.)		5. Will' de Munchensy	(117.) Munsire Will' de Munchensy, l'escu d'or, od treis escuchuns verrez de azur et de argent
(132.)		6. Reynaud de Grey. Traces of the barry and a label of five pendants gules	(118.) Munsire Reynaud de Grey, l'escu barre de azur et de argent, a un label de gules
(133.)	23	1. Cunte de Wyncestre. Gules, mascally ...	(119.) Cunte de Wyncestre, l'escu de gules, od les losenges d'or perces
(134.)		2. Cunte del Ildle	(120.) Cunte del Ildle, l'escu d'or, a un leun rampant de azur
(135.)		3. Reynaud le fiz Pers. Gules, three lions rampant ...	(121.) Munsire Reynaud le fiz Peres, l'escu de gules, od treis leuns rampans d'or
(136.)		4. Warin de Bassingburne. Traces of gyronny of eight pieces	(122.) Munsire Warin de Bassingburne, l'escu geroune d'or et de azur
(137.)		5. Sym' de Munfort. Gules, a lion rampant with two tails argent (traces of the metal)	(123.) Munsire Symun de Munford, l'escu de gules, a un leun rampant d'argent, od la cue furche
(138.)		6. Phelipe Basset. Traces of the barry undée	(124.) Munsire Phelipe Basset, l'escu undée d'or et de gules
(139.)	24	1. Henri de Hastinge. Or, a maunch issuant from sinister chief gules	(125.) Munsire Henri de Hastinge, l'escu d'or, od une manche de gules

Row.	Shield.	Face.	Dorse.
(140.)	24	2. Johan de Burgh. Lozengy gules and argent (traces of the metal), the azure of the vair having disappeared	(126.) Munsire Johan de Burg, l'escu mascle de veir et de gules
(141.)		3. Robert de Creuker. Or, a cross passant gules, voided of the field	(127.) Munsire Robert de Crenequer, l'escu d'or, od une croiz perce de gules
(142.)		4. Cunte de Aubemarl'. Gules, a cross patonce vair	(128.) Cunte de Aubemarle, l'escu de gules, od une croiz patee verre de azur et d'argent
(143.)		5. Robert de Brus. Or, a saltire gules, and in sinister point of a chief of the second, a mullet of six points ...	(129.) Munsire Robert de Brus, l'escu d'or, od le chef de gules, a un sautur de gules, od une molette d'argent
(144.)		6. Alex' de Baylol'. Gules, an orle argent (traces of the metal)	(130.) Munsire Alisander de Bailol, l'escu de gules, a un escuchun d'argent perce
(145.)	25	1. Hue le Despencer. Quarterly or and gules, in the second and third quarters frettée of the first. The baston has disappeared.	(131.) Munsire Hue le Despenser, l'escu esquartere d'argent et de gules frette d'or, a une bende de sable
(146.)		2. Will' de Valence. Argent, four bars (traces of the azure), an orle of martlets gules	(132.) Munsire Will' de Valence, l'escu burele de azur et de argent, od les merloz de gules
(147.)		3. Johan del Boys. Argent, two bars and a canton gules	(133.) Munsire Johan del Boys, l'escu d'argent, od deu[s] barres de gules, od le quarter de gules
(148.)		4. Will' de Breouse. Traces of field azure and lion rampant	(134.) Munsire Will' de Breouse, l'escu de azur, od un leun rampant de or, crusile d'or
(149.)		5. Patric de Chawurht. Barry of twelve argent and gules, an orle of ten (?) martlets, 3, 2, 2, 2, and 1, sable	(135.) Munsire Patrik de Chawurth', l'escu burele d'argent et de gules, od les merloz de sable
(150.)		6. Ric' le fiz Johan. Quarterly ..... and gules within a bordure vair	(136.) Munsire Richart le fiz Johan, l'escu esquartere d'or et de gules, od la bordure uerre d'azur et d'argent
(151.)	26	1. Adam de Creting'. Argent, a chevron between three pierced mullets of six points gules	(137.) Munsire Adam de Cretinge, l'escu de argent, a un cheuerun de gules, od treis molettes de gules
(152.)		2. Cunte de Fereres. Vairy or and gules	(138.) Cunte de Ferers, l'escu verre d'or et de gules
(153.)		3. Hue Sanz Aueir	(139.) Munsire Hue Sanz Aueir, l'escu de azur, od treis cressantes d'or, crusile d'or
(154.)		4. Giles de Argentun. Gules, three covered cups argent (remains of the metal)	(140.) Munsire Giles de Argentun, l'escu de gules, a treis cupes d'argent

Row.	Shield.	Face.	Dorse.
(155.)	26	5. Will' de Echingham	(141.) Munsire Will' de Echingham, l'escu de azur, frette d'argent
(156.)		6. Gilbert Pecche. Argent, a fess between two chevrons gules	(142.) Munsire Gilbert Pecche, l'escu d'argent, a une fesse de gules, od deus cheueruns de gules
(157.)	27	1. Guy de Rocheford. Quarterly or and gules. Traces of the label	(143.) Munsire Guy de Rocheford, l'escu esquartere d'or et de gules, a un label d'azur
(158.)		2. [No name.] Gules, crucilly fitchée and a lion rampant argent (remains of that metal)	
(159.)		3. [No name.] Traces of vairy, pales gules, and a canton (?)	
(160.)		4. Barth' de Sulee. Or, two bars gules	(144.) Munsire Barthol' de Sulee, l'escu d'or, a deus barres de gules
(161.)		5. Robert de Mortimer. Gules, two bars ...	(145.) Munsire Robert de Mortimer, l'escu de gules, a deus barres uerres d'azur et d'argent
(162.)		6. Dauby de Jarkanuile	(146.) Munsire Dauby de Jerkanuile, l'escu esquartere d'or et d'azur, a un leuncel rampant de gules
(163.)	28	1. Will' de Fereres. Traces of vairy or and gules, on a bordure sable nine horseshoes argent	(147.) Munsire Will' de Ferers, l'escu verre d'or et de gules, od la bordure de sable, od les fers d'argent
(164.)		2. Nich' Malemeyns. Gules, three dexter hands argent (remains of the metal)	(148.) Munsire Nich' Malemeyns, l'escu de gules, a treis meyns d'argent
(165.)		3. Robert de Munford. Bendy of six ... and ..., a label of five pendants ...	(149.) Munsire Robert de Munford, l'escu bende d'or et d'azur, a un label de gules
(166.)		4. Will' Bardouf	(150.) Munsire Will' Bardouf, l'escu d'azur, a treis quintefoiles d'or
(167.)		5. Johan de Sandwiz. Traces of a chief indented dancettée	(151.) Munsire Johan de Sandwis, l'escu d'or, od les endente d'azur
(168.)		6. Gefrei de Langel'. Argent, a fess and in chief three escallops sable	(152.) Munsire de Langel', l'escu d'argent, od une fesse de sable, a treis escalops de sable
(169.)	29	1. Will' de Orlauston'. Or, two chevrons gules, and on canton of the second a lion rampant ...	(153.) Munsire Will' de Orlauston', l'escu d'or, a deus cheueruns de gules, od le quarter de gules, a un leuncel rampant d'argent
(170.)		2. Robert de la Warde. Vairy argent and sable	(154.) Munsire Robert de la Warde, l'escu verre d'argent et de sable
(171.)		3. Nich' de Haulo. Or, two chevrons gules, and on a canton of the second a crescent argent (remains of the metal)	(155.) Munsire Nich' de Haulo, l'escu d'or, a deus cheueruns de gules, od le quarter de gules, a une cressante d'argent

Row.	Shield.	Face.	Dorse.
(172.)	29	4. Gefrei de Geneuile ..., on a chief ermine a demi-lion rampant gules issuant	(156.) Munsire Gefrey de Geneuile. l'escu de azur, od treis bayes (? read "brayes") d'or, od le chef de ermine, a un leun re- coupe de gules
(173.)		5. Ric' Syward. Sable, a cross flory argent	(157.) Munsire Richart Syward, l'es- cu de sable, od une croiz d'ar- gent florette
(174.)		6. Roger de Leukenore. Traces of the three chevrons	(158.) Munsire Roger de Leukenore, l'escu de azur, od treis cheue- runs d'argent, a un label d'or
(175.)	30	1. Ric' de Grey. Traces of the Barry	(159.) Munsire de Grey, l'escu barre d'azur et d'argent
(176.)		2. Walran de Munsels. Argent, a bend sable	(160.) Munsire Walran de Muncels, l'escu d'argent, od une bende de sable
(177.)		3. Will' Grandin	(161.) Munsire Will' Grandyn, l'escu d'azur, od treis molettes d'or
(178.)		4. Cunte de Assele. Sable, three pales ...	(162.) Cunte de Assele, l'escu pale d'or et de sable
(179.)		5. Cunte de Karrike. Sa- ble, three pierced ciu- quefoils ...	(163.) Cunte de Karrik, l'escu de sable, od treis quintefoiles d'or
(180.)		6. Walter le fiz Hunfre[y]. Quarterly argent and sable	(164.) Munsire Walter le fiz Hunfrey, l'escu esquarterle d'argent et de sable
(181.)	31	1. Cunte de Jungi. Gules, an eagle displayed ar- gent (remains of the metal)	(165.) Cunte de Jungi, l'escu de gules, a un egle d'argent, corone d'or
(182.)		2. Will' Chamberleng	(166.) Munsire Will' le Chamberleng, l'escu de azur, od treis clefs d'or
(183.)		3. Johan Comyn. Gules, three garbs or	(167.) Munsire Johan Comyn, l'escu de gules, a treis garbes d'or
(184.)		4. Sire de Brussele. Or, a saltire gules	(168.) Sire de Brussele, l'escu d'or, a un sautur de gules
(185.)		5. [No name.] Argent (?), frettée gules	
(186.)		6. Nich' de Kuggeho	(169.) Munsire Nichol' de Kuggeho, l'escu de gules, a une fesse d'ar- gent, od treis losenges d'argent
(187.)	32	1. Robert de Muscegros	(170.) Munsire Robert de Muscegros, l'escu d'or, a un leun rampant de gules
(188.)		2. Moris de Berkele. Gules, a chevron argent	(171.) Munsire Moris de Berkel', l'escu de gules, a un cheuerun d'ar- gent
(189.)		3. Guncelyn de Batele- mere ( <i>sic</i> ). Argent, a fess between two bars gemelles gules	(172.) Munsire Guncelyn de Bateles- mere, l'escu d'argent, od une fesse de gules, a deus listes de gules
(190.)		4. Rauf de Seint Leger'	(173.) Munsire Rauf de Seynt Leger', l'escu d'azur, frette d'argent, od le chef d'or
(191.)		5. Johan Louel	(174.) Munsire Johan Louel, l'escu un- dée d'or et de gules, a un label de azur
(192.)		6. Rauf de Normanuil'. Gules, a fess between	(175.) Munsire Rauf de Normanuil', l'escu de gules, a une fesse

Row.	Shield.	Face.	Dorse.
		two bars gemelles argent	d'argent, od deus listes d'argent
(193.) 33	1.	Godefroi de Brabant. Traces of field sable and lion rampant	(176.) Munsire Godefrey de Breban, l'escu de sable, a un leun rampant d'or, od une bende de gules
(194.)	2.	Will' de Flandres	(177.) Munsire Will' de Flandres, l'escu d'or, a un leun rampant de sable, od une bende de gules
(195.)	3.	James de Trumpinton'. Gules, crusilly fitchy, and two trumpets in pile or	(178.) Munsire James de Trumpyn-ton', l'escu de gules, a deus trumpes d'or, crusile d'or
(196.)	4.	Moriz le fiz Geroud. Argent, a saltire gules	(179.) Munsire Moris le fiz Geroud, l'escu de argent, a un sautur de gules
(197.)	5.	Robert de Ros. Gules, three water-bougets argent (remains of the metal)	(180.) Munsire Robert de Ros, l'escu de gules, a treis bussels d'argent
(198.)	6.	Henri Tregoz	(181.) Munsire Henri Tregoz, l'escu d'azur, od deus lystes d'or, a un leun passant d'or
(199.) 34	1.	Robert de Cokefeud. Gules, a fleur-de-lis ermine (remains of the metal argent)	(182.) Munsire Robert de Cokefeud, l'escu de gules, a une fleur de glagel d'ermine
(200.)	2.	Will' Heringaud	(183.) Munsire Will' Heringaud, l'escu de azur, od sis harangs d'or, crusile d'or
(201.)	3.	Will' de Heuere. Gules, a cross passant argent (remains of the metal), and label of five pendants ...	(184.) Munsire Will' de Heuere, l'escu de gules, od une croiz d'argent, a un label d'azur
(202.)	4.	Will' de Valoynes. Argent, three pales wavy gules	(185.) Munsire Will' de Valoynes, l'escu undee de lung d'argent et de gules
(203.)	5.	Robert de Seuans. <sup>1</sup>	[FINIS.]
(204.)	6.	Werreis de Valoynes. Gules, frettée ermine (remains of the metal argent).	
(205.) 35	1.	Will' de Detlinge. Sable, traces of the six lions rampant. <sup>2</sup>	
(206.)	2.	Ric' le Waleys. Gules, a fess ermine.	
(207.)	3.	Sire de Breda. Sable, a lion rampant argent, and label of five pendants gules. <sup>3</sup>	
(208.)	4.	Sire de Fenes. Argent, a lion rampant sable. <sup>4</sup>	
(209.)	5.	Rauf de Batelesmere. Ermine, a fess between two bars gemelles gules.	
(210.)	6.	Henri de Breban. Sable, traces of a lion rampant (? with two tails). <sup>5</sup>	
(211.) 36	1.	Johan de Munceus. Gules, a maunch issuant from the sinister chief ... <sup>6</sup>	

<sup>1</sup> Azure, three corn-fans or. (Harl. MS. 6137.)<sup>2</sup> Sable, six lions rampant argent. (*Ib.*)<sup>3</sup> The lion charged on the shoulder with an annulet gules. (*Ib.*)<sup>4</sup> The lion tricked, in error, as rampant regardant. (*Ib.*)<sup>5</sup> Sable, a lion rampant argent. (*Ib.*)<sup>6</sup> Gules, a maunch or. (*Ib.*)



Row. Shield.

- (212.) 36 2. Nich' de la Hesc. Argent, three men's hose, 2 and 1, gules.  
 (213.) 3. Will' de Hastinge. Argent, traces of fess azure between three lozenges ...<sup>1</sup>  
 (214.) 4. Cunte del Idle. Traces of or (?), a lion rampant azure.<sup>2</sup>  
 (215.) 5. Barth' de Briancon. Gyronny of ten pieces ... and ...<sup>3</sup>  
 (216.) 6. Robert de Betune.<sup>4</sup>  
 (217.) 37 1. Will' de Northie. Quarterly ... and ...<sup>5</sup>  
 (218.) 2. Boges de Knouile. Gules, three mullets of six points or, a label of five pendants azure.<sup>6</sup>  
 (219.) 3. Cunte de Cestre.<sup>7</sup>  
 (220.) 4. Johan de Repinghal'. Sable, two bars and in chief three roundles argent.  
 (221.) 5. Cunte de Salesbire.<sup>8</sup>  
 (222.) 6. Robert de Munteny. Traces of the bend.<sup>9</sup>  
 (223.) 38 1. Roger de Scirlande. Traces of field azure, a canton ermine.<sup>10</sup>  
 (224.) 2. Gerard de Giable. Sable, on a chief argent a lion passant gules.  
 (225.) 3. Hamuu de Gatton'. Chequy ... and ...<sup>11</sup>  
 (226.) 4. Sire de Saschant. Sable, on a chief argent a demi fleur-de-lis gules issuant.  
 (227.) 5. Johan de Horbire. Argent, a bend gules, and over all three bars azure.  
 (228.) 6. Roger de Munhaut. Traces of field azure.<sup>12</sup>  
 (229.) 39 1. Cunte de Prouence. Paly of eight or and gules.  
 (230.) 2. Sire Ernold de Guines. Traces of field vairy.<sup>13</sup>  
 (231.) 3. Chastelein de Louain. Bendy of six, gules and or.  
 (232.) 4. Will' de Basoges. Gules, three pales argent (? traces of vair), and a chief ..., on which traces of a lion passant (? gules).<sup>14</sup>  
 (233.) 5. Bertout de Bredan. Gules, three pales or (?), and a canton ...<sup>15</sup>  
 (234.) 6. Will' de Guynes. Traces of vairy, a bordure gules charged with eight roundles or.<sup>16</sup>  
 (235.) 40 1. Johan de Guynes. Traces of field vairy.<sup>17</sup>  
 (236.) 2. Cunte de Bar'.<sup>18</sup>  
 (237.) 3. Wiot de Guynes. Traces of field vairy, a canton ermine.<sup>19</sup>  
 (238.) 4. Cunte Patrik. Gules, a lion rampant or (?), and a bordure argent charged with eight pierced cinquefoils of the first.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Argent, a fess between three lozenges azure. (Harl. MS. 6137.)<sup>2</sup> Or, a lion rampant azure. (*Ib.*)<sup>3</sup> Gyronny of eight pieces azure and argent. (*Ib.*)<sup>4</sup> Or, a lion rampant sable. (*Ib.*)<sup>5</sup> Quarterly, argent and azure. (*Ib.*)<sup>6</sup> The mullets argent. (*Ib.*)<sup>7</sup> Azure, three garbs or. (*Ib.*)<sup>8</sup> ..., six lions rampant ... (*Ib.*)<sup>9</sup> Azure, a bend between six martlets or. (*Ib.*)<sup>10</sup> Azure, five (of six) lions rampant argent, and a canton ermine. (*Ib.*)<sup>11</sup> Chequy argent and azure. (*Ib.*)<sup>12</sup> Azure, a lion rampant argent. (*Ib.*)<sup>13</sup> Vairy or and azure. (*Ib.*)<sup>14</sup> Gules, three pales argent, and on a chief or a lion passant of the first.<sup>15</sup> (*Ib.*) Gules, three pales argent, and on a canton sable a lion passant of the second. (*Ib.*)<sup>16</sup> Vairy or and azure, within a bordure gules charged eleven roundles or. (*Ib.*)<sup>17</sup> Vairy or and azure, a baston gules. (*Ib.*)<sup>18</sup> Azure, two bar (*fish*) *dos à dos*, or. (*Ib.*)<sup>19</sup> Vairy or and azure, a canton ermine. (*Ib.*)<sup>20</sup> The lion argent. (*Ib.*)

Row.		Shield.
(239.)	40	5. Baudewin de Ekont. <sup>1</sup>
(240.)		6. Cunte de Boloynne. <sup>2</sup>
(241.)	41	1. Phelipe Burnel. Argent, a lion rampant sable debruised by a bend gules.
(242.)		2. Henri de Ekont. Gules, crusilly fitchy and three crescents or. <sup>3</sup>
(243.)		3. Sire de Cochi. Barry of six vair (traces) and gules. <sup>4</sup>
(244.)		4. John Louel le fiz. <sup>5</sup>
(245.)		5. Will' de Ekont. <sup>6</sup>
(246.)		6. Sire de Florence. Or, three fleurs-de-lis gules remaining in base. <sup>7</sup>
(247.)	42	1. Race de Lynecarke. <sup>8</sup>
(248.)		2. Walter de Redesham. Chequy argent and gules.
(249.)		3. Hue Wake. Gules, two bars and in chief three roundles or.
(250.)		4. John de Lynecarke. <sup>9</sup>
(251.)		5. Henri de Sauueye. Argent, an eagle displayed sable.
(252.)		6. Amys de Sauueye. Or (?), an eagle displayed sable. <sup>10</sup>
(253.)	43	1. Aubrey de Witlebire. <sup>11</sup>
(254.)		2. Rauf de Oteryngden'. Ermine, a cross gules voided ... <sup>12</sup>
(255.)		3. Will' Maufe. Argent, semy of escallops gules, a lion rampant sable.
(256.)		4. Henri de Lucenburg. Barry of twelve ... and ..., and over all a lion rampant gules. <sup>13</sup>
(257.)		5. Sire de Rode. <sup>14</sup>
(258.)		6. Johan de Asse. <sup>15</sup>
(259.)	44	1. Sire de Parueis. Gules, a fess argent.
(260.)		2. Phelip de Bruborg. Or, a lion rampant sable.
(261.)		3. Ernaud de Wisemale. Gules, three fleurs-de-lis or. <sup>16</sup>
(262.)		4. Sire de Crescikes. <sup>17</sup>
(263.)		5. Franc de Wisemale. Gules, three fleurs-de-lis or. <sup>18</sup>
(264.)		6. Cunte de Gulg. Gules, an inescutcheon argent. <sup>19</sup>
(265.)	45	1. Cunte de Cliue. <sup>19</sup>
(266.)		2. Cunte de Estraderne. <sup>20</sup>
(267.)		3. Chastelin de Gant. <sup>21</sup>
(268.)		4. Rauf de Oteringbire. <sup>22</sup>
(269.)		5. Symuu de Muntagu. <sup>23</sup>
(270.)		6. Sire de Wingan. Argent, a chevron gules.

<sup>1</sup> Azure, a cross patée argent. (Harl. MS. 6137.)

<sup>2</sup> Or, a banner of three pendants wavy gules. (*Ib.*)

<sup>3</sup> The field azure and the crescents argent. [Both in error ?] (*Ib.*)

<sup>4</sup> Barry of six vair and gules. (*Ib.*)

<sup>5</sup> Barry nebuly of six or and gules, a baston argent. (*Ib.*)

<sup>6</sup> Azure, crusilly and three crescents argent. (*Ib.*)

<sup>7</sup> Or, six fleurs-de-lis gules. (*Ib.*)

<sup>8</sup> Only field given, namely azure. (*Ib.*)

<sup>9</sup> Blank. (*Ib.*)

<sup>10</sup> The field argent. (*Ib.*)

<sup>11</sup> Only field given, namely azure. (*Ib.*)

<sup>12</sup> The cross voided or. (*Ib.*)

<sup>13</sup> The barry of ten argent and azure. (*Ib.*)

<sup>14</sup> Only the field given, namely azure. (*Ib.*)

<sup>15</sup> Or, a saltire gules, and over all a fess sable. (*Ib.*)

<sup>16</sup> The fleurs-de-lis argent. (*Ib.*)

<sup>17</sup> Blank. (*Ib.*)

<sup>18</sup> "Id est Gulic" written against the name. (*Ib.*)

<sup>19</sup> Or, a lion rampant sable. (*Ib.*)

<sup>20</sup> Gules, two chevrons or. (*Ib.*)

<sup>21</sup> Blank. (*Ib.*)

<sup>22</sup> Blank. (*Ib.*)

<sup>23</sup> Azure, a griffin segreant or. (*Ib.*)

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### GENEALOGICAL NOTES.

*(The figures apply to the numbers of the shields in the Roll ; and the principal authority for the dates given in these notes is Courthope's edition of Sir Harris Nicolas' "Historic Peerage.")*

39. Thomas de Clare, son of Richard de Clare, seventh Earl of Gloucester, who died in 1262. His second son, Richard, was in 1st Edward II heir to his brother Gilbert de Clare, the eldest son of Thomas. This Richard eventually became first and only Baron Clare by writ.
42. John de Vesci, the first baron by writ, and son and heir of William the fourth and last baron by tenure, who died in 1253. He died in 1289.
62. Theobald de Verdon, the first baron by writ, and son and heir of John the fifth baron by tenure, who was slain in Ireland in 1278. He died in 1309, and was succeeded by his son, the celebrated Theobald de Verdon, second baron by writ.
63. William Marmion, the second and last baron, by tenure, of Witringham, co. Lincoln, and son and heir of Robert, the first baron.
65. John Giffard, the first Baron of Brimsfield by writ, and son and heir of Elias, the sixth and last baron by tenure, who died in 1248. He was aged seventeen in 1248, and died in 1299.
70. Robert Tiptoft, son and heir of Henry Tiptoft, who died in 34 Henry III. (Dugd., *Bar.*, ii, 38.) By the inquisition taken in 26th Edward I, after the death of Robert, Pain, his son, who eventually became the first baron by writ, of the elder line, was found to be his heir, and aged seventeen.
85. Roger Clifford, "le père", the fourth and last baron by tenure, and son and heir of Roger, next brother of Walter the third baron. Walter died in 1263, and his brother Roger before him ; consequently this Roger succeeded, and died in 1285.
89. Robert Fitz-Roger, the first Baron Clavering by writ, and son and heir of Roger Fitz-John, the fourth and last baron by tenure, who died in 1249. He died in 1310.
93. Roger Clifford, "le fils", the eldest son of Roger, the fourth baron by tenure, who died in 1285. He died in his father's lifetime, leaving a son Robert, who succeeded his grandfather, and was but seven years of age in 11th Edward I. This Robert was subsequently summoned to Parliament as the first baron by writ.

101. William la Zouche, second son of Alan, the fourth Baron of Ashby by tenure, who died in 1269. Joyce, the daughter and heir of this William, married Robert, the third and last Baron Mortimer of Richard's Castle by tenure, who died in 1287. Their son William assumed his mother's name of Zouche, and became first Baron Zouche of Mortimer by writ.
105. Alan la Zouche, the first and only Baron of Ashby by writ, and son and heir of Roger, the fifth and last baron by tenure, who died in 1285. He died in 1314, without male issue.
106. John de Tregoz, the first and only baron, by writ, of the elder line, and son and heir of Robert, the third and last baron by tenure, who was killed at Evesham in 1265. He died in 1300, and left daughters only.
107. George de Cantelupe, the second and last Baron of Abergavenny by tenure, and son and heir of William the first baron, who died in 1255. He died without issue in 1272.
109. Baldwin Wake, the fifth baron by tenure. He died in 1263, and was succeeded by his son and heir John, 1st baron by writ, who died in 1304.
110. William de Audley, the fifth baron by tenure, being a younger son of James, the third baron, who died in 1272, and brother and heir of Henry, the fourth baron, who died in 1275. He died without issue in 1281, and was succeeded by his brother Nicholas, the sixth baron, who died in 1299.
114. Nicholas de Segrave, the first baron by writ, and son and heir of Gilbert, the third and last baron by tenure, who died in 1254. He died in 1295.
116. Roger de Leybourne was Sheriff of Kent from 48th to 52nd Hen. III.
118. Peter de Montfort, the ninth baron by tenure, and son and heir of Peter, the eighth baron, who was killed at the battle of Evesham in 1265. He died in 1287, and was succeeded by his son and heir John, 1st baron by writ.
121. William de Leybourne, subsequently the first baron by writ, and son and heir of the above Roger. He was summoned to Parliament from 1299, and died in 1309.
125. Philip Marmion, the fifth and last baron by tenure of Tamworth, co. Warwick, and son and heir of Robert the fourth baron, who died in 1241. He died without male issue in 1292.
126. John de Camoys, the second baron by writ, and son and heir of Ralph, the first baron, who died in 1277. He was aged twenty-six in 1277, died before 1299, and was succeeded by his son and heir, Ralph, the third baron.
127. John de Vaux, the eighth baron by tenure, and brother and heir of William, the seventh baron, who died before 1253. He died in 1288, leaving daughters only.
132. Reginald de Grey, first baron, by writ, of Wilton, son and heir of John, first and only baron by tenure, who died in 1265. He died in 1308.
138. Philip Basset, the fourth and last baron by tenure of Wycombe, co. Bucks, and brother and heir of Fulk, the third baron, who died in 1258. He was Justice of England, and died in 1271, leaving daughters only.
139. Henry de Hastings, the first baron by writ, and son and heir of Henry, the sixth and last baron by tenure, who died in 1249. He died in 1268, when his son and heir John, subsequently 2nd baron, was aged 6 years.
141. Robert de Crevequer, the fifth and last baron by tenure, and grandson of Hamo, the fourth baron, who died in 1262, being son and heir of Hamo, the latter's eldest son, who died in his father's lifetime.
149. Patrick de Chaworth, the sixth and last baron by tenure, and brother and heir of Pain, the fifth baron, who died in 1278. He died in 1282, without male issue.
150. Richard Fitz-John, the second baron by writ, and brother and heir of John, the first baron, who died in 1276. He was aged twenty-four in 1276, and died in 1297.
151. Adam de Creting. By the inquisition taken in 24 Edward I, after the death of Adam de Cretinge, in respect of property in Hunts. and Suffolk, it was found that John was his son and heir, aged 21 years and more.



156. Gilbert Peeche, 4th baron by tenure of Brunne, and son and heir of Hamon, the third baron, who died in the Holy Land in 1241. He died in 1291.
160. Bartholomew de Sudeley, the seventh baron by tenure, and son and heir of Ralph, the sixth baron, who died in 1231. He died in 1274, and was succeeded by his son and heir, John (the first baron by writ), aged twenty-two in 1274, who died in 1336.
161. Robert de Mortimer, the third baron by tenure of Richard's Castle, and son and heir of Hugh, the second baron, who died in 1275. He was aged twenty-two in 1275, died in 1287, and was succeeded by his son and heir, Hugh, the first and only baron by writ.
166. William Bardolf, the fifth baron by tenure, and son and heir of William, the fourth baron, who died in 1275. He died in 1290, and was succeeded by his son and heir, Hugh, the first baron by writ.
169. William de Orlauston. There is an inquisition *post mortem* of William de Orlaweston, of Kent, taken 12 Edw. I, John, his son and heir, being 30.
176. Walerain de Muncells. In an Assize Roll of 16th Edw. I (*Tower Rec.*, No. 40, Sussex, memb. 22) is mention of Lucia de Monceus and William de Monceus, executors of the testament of Walrand' de Muncceus.
188. Maurice de Berkeley, the fifth baron by tenure, and son and heir of Thomas, the fourth baron, who died in 1243. He died in 1281, and was succeeded by his son and heir Thomas, 1st baron by writ, who died in 1321.
189. Guncelin de Badlesmere. According to Dugdale (*Baronage*, ii, 87) he was a great rebel to Henry III, and died in 29th Edward I. His son Bartholomew, the first baron by writ, was hanged at Canterbury for treason, after the battle of Boroughbridge, 15th Edward II.
197. Robert de Roos, the first baron, by writ, of Hamlake. He died in 1285, and was succeeded by his son and heir William, second baron, aged 30.
198. Henry de Tregoz, the first Baron, by writ, of Goring, co. Sussex, and next brother to John de Tregoz, the first and only baron, by writ, of the elder line. He was summoned to Parliament until 1322.
199. Robert de Cockfield. By the inquisition taken in 25th Edward I, after his death, in respect of his property in Suffolk, it was found that Joan was his sister and heir, and aged twenty-three.
200. William Heringaud. He was found, by the inquisition taken in Kent after the death of Stephen Heringod (who held the manor of Elmstead in that county), to be his son and heir, and aged forty in the 41st Henry III. (*Chancery Inquisitions post Mortem*, 41st Henry III, No. 23.)
201. William de Hever. He was Sheriff of Kent in 1st and 2nd Edw. I.
203. Robert de Septvans. He was of Milton, near Canterbury, and died a Knight in 34th Edward I. At the death of his father, Robert de Septvans, in 37th Henry III, he was but three years of age. King Edward I advanced him to the custodianship of Rochester Castle; and a very perfect brass erected to his memory in Chartham Church yet remains, whereon he is depicted wearing the seven fans on his surcoat, etc., his shield bearing in addition the usual three. (See engraving of the brass in Boutell's *Monumental Brasses and Slabs*.) His son William succeeded him at Milton-Septvans, and died in 16th Edward II.
204. Waretius de Valoigns. He was Sheriff of Kent in the third, fourth, and fifth years, and in part of the sixth year of Edward I.
215. Bartholomew de Briançon. There was an inquisition taken in the 15th Edward I, after the death of Bartholomew de Brianzun, *alias* Briancon, by which it was found that William was his son and heir, aged 3 years.
225. Hamo de Gatton. He was son and heir of Robert de Gatton, and found, by the inquisition taken in Surrey after his father's death, to be aged twenty-two in the 48th Henry III. Was Sheriff of Kent in part of the thirteenth year, and during the whole of the fourteenth year of Edward I. In the 20th Edward I, by the inquisitions taken after his death, in respect of his property in Kent and Surrey, his son and heir Hamo was found to be aged twenty-eight years.

## MIDDLETON CASTLE, OR TOWERS, NORFOLK.

BY SIR LEWIS WINCOPP JARVIS.

(*Read April 5, 1882.*)

IN recording a few remarks upon the past history of this site, I regret that the means I have of giving an account worthy of this occasion, or of the building itself, are very limited. Hugh de Montfort obtained possession of this place at the Conquest. In the reign of Henry II, Roger de Scales, who in conjunction with his wife Muriel founded the Nunnery of Blackborough in this parish, was lord of this manor. According to Blomefield, in the reign of Henry VI Thomas Lord Scales built the Castle, of which the gateway is the only portion now remaining; but from the arms over the gateway, Anthony Woodville, Earl Rivers, who married the sister and heiress of Thomas Lord Scales, is thought to have been the founder in the following reign of Edward IV. This Thomas Lord Scales is reported, in the reigns of Henry V and VI, to have served in the wars of France, and to have greatly distinguished himself; and in the 3rd of Henry VI he was elected Knight of the Garter.

On the arrival of the Earls of March, Warwick, and Salisbury, from Calais, and their entry into London on the 2nd of July 1460, he, with other lords, took possession of and secured the Tower of London for the King; but after the battle of Northampton, on the 9th of that month, wherein the King was taken (many in the Tower surrendering themselves), this lord, in endeavouring to make his escape towards Westminster, was killed on the Thames. He left a son Thomas, who died a minor, and daughter Elizabeth, who married Anthony Woodville, son and heir of Richard Woodville, Earl Rivers, father of Elizabeth, the Queen of Edward IV.

In right of his wife he became possessed of this estate, assuming the title of Lord Scales. By will he gave the same to his brother, Sir Edward, and his heirs male. This

Lord Scales, Earl Rivers, having distinguished himself in the preceding year at the battle of Bosworth Field, repaired to the Castilian court of Ferdinand and Isabella as a volunteer in the campaign against the Moors, taking with him one hundred archers, all dexterous with long bow and the cloth yard arrow, also two hundred yeomen armed *cap-à-pie*, who fought with pike and battle-axe. Probably many of his followers were his dependents from Middleton. He is reported to have been an accomplished cavalier, of gracious and noble presence, and fair speech. At the siege of Loxa, by a stone hurled from the battlements, he lost two of his front teeth, upon which Ferdinand consoled him that he might otherwise have been deprived of them by natural decay, whereas the lack of them now would be esteemed a beauty rather than a defect, serving as a trophy of the glorious cause in which he had been engaged. The Earl's reply was, he accepted with all gratitude his gracious consolation for the loss he had sustained, though he held it little to lose two teeth in the service of God, Who had given them all.

In the reign of Henry VII the property came into the possession of Elizabeth, the wife of the Earl of Oxford, one of the descendants of Robert Lord Scales ; and upon a division of the estate it was assigned to the family of the Earls of Oxford ; and after a lapse of years, passing into various hands by inheritance and sale, became the property of the late Mrs. Wythe, by whose trustees it was sold.

The present structure is a fine specimen of the style of building adopted in the fourteenth century, which, however, did not come into general use until the reign of Henry VI ; many considerable houses as well as public buildings being erected with bricks during his reign and that of Edward IV, chiefly in the eastern counties, where the deficiency of stone was most experienced. Few, if any, brick mansions of the fifteenth century exist, except in a dilapidated state ; but Queen's College at Cambridge, and part of Eton College, are subsisting witnesses to the durability of the material as it was then employed, and Middleton Towers may be added as another example.

I have found no record of the time when this building was last inhabited. The marvel is that such a solid struc-

ture could have become such a ruin as it was until the year 1856, there being neither roof, floor, nor ceiling, in any portion, except one floor in the north-east turret, and the groined roof of the oriel window over the gateway being nearly perfect. Of the stone newel-staircase in the north-west turret, fourteen steps, midway, only remained. It was simply the habitation of owls and bats, and a shelter for cattle. Whenever repairs were required on the estate, the building was resorted to as a quarry, as in rebuilding farm premises on the estate I found large quantities of carved stone which were utilised in the restoration. It will be observed that over the gateway are the Scales arms encircled with garter, bearing the royal motto, in a perfect state of preservation, and the six escallops appear at the base of the oriel window.

In all probability the greater part of the area enclosed by the moat was covered with buildings forming the castle and offices; but I have not, I regret to say, been hitherto able to find any ground-plan to satisfy me as to their extent. In providing drainage for the additions made by me in 1856, I had occasion to excavate a portion of the enclosure, when certain foundations were discovered.

In the year 1860, in rebuilding some farm premises on my estate, about a mile distant from the Towers, the relics now temporarily placed on the Bridge were dug out of the foundations. The figure of the knight is more mutilated than that of his lady. They probably form part of monuments of Robert de Scales and Isabel his wife, from the Priory of Blackborough, where they were both interred. Other relics, such as pottery, etc., were discovered when the moat was dug out in the year 1857.

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## Proceedings of the Association.

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WEDNESDAY, JUNE 7, 1882.

REV. S. M. MAYHEW, M.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

THE following presents were received, and thanks returned to the donors :

*To the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society*, for "Proceedings", 1882.

*To the Society of Antiquaries*, for "Archæologia", vol. 47, Part I.

*To the Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian and Archæological Society*, for "Transactions", vol. 6, Part I.

The arrangements for the approaching Congress at Plymouth were referred to, and it was stated that the date for the commencement had been fixed for August 21st. G. R. Wright, Esq., F.S.A., *Congress Secretary*, gave a brief notice of the programme, and referred to the places to be visited. Among these he mentioned Berry Pomeroy Castle, Totnes, Plympton Earls, and Dartmoor. It was also announced that the Duke of Somerset, K.G., had been elected President of the Congress, and for the ensuing year.

E. P. Loftus Brock, Esq., F.S.A., laid on the table, for exhibition, a row of Venetian beads of various patterns, of inlaid glass, recently found in excavations at Aldgate. Also a large portion of a jet amulet of Roman date, found in similar excavations close to the former.

G. Gunn, Esq., exhibited a plan of one of the four massive piers, of Norman date, supporting the central tower and spire of Norwich Cathedral, shewing that three large circular shafts, a mass of pilaster, and two smaller Norman shafts, had been cut away. (See *ante*, pp. 246-7.)

R. Earle Way, Esq., described another find of Roman antiquities at Southwark, on the west side of St. Saviour's Church. Among the articles laid on the table were examples of Samian and other pottery, a second brass coin of Nero, and third brass of Victorinus and Constantine.

G. Sherborn, Esq., exhibited a varied collection of lithic implements



from Ohio and other parts of North America. Among these were several stone hammers and neatly worked flint arrow-heads. Some flint scrapers from the South Downs of Sussex were also shewn, to indicate certain points of resemblance to the American examples.

C. H. Compton, Esq., exhibited a fine collection of Greek fictile ware brought recently from Athens. These were mostly of small size, in good condition, many having painted designs of considerable beauty and freshness. A capital jug, of sixteenth century date, of Italian majolica work, found at Halicarnassus, was also described.

G. Martin, Esq., exhibited various articles found in London, the most curious being a circular standing lamp of compressed leather, the form having evidently been produced by impression in a mould when the material was in a soft condition. It was pronounced by the Chairman to be of the time of Edward III.

The Chairman exhibited a collection of articles, and made the following remarks upon them :

"I beg to exhibit, from recent excavations in London, a portion of a Samian *acetabulum* with indented border and potter's mark, OF. ABN.; portions of two oil-vessels of peculiar brown tint, similar (as justly observed by Mr. Brock) to those found in the kilns near Colehester; an iron pike-head for cutting and thrusting; and a sample of the tasteful luxury of our forefathers in a knife-handle (3 inches) of Sicilian agate, mounted and bossed with silver. A pair of barber's scissors (7 inches in length) noted as bearing close resemblance to two other pairs found within the Precincts of Westminster Abbey, and now in the Chapter House; these having been used probably even as they. Also a very attractive pectoral cross of agate, resembling almost amber, set in gold, of Italian work, and of the seventeenth century; together with a rosary cross of cupped silver, filled with English pastes, of the sixteenth century, crystal and ruby, in its original stamped leather case; the first bead dropped into the top of the case prepared for its reception. This arrangement, together with the shapely beauty of the case, leads to the supposition of the cross itself having been only occasionally exhibited, perhaps on great festivals. If so, it may have belonged to some ecclesiastical dignitary, or possibly to a lady of high degree. A second highly wrought Moser snuffbox; the lid, of scrolls and flowers, heart-shaped, being fitted to a bisected shell,—a fashion of those days. A double interest belongs to this box, as a fine specimen of Moser's work, and the property of a gentleman, formerly a friend of the Prince Regent. A very massive ring of silver, wrought at each end of its bows, with two massive royal crowns, and beneath it two hearts. This portion of the jewel undoubtedly belongs to the sixteenth century. Later on, the ring was washed with gold in imitation of parcel-gilt, the original setting being supplied by an intaglio. A pale

cornelian with slender rufous line, exquisitely cut, to Holbein's portrait of the young Edward VI. The gem<sup>1</sup> must be referred to the close of the seventeenth or early years of the eighteenth century. Of course one would wish to identify this admirable work of art with one of the rings painted by Holbein on the fingers of Henry VIII. A fine statuette, of Spanish pottery, of S. Francis d'Assisi clothed in monastic garb, and wearing the scapular. This statuette is identical, or nearly so, with that exhibited in the South Kensington exhibition of Spanish art; and being of the same mottled surface, much resembling a species of our seventeenth century Staffordshire, this exhibit may be from the same *atelier*, if not by the same hand. May we assign it to Madrid? so little being known of the *locale* of Spanish fictile ware. A 'standing cup' of wood, which, though undestined to rivalry with another cup of mulberry, can 'hold its own', inasmuch as it was once the property and planting of a man whose self, whose policy, whose deeds, perhaps also whose 'pride of place', will be ever a landmark in our sixteenth century history—Cardinal Wolsey. The tree was planted and grew at Scrooby Palace, where yet remain one or two prone and most venerable pear-trees. This favourite residence of the Archbishops of York is now represented by stables and a bailiff's house. The present house is a portion of a manor-house which succeeded the Palace, and was built from its materials; so that in the rooms, but chiefly in the stables, one comes on carved and moulded and pierced wood and oaken beams once covering the proudest head but one in England. A bend of the river Idle borders the old orchard. Scrooby is a place of New England pilgrimage. Two of the 'Pilgrim Fathers' sailed thence in the *Mayflower*. To preserve the unities as much as possible, the cap of this cup is from a bit of an oaken beam, and on the lines of an example of a sixteenth century glass 'standing cup'; the cup itself from a glass of the period, recovered from Smithfield, and in my own collection; the foot from a cup in the Slade collection.

"Lastly, an object in metal, coated with an earthy matter, and presenting the appearance of a large funnel. This it cannot be, nor yet a strainer (*colum*, or *infundibulum*), the dome being thickly pierced with successive holes; nor yet a drain-head; such purposes being served by a baser metal. So far as conjecture gives place to certainty, in this place it may be taken as the cap or covering of a *thuribulum*. The central hollow spire (3 inches) would act as draught for the incandescent embers, and the multitudinous holes spread the white, fleecy perfume. Whether of ecclesiastical, domestic, or palatial use cannot be determined offhand. The folded structure of the central spire is

<sup>1</sup> Good impressions were laid on the table for members caring to have them, and Mr. Mayhew will send an impression to any member of the Association who may wish to possess it.

similar to a Roman bronze exhibited not long since. It may be Roman. The dome is 6 inches in diameter,  $2\frac{1}{4}$  inches in height; the central tube, 3 inches, soldered into the dome, which is silver. A Roman *thuribulum* coated with silver, and in two parts, was last year exhibited to the Association."

The following paper was then read by Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, in the absence of the author:

### CUDDY'S COVE.

BY DR. ALFRED C. FRYER, M.A.

Few counties can boast of richer antiquarian treasures than the good old county of Northumberland. The Temple at the Three Stone Burn; the Celtic village at Greaves Esh; the Mote-Hills at Elsdon, Ward, Morpeth, and Haltwhistle; the famous Bendor Gathering Stone; numerous camps; the rocks with incised circles discovered at Bewick, Rowting Lynn, Stamfordham, and other places, tell the story of the rule of an ancient British people. The dominion of the Roman conqueror has also left its mark. The Roman Wall has eleven of its stations in Northumberland. Watling Street, the bridges at Corbridge, Ingram, and Chollerford, various camps, the Wreken Dyke, and the Written Rock on Fallowfield Fell, each in its peculiar way points to the handiwork of Roman civilisation. The camp at Spindleston is one of the few traces which the fierce Dane has left behind him. The county is, however, fairly rich in castles and churches of the Norman and later English period; but there are, comparatively speaking, few remains of Anglo-Saxon times. The crypt of St. Wilfrith at Hexham, almost entirely composed of Roman stones and inscriptions; and the cross of Rothbury, a portion of which forms the pedestal of Rothbury Church font, while the remainder is in the Castle Museum of Newcastle, are, perhaps, some of the most interesting remains which the county of Northumberland possesses of our Saxon ancestors.

One age has its incised circles, mote-hills, and written rocks, and another has its castles, towers, and abbeys. Each is interesting to the student of history and archæology. Occasionally, however, some natural object, some stone, hill, or cave, attracts the attention on account of the historical or legendary associations surrounding it. Such a cave may be found on a bleak, moorland hill overlooking the valley of the Till. Scarcely any of our Northumbrian antiquaries mention this interesting place. Except for Raines' brief notice, which I quoted in my work on the *Life and Times of Cuthberht of Lindisfarne*, I do not remember meeting with any other account of St. Cuthbert's Cave, or Cuddy's Cove as the villagers in the neighbourhood still call it. It is now more than half a century since Raines mentioned the existence of this

ancient Cave; and as scarcely anything has ever been written about it, I thought I might be justified in visiting it, and laying before the British Archæological Association the following notes.

About four miles from the little town of Belford, and only a short distance from the village of Howburn, a natural cave may still be found on the southern slope of a long ridge of hills overlooking the smiling valley of the Till. Tradition uniformly affirms that St. Cuthberht at one period of his life inhabited it. "Is there anything improbable in the supposition", asks Raines, "that this was the hermitage for which, in the first instance, Cuthberht quitted Lindisfarne?" Bæda says<sup>1</sup> that he retired to a secluded place somewhere upon the borders of the territory more immediately connected with Lindisfarne. This is all he tells us; and thus we neither learn its exact situation nor its name. If we accept Bæda's historical information (and in this instance there seems to be no reason to doubt the accuracy of the statement), then we must discover some place for the saint's retirement on the mainland, and at no great distance from the church of Lindisfarne. I think we may venture to contend that the cave at Howburn was the one that has been inhabited by the patron saint of Durham. When we take into consideration that traditions declare that it was at one time the home of the saint, that the villagers still call it "Cuddy's Cove", without even knowing the tradition, and that it will satisfy the requirements of Bæda's statement, then I think we may certainly believe that this was the place which St. Cuthberht in 676 chose as his hermitage, and where this saintly apostle of Northumbria for a time adopted the life of an anchorite, following the traditions of his Church. From the small Railway Station at Beal it is only a few miles distant, and it is, therefore, of easy access from Lindisfarne. The Cave is now used by the farmers for a sheepfold; and it was here, doubtless, that Cuthberht took up his abode; and when the snow-flakes fell thickly, and the wintry blast howled round his lonely rock, his voice might be heard reciting the liturgy or chanting the hymns of his Church.

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Mr. G. Patrick then read a paper entitled "On a Roman Villa at Benizza, Corfu", by Walter Myers, Esq., F.S.A. This, it is hoped, will find a future place in the *Journal*.

The thanks of the meeting were voted to the exhibitors and readers of papers; and after detailed reference had been made to the exhibits, a vote of thanks to the Chairman was proposed by T. Morgan, Esq., V.P., F.S.A.

The proceedings of the meeting, the closing one of the session, were brought to a conclusion by the Chairman, who referred to the great

<sup>1</sup> *Vit. S. Cuthb.*, xvii.



diversity of objects that had been brought before the notice of the Associates ; while the attendance, and particularly the presence of so many ladies at all the meetings, had been so large. Fitting reference was made to the continued illness of H. Syer Cuming, Esq., V.P., F.S.A. Scot., whose presence had been so greatly missed during the whole of the session.

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## Obituary.

### DR. JAMES KENDRICK.

OUR valued friend Dr. Kendrick died on the 6th of April 1882, at the age of seventy-two. He was born on the 7th of November 1809, in Warrington. He was the eldest son of Dr. James Kendrick, M.D., also a native of Warrington, and one of the original members of the Warrington Natural History Society which formed the nucleus of the present Free Museum and Library.

Although Dr. Kendrick practised extensively in the medical profession, he always evinced a fondness for antiquities ; and we cannot, indeed, record his life without speaking directly in reference to that institution of which Warrington is proud, and in which the deceased took so much interest, viz., the Museum. As his connection with this institution (like his father's before him) was so close, it may not be out of place to mention that the Warrington Museum and Library were originally founded in the year 1838, under the name of the Warrington Natural History Society. The Society then consisted of a number of local gentlemen associated for the purpose of forming a library and a collection of objects of natural history, and for generally advancing the interest of the science. Its first location was a house in the vicinity of the present County Court ; but after one or two removals, the collection occupied a large room over the fire-engine shed in Market Street, which afterwards was used as a council chamber, and has now been demolished. On June 3rd, 1848, the institution, having by this time grown to importance, was denominated "The Warrington Museum and Library", supported by voluntary subscriptions. The collection was removed to a large house in Friars' Green, where it remained for several years. The Museum was finally taken over by the Warrington Corporation, and still remains under its control, its income being derived from a rate levied on the burgesses of the town, and by voluntary subscriptions. The foundation-stone of the present building was laid by William Beamont, Esq., on the 20th of September 1855, and the collection was removed thither in the course of the following year.



Dr. Kendrick had subsequently, in 1859, charge of the antiquities in the Museum, and he engaged himself in his work with very deep interest.

Many works were published by Dr. Kendrick, among them his "Warrington Worthies", "Some Account of two Ancient Chess-Pieces found at the Moot Hill, Warrington", "A Morning's Ramble round Old Warrington", "An Account of Warrington Siege A.D. 1643", "An Account of the Roman Station at Wilderspool", "Eyre's Warrington Press and its Local Associations", etc. He also appeared as a lecturer occasionally, and on the 22nd of December 1856 delivered a lecture in the large room of the Nag's Head Hotel, Sankey Street, on "The History and Traditions of Old Warrington." In 1869 he published a work on "The Roman Station at Wilderspool, near Warrington, the presumed *Condate* of Antonine." In connection with this publication were given illustrations of Samian ware found at Wilderspool, also sections of Roman mortaria, tetines or feeding-bottles for infants, and other Roman pottery, including a drawing of a *persona tragica* or tragic mask, iron fire-dog or band-iron, etc. In 1871 another publication appeared, "On Recent Discoveries at the Roman Site at Wilderspool." The deceased spent a very considerable portion of his time, and not a little of his fortune, in prosecuting the excavations at Wilderspool in search of Roman antiquities, all of which he afterwards presented to the Warrington Museum. Subsequently, through his instrumentality, that institution became possessed of an important series of impressions of the imperial seals of Germany. The originals were acquired by Dr. Kendrick at Frankfort some years previously. During the years 1839-40 there issued from Dr. Kendrick's pen a series of "Contributions to the Early History of Warrington." He brought his "Contributions" to a close with the termination of the civil war. His busy pen and brain alike being ever at work, in 1876 he favoured his fellow townsmen with a series of "Warrington Local Sketches", which consisted of notes and representations of some ancient houses, etc., on the Lancashire side of Cheshire.

Dr. Kendrick was pre-eminently an unselfish man. He was courageous, outspoken, manly, and open, in everything he did. He was, as is well known, an antiquary of no mean order, and to the science of archæology he was sincerely devoted.

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## Antiquarian Intelligence.

THESE paragraphs of antiquarian intelligence are prepared and condensed from miscellaneous communications made to the Secretaries; and it is earnestly requested that Associates will forward, as early as possible, notices of recent discoveries, which may be of archæological interest, coming to their cognizance.

*Discovery of British Urn-Burials at Basingstoke.*—Dr. Joseph Stevens informs us that some remains of a singular character have been brought to light, during building operations, on a hill north of the town of Basingstoke, immediately overlooking the Loddon. The elevation occupies about the same level as Winklebury, a British camp not far distant, of about four acres. In the Loddon valley, at a much lower elevation, Roman remains in some quantity have from time to time been discovered. The remains now under notice consisted of two cists which had been cut in the solid chalk, the floors of which had been puddled or prepared; and which, from the character of their contents, were evidently British graves, although on the first view there was some difficulty in determining whether they were graves or the floors of dwellings.

The first cist, which was square, and which was explored by Mr. Charles Cooksey, Hon. Secretary of the North Hants Archæological Society, on the 10th of March, was found to contain several vessels, three of which occupied three several corners of the grave, one being surrounded with flint stones. The cist was about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  foot in depth in the chalk, and the filling-in above the cist consisted merely of superficial earth and rubble to the depth of about 2 feet. From the non-protective character of the covering, the wet had penetrated so as to render it impossible to remove the vessels entire. With considerable difficulty, however, the greater portions of two of the urns were successfully removed. In addition to the pottery, the upper earth contained a Roman roof-nail, together with some bones of a small ox, pig, dog, goat, or sheep, and a tine of deer-antler. The earth surrounding the vessels was intermingled with small flints which had been charred and split by the action of fire, with some flint flakes, "pot-boilers", and scrapers, of which one scraper-flake was a good specimen. Some scraps of bone were so saturated and disintegrated as to render it difficult to determine whether they were human or animal; but the earth had a dark, unctuous appearance, as if animal matter had been mingled with it. The earth contained scraps of charcoal-ashes, one small portion being recognisable as charred bark of fir (*Pinus sylvestris*).

On the following day Dr. Stevens assisted Mr. Cooksey in exploring cist 2, which was oval in form, its depth about 18 inches, and its diameter, 5 feet by 5 feet; the earth above being in depth about 2 feet, as in the other cist. They found some flakes humanly wrought, and among the mould a scrap of red Roman ware, which might have fallen in from the top. The earth, as in cist 1, had evidently been mixed with some animal substance, and contained some ashes; but they recognised no human bones. A number of small, crackled flints were mingled with the earth, and the pottery had become damaged from repeated saturation. The vessels were, however, perfectly recognisable in position, and they succeeded in removing the larger portions of two good sized urns and a smaller basin-shaped vessel.

On careful inspection it was found that the whole of the pottery was of a very rude description, hand-made, coarse, and the paste largely mixed with flint grit. It was in colour brown, reddish brown, and pale clay; and one of the vessels had been reddened on its exterior; and the inner surfaces were blackened, as if from contact with ashes. One of the vessels bore a ring of small pits, as if made with a pointed stick or bone; and in another one the rim was cable-twisted, and it had a raised fillet round the neck. Collectively, it was thinner, harder, and better baked than the funereal pottery of the Celtic period. It had more the character of culinary ware; and the inference is that it may be considered as true British pottery manufactured at a time when Roman art in the fabrication of vessels had only, to a small extent, made itself felt among the British people. Much stress should not be laid on the absence of human remains in a soil long exposed to destructive agencies. Canon Greenwell, in his work on British graves, remarks on the absence of all traces of remains when the conditions are favourable to their decay.

As the pottery points to late British, or perhaps to early Romano-British times, these cists may be looked on as indicating the presence of a small British cemetery for the reception of incinerated interments. In opening the ground at the present Cemetery at Basingstoke, Mr. Cooksey found two entire burials of the British period. The bodies were lying in a flexed position; and the skulls, which are in Mr. Cooksey's possession, are similar in type to some round Celtic crania from Rudstone and Helporthorpe, depicted at pp. 613 and 617, *British Burrows*, by Greenwell and Rolleston.

*The Lincolnshire Survey*, edited by Mr. J. H. GREENSTREET, 16 Montpelier Road, Peckham, S.E.—This remarkable record, Claudius C. 5, is preserved in the Cottonian Collection at the British Museum. Its date is the commencement of the reign of Henry I, and it sets out the landowners in the county of Lincoln at this early period. The MS.

has not escaped antiquarian notice, for Hearne printed the text in the Appendix to his *Liber Niger*. Hearne's error as to date has been corrected, and the true one demonstrated, from the internal evidence of the record, by the late Mr. T. Stapleton, V.P.S.A., whose manuscript notes in connection with the subject are believed to be now deposited in the University Library, Edinburgh. The document is in fair condition throughout. It now consists of twenty-seven leaves, but was originally in the shape of a roll. This is apparent from the condition of the parchment, which clearly shews that it has been cut in order to bind it in book form. Probably no other county can boast of a similar return. From the paucity of historical materials of any kind at the date in question, it is extremely desirable to place the evidence which this palæographical rarity affords in the hands of scholars. In no other way can this be satisfactorily effected but by photography, and a carefully executed photographic fac-simile of the document will be produced by Mr. Praetorius. The subscription is £1 1s. per copy. Only one hundred copies will be printed.

*A History of the Arts of the Goldsmith and Jeweller in all Ages and all Countries*, with nearly one thousand illustrations, is in preparation. By JOSEPH GREGO and E. EMANUEL. 2 vols., super royal 8vo., cloth extra. Price £4 4s.—The object is to trace the progress of the arts of the goldsmith and jeweller through successive ages and in many lands; at the same time affording representations of good examples of those productions best calculated to illustrate the special features of the respective schools of artificers, the consideration of which forms the motive of the volumes now offered to the public. It may be said that these arts were in the past so closely allied with the history of civilisation, that the two narratives, advancing simultaneously, are practically inseparable. Throughout the social cataclysms which have disturbed the condition of nationalities at different periods, these arts, too, have ever been the first industries to revive and re-assert their all-prevalent influence over the minds of the community. The literature of the subject is rich and comprehensive. It may be safely conceded that a life's study would still leave many sources unexhausted.

Archæological science being of necessity the guiding principle of the compilation, the assistance of antiquaries, it was felt, would be the first encouragement accorded to an onerous undertaking like the present. Students of history will discover that it has been attempted to illustrate the progress of mankind, and the narrative of successive empires, through those sumptuous arts, the remains of which still survive to attest the high state of culture manifested at remote epochs. Collectors of sumptuous objects will find records, descriptions, and engravings, of the chief treasures to be found in national museums and similar

gatherings of *chefs-d'œuvre*. Corporations are concerned in the details of those memorials forming the heirlooms of great and ancient communities whose traditions extend far back into the past.

The work will be published by Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench and Co., 1 Paternoster Square.

*The Church Plate in the Diocese of Carlisle.*—This work will be edited by Mr. FERGUSON, M.A., F.S.A. Demy 8vo., cloth. Price 15s. With numerous woodcuts and lithographs. The old plate, silver, pewter, etc., in the diocese of Carlisle, and most of the modern, is carefully described, and the hall-marks recorded, and their peculiarities discussed. Particular attention is given to old provincial plate, such as old York, old Newcastle, etc., of which the diocese affords some fine and unique examples. Plate of the Britannia period abounds, and search has brought to light many examples of the skill of famous makers. A beautiful massing chalice, found at Old Hutton, Westmorland, is engraved in detail for the work, which contains other engravings, by Mr. J. D. Cooper, of Elizabethan and seventeenth century cups. An Appendix contains an account of the plate in possession of the Corporation of Carlisle and of the guilds of that city; and another Appendix deals with the old Newcastle silversmiths.

The publishers are Messrs. Ch. Thurnam and Sons, Carlisle, to whom subscribers should apply.

*The Monumental Brasses of Cornwall.* By EDWIN H. W. DUNKIN, Kidbrooke Park, Blackheath, author of *The Church Bells of Cornwall*. Sixty-one Plates, with descriptive Notes. Royal 4to. Price to subscribers, 25s.—This work, which has been several years in preparation, contains reductions of all the ancient monumental brasses in Cornwall. The drawings have been prepared and transferred with great care, so that the smallest details are reproduced. The notes contain a large amount of information hitherto unpublished, chiefly derived from the Public Records, wills, and parish registers. Many of the brasses are of great interest, and refer to the Cornish families of Arundell, Assheton, Bassett, Bluet, Boscawen, Chiverton, Coryton, Cosowarth, Courtney, Curtis, Eryssy, Gerveys, Killigrew, Kingdon, Lower, Mohun, Opy, Pendarves, Rashleigh, St. Aubyn, Trencreek, and so forth.

*Liverpool Municipal Archives and Records.*—Sir James A. Picton having, at the request of the Council, made a careful examination of the municipal archives and records for the purpose of preparing a catalogue, finds them so fraught with matters of interest illustrative of the history and progress of the town in its municipal affairs, the growth



of its commerce, as well as its manners and customs, a very small portion of which have seen the light, that he thinks it highly desirable that a selection from them should be published with the necessary annotations. He is willing to undertake the task without any view to remuneration, provided a sufficient number of subscribers can be secured to defray the expense of printing. He has placed the documents in the hands of Mr. G. G. Walmsley, of 50 Lord Street, Liverpool, for that purpose.

To those who have studied the history of the progress of the city and port, these records will supply a large fund of information, whilst to the general reader the insight afforded into the laws, institutions, manners, and habits of the olden time will well repay attentive perusal. The experience of the compiler in collecting materials for his previous *Memorials* will be a sufficient guarantee for the efficiency of the editing. The work is intended to be printed on old style paper, 4to. size. The volume will probably contain about 450 pages and a copious index. The price to subscribers will be 20s. After publication the price will be raised to 25s.

*Ancient Scottish Weapons.* A series of Drawings by the late JAMES DRUMMOND, R.S.A., with Introduction and descriptive Notes by Joseph Anderson, Custodier of the National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh (G. Waterston, Edinburgh and London, 1881).—This is an exhaustive work upon the weapons, offensive and defensive, used from early historic ages by the natives of Scotland. It consists of fifty-four large folio plates in richly and carefully coloured chromolithography of the finest style, representing targets, broadswords, dirks, powder-horns, Lochaber axes, halberds, brooches, bagpipes, harps, methers or drinking cups, spades, and implements with descriptions in detail. The Introduction, by Mr. Anderson, whose work upon *Scotland in Early Christian Times* was noticed in a recent part of our Journal, treats of the characteristics of the dress and paraphernalia of the Highlanders in reference to modern archaeological and artistic research, and points out the value of Mr. Drummond's Collection of Drawings, which, apart from their intrinsic merits as the work of one specially devoted to the illustration of whatever was distinctively national in the history and art of Scotland, are unrivalled in range and variety, and thoroughly representative in character. These drawings are now preserved in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, with which the artist had so long and so intimately been connected. Mr. Anderson prefaces to them a learned dissertation upon the Highland dress, first mentioned in Icelandic Sagas, the dress shewn on sculptured stones, the tartan and the plaid,

the trews, and the "Feile Beg" or little kilt; and another on the Highland armour of mail and plate, with especial examination of the development of military equipments in the 16th and 17th centuries, and the late use of bows and arrows. The whole of the introductory text is replete with information of an attractive character, and the student of Scottish Archæology will find little unsaid with regard to this especial branch of his research. A similar work to this, treating of English arms, British, Celtic, Roman, and Mediæval, and illustrated in the same liberal and artistic way, would be invaluable. The production of this one reflects great credit upon all concerned in it, and we are not surprised that it has had a successful issue. In her recent antiquarian publications Scotland has evinced great improvement, as we have taken opportunity of pointing out before, and this, the latest production of the Scottish press, will bear comparison with the best works of this class which England, or indeed any other country, has lately produced. We hope Mr. Anderson will take upon himself some day to prepare a companion volume to this upon the prehistoric weapons and implements of his country.

*Le Havre d'Autrefois, Reproduction d'anciens Tableaux, Dessins, Gravures, etc., se rattachant de la Ville du Havre.* Texte par M. CHARLES RÖSSLER, Membre de la Commission des Antiquités de la Seine-Inférieure. 3 Rue de la Bourse, Havre.—From the prospectus of this important work we give the following extracts :

"Nous avons maintes fois entendu exprimer le regret qu'aucun ouvrage ne reproduisit les anciens monuments de notre ville, sa physionomie d'autrefois, les scènes les plus curieuses de ses annales, ne fût en un mot pour le Havre ce qu'ont été, pour la capitale de la France et pour celle de la Normandie, des publications hautement appréciées, telles que *Paris à travers les âges*, *Paris à travers les siècles*, *Rouen disparu*, *Rouen qui s'en va*, etc. C'est qu'en effet l'histoire graphique du Havre n'a pas encore été faite, et par là nous entendons ce complément nécessaire, sous forme de gravures, de son histoire écrite, ce commentaire dessiné des descriptions et des récits qui la composent.

"Tandis que le Havre d'aujourd'hui peut être assuré que le souvenir de ses monuments actuels, des événements auxquels nous assistons, traversera les siècles perpétué par cent procédés différents, le Havre d'autrefois s'enfonce dans le passé sans laisser de lui-même d'autres traces que quelques dessins, quelques estampes, qui chaque jour se font plus rares, chaque jour s'éparpillent d'une façon plus irrémédiable, livrés à l'indifférence des uns et à l'incurie des autres. Il nous a semblé qu'il y avait urgence de grouper ces débris des temps qui ne sont plus, et d'en assurer la conservation à l'aide de reproductions qui auront le double avantage de multiplier les épreuves là où il n'en existe

plus qu'un petit nombre, et de ramener au jour des trésors historiques dont nos concitoyens ne soupçonnent même pas l'existence.

"M. Charles Rössler, Membre de la Commission des Antiquités de la Seine-Inférieure, lauréat de l'Institut, a bien voulu se charger de dresser le catalogue des documents conservés au Havre, à Rouen, et à Londres. Un travail du même genre, pour ce qui concerne les bibliothèques publiques et les collections de Paris, a été exécuté par M. Bouchot, ancien élève de l'école de Chartres, attaché au département des estampes de la Bibliothèque Nationale. C'est à l'aide de ce double catalogue que nous avons arrêté la liste des objets qui nous ont paru devoir être reproduits dans notre ouvrage. Cet inventaire, que nous nous sommes efforcés de rendre aussi complet que possible, sera publié dans la dernière livraison. Les notices qui accompagnent chaque planche ont été rédigées par M. Ch. Rössler, ou extraites par lui de documents originaux, souvent peu connus; l'auteur a pensé que le commentaire de nos planches présenterait un intérêt plus réel, s'il était extrait directement des mémoires de l'époque que s'il revêtait la forme de dissertations. Ainsi, les citations qui figurent dans la notice sur le bombardement du Havre en 1759 ont été tirées des Mémoires de M. Millot, échevin de la ville à cette époque; de même les détails sur Sarlabos et la cheminée du Logis du Roi sont la reproduction de passages des Mémoires de Marceilles, premier chroniqueur du Havre.

"*Le Havre d'Autrefois* sera publié en douze livraisons. Chaque livraison sera composé de 5 ou 6 planches accompagnées de notices explicatives. Le prix de la livraison, en papier superfin, des papeteries du Marais, est de F. 5. Il ne sera pas vendu de livraison séparée. Il paraîtra environ une livraison par mois. La liste des souscripteurs sera imprimée à la fin du volume. Les souscripteurs aux éditions de luxe auront droit à l'impression de leurs noms sur le faux titre."

*Scotland Sixty Years Ago.*—Since our notice of the proposed issue of these fine copper-plate etchings, given at p. 244, we are gratified to be able to draw the attention of archæologists to the completion of the work, which fully realises the favourable anticipations then recorded. The collection forms a magnificent portfolio of Scottish views; some shewing the nascent condition of towns then quiet and secluded, but now busy with operatives and resonant with the din of work; others reproducing rural scenes and suburban landscapes which are, perhaps, even now but little altered from their ancient state. The marvellous labour which has been expended upon these illustrations has resulted in giving them the appearance of sepia or monochrome paintings rather than of the work of a graver. But few copies remain unsubscribed for, and immediate application should be made by intending purchasers.

*Pedigrees of Roman Catholic Families.* (Lawson MSS.)—The distribution of this work, according to a notice issued by Stephen Tucker, Esq., *Somerset Herald*, and J. Jackson Howard, Esq., LL.D., will be in the hands of Mr. L. Hartley, Middleton Lodge, Richmond, Yorkshire. It will be issued in Parts (royal folio). Each Part will contain the pedigrees and histories of not less than two families, and will be priced at two guineas. The whole may extend to fifty Parts, and form six volumes.\* The impression is limited to two hundred and fifty copies, and we believe it to be Mr. Hartley's intention to give the first option of subscription to the heads of the various families whose collections will be included in the work.

*Catalogue of the Antiquities in the Mayer Museum, Liverpool.*—Mr. G. G. Waumsley of 50 Lord Street, Liverpool, announces that, with the permission of the Committee of the Liverpool Free Public Library and Museum, he is about to issue, by subscription, the above *Catalogue*, illustrated with autotype plates. These plates are taken from the examples of mediæval art given to Liverpool by J. Mayer, Esq., F.S.A. The specimens chosen for reproduction include unique and important examples of the ivory carvings, MSS., enamels, miniatures, etc. In issuing this work the publisher desires to place in the hands of those who take an interest in the Mayer Museum a series of plates, with detailed descriptions, of those works of art, which shall be a source of intellectual pleasure and interest to the general public, and of real service to the antiquary and student. The work will be brought out under the editorship and personal superintendence of Mr. C. T. Gatty, F.S.A., Curator of the Museum. It is proposed to issue the work in demy 4to. size, extending to about 150 pages, with twenty plates; the price to subscribers, 21s. The number of copies will be limited to 300.

*The Dene Holes in Essex.*—The singular deep excavations in the upper chalk in Kent and Essex, which are locally known as "dene holes", have long exercised the ingenuity of antiquarians without, as yet, any proved solution of their origin or purpose. The work of exploration of these antiquities in the latter county, which belong, possibly, in many cases at least, to the very earliest periods of human history, is being undertaken by the Essex Field Club, and their labours may be expected to bring forth interesting information. It is already known that these dene holes are not all of the same period, but that enlargements of some have taken place since the time when iron picks were employed, unless it can hereafter be demonstrated that there were bronze picks of the same form before the age of iron. There is, however, a conviction that these holes are of very great and most probably pre-historic origin. The supposition that they were subterranean



granaries is very reasonable. From the lines of ancient ditches, which in some instances are found on the surface in connection with the holes, the notion has arisen that such may have been employed as pit-falls for the capture of wild cattle or deer. The grouping of numbers of these dene holes in certain limited spaces, as at Cavey Spring and Stankey, at Jordan's Wood in Kent, and at Hangman's Wood, near Grays, in Essex, presents the appearance, when mapped, of being the sites of villages. The connections of these underground works with the ancient camps and hut circles, ancient roads and boundaries, and their associations with the topographical names of places in the neighbourhood or surrounding district, will also throw light upon their history and object.

The scene of the latest operations was a small, pretty wood, in almost primitive wildness, situated on the flat table land of tertiary geological age, on the estate of Captain Wingfield, by the permission of whose agent, Mr. Bidell, the explorations have been made. The geological section is shown in the excavation of the circular vertical shaft, which descends like a well hole to the chambers below in this descending order—gravel 5ft., Thanet sand 53ft.; beyond which the secondary strata of upper chalk are penetrated to a further depth of 22ft., making the total depth of the entrance shaft 80ft. Its diameter is about 3ft.; but its form is now funnel shaped at the upper part by the falling in of the sands from around the orifice at the surface, where originally the shaft was probably of no greater diameter than below. The descent was, through the courtesy of Messrs. Brookes and Co., of the Gray's Chalk Quarries, conveniently made in a wooden cage attached to a rope worked over sheer-legs by a winch. Having made the descent, the visitor stood upon a conical mound of sand, which had fallen in and trickled away in all directions. Around were lofty chambers excavated in the white chalk, the exact horizon of the strata being clearly indicated by the thin two-inch thick line of black tabular flints so well known to geologists. The chambers were in height about 18ft. and in breadth about 12ft., the walls perpendicular, and the roofs nicely arched. The plan of the chambers, which are six in number, is that of a double trefoil, each set of three being disposed on each side of the descending shaft. In the north-west and south-east direction the extreme length from the end of the one chamber to the end of the other is about 70ft.; in the other direction the two sets of parallel chambers are severally in similar extreme length about 46ft. This symmetry in the arrangement and the similarity in the arched form of all the chambers is adverse to the theory which has been propounded of their having been ancient marl pits for the application of the excavated chalk to the cultivation of the soil. The floors of the chambers are covered to some depth by a mouldy black humus,



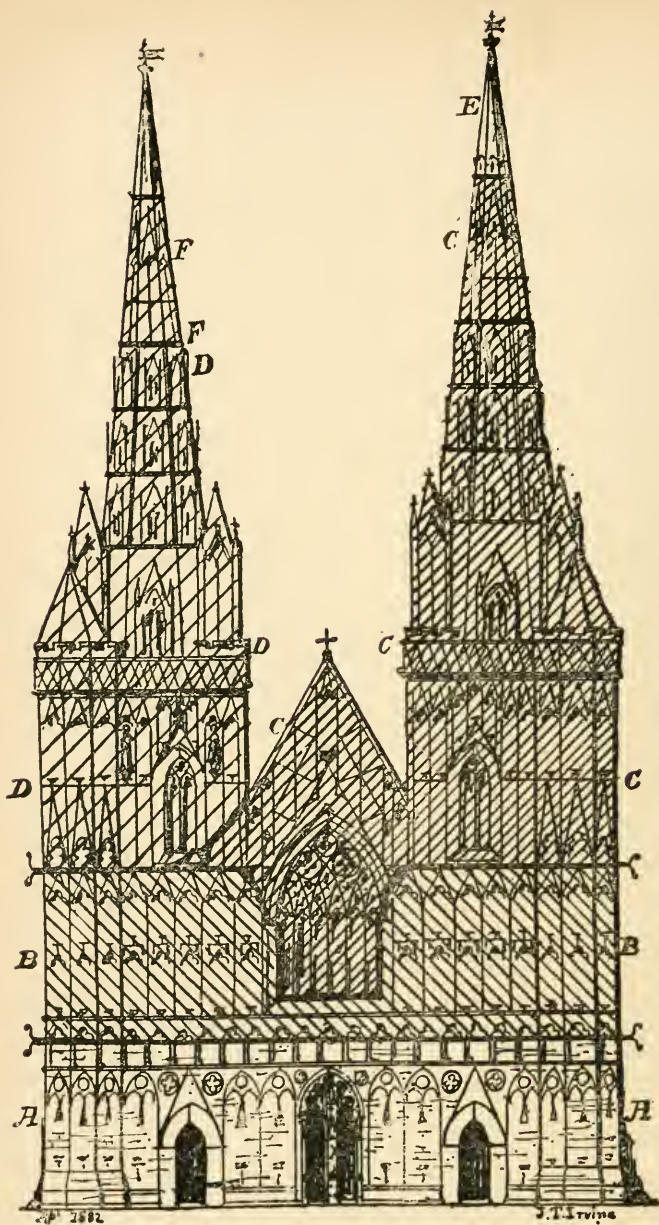
commingled in which are numerous small fragments of soft rotten wood. The humus is such as might well have been produced in the lapse of ages by the decay of corn or other grain, and is very like the dark soil produced by the decay of refuse malt from brewhouses.

The example dene hole under examination would appear to be either one that is of a later period, or which has been subsequently enlarged at a much later date than its origin, as there are everywhere marks of the tool by which the excavations were effected, and the diagonal positions of which, from proper right to left on the surface, would accord with the blows of a pick. It must be borne in mind, however, that there are undoubted examples of far more primitive means of operation. No ancient remains of animals nor any other relics were discovered. A few semi-recent bones of dogs and sheep, with the gelatine still remaining in them, were turned up from the superficial sand, being those of animals which had fallen in through the open entrance. Indeed, as there are no fewer than seventy-two of these dene pits within the very limited area of Hangman's Wood, the scene of these explorations will be found a place of no small danger by strangers who may trespass within its limits in poaching for archæological lore.

A MEETING was held, during July last, in the saloon of the Mansion House, for the purpose of eliciting public support in aid of the explorations recently carried on by Mr. Wood at Ephesus. Mr. Wood explained by plans and diagrams how the Temple of Diana was formed, and what might be expected to be brought to light if the excavations were continued to the end. At the same time he directed the attention to some very fine sculptures and drums of columns exhibited in the British Museum, photographs of which he exhibited to the meeting, one of which has been lately illustrated in the *Journal*. With the chance of adding other magnificent specimens of Greek architecture, a sum of £5,000 was required, and it was to obtain this amount that the meeting had been called. Professor C. T. Newton spoke of the further discoveries which were likely to be made illustrative of Greek architecture, sculpture, and inscriptions. He moved:—"That the complete excavation of the Temple of Diana at Ephesus is an object well worthy of support from the nation, which now possesses, in the British Museum, the only portions of the beautiful sculptures as yet discovered of the temple, and that a subscription list be at once opened for the purpose." Professor Donaldson seconded the proposition, and it was adopted unanimously, and the meeting concluded with a vote of thanks to the Lord Mayor for his kindness in taking the chair.

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WEST FRONT OF LICHFIELD CATHEDRAL.

# THE JOURNAL

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## British Archaeological Association.

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DECEMBER 1882.

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### THE WEST FRONT OF LICHFIELD CATHEDRAL.

BY JAMES T. IRVINE, ESQ.

(*Read May 17, 1882.*)

THE old Norman west front of Lichfield Cathedral appears to have existed down to the period of the Episcopate of Bishop de Meyland, Meulan, or Longespée, 1257-96, by whom a design for a rebuilding was obtained, probably from an architect of France, the country where most of his life was spent. With the French climate also the unusual feature of an external stone seat found at Lichfield was much more in harmony. The new design had been prepared, as many singular peculiarities seem to evidence, for a loftier and broader building. When committed to the hands of the Chapter for execution, it had suffered change sufficient to fit in with the existing and then recently erected eastern parts. Their new commencement began at the *cruz* (see ground-plan of Cathedral) working outwards. Apparently they utilised the existing Norman front wall, leaving it to serve as a hoarding to fill up the gap, and break the force of the south-west wind and rains. Through this wall slits seem to have been cut barely wide enough to produce through them, westwards, the nave-arches and work over. Beyond it, so much only of the east sides of the proposed western towers was carried up as should merely block the new roofs and vaulting of aisles (a feature over the nave executed only in wood), as yet, therefore, alone executed. The foundations of the rest of the towers and west end proper had been only

made, which lower and western stage of the end thus became the very last work undertaken ; and about a period when, from the here forced appointment, in 1282-9, of a coadjutor bishop (practically *de facto*), as also the demand by the first Edward of one half of the incomes of the clergy in 1291, had so diverted the supplies as necessitated a great curtailment of the design. This is exhibited in a variety of minute ways ; but specially so in the abandonment of the great west buttresses intended to give depth of light and shade to the front, whose foundations, constructed in great measure out of the old Norman ornamented stonework, still exist below ground. (See ground-plan, "33.83".) The change is seen also in the compression rather than abandonment of the centre porch, now thrust inward into the plan of the nave.

The design, with its many engrafted variations, appears to have attained, at the period of Bishop de Meyland's death in 1295, just so far as the top surface of the caps in niches containing kings. (A.A., diagram of west end.) A delay of some years then evidently ensued. So long as this period of building lasted, the greater durability of the white sandstone (that found underlying the red) was acknowledged by its general use for the main part of the decorative features ; the red being retained, as far as possible, for the ashlar walling or other simple works. Hence, internally and externally, the whole of the work of Bishop de Meyland's period is marked by this constructive coloured decoration ; which excellent practical arrangement unfortunately became abandoned upon the recommencement of the works by Bishop Langton, much to the disadvantage of the building.

Bishop Langton, while retaining the French architect's idea in a general way, yet crushed down its proportions, and tampered with its parts (B.B.) ; the gradual advance in the style introducing a coarser treatment of the arch-mould sections, wherein is wanting that delicacy seen in those of the lower stage. The jambs, but *not* the mullions, of the great west window belong to his work, which appears to terminate in the string below the belfrey-stage. Above this line all belongs to his successor in the see, Bishop de Northburg, under whom a marked abandonment of the Frenchman's design followed (C.C.C.): a change most unpleasantly presented in the groups of pinnacles feebly con-



nected with their base, which replace the intended gabled termination of the buttresses at the south-east and north-east angles of the respective towers. This departure from the original designs is seen in a variety of other things.

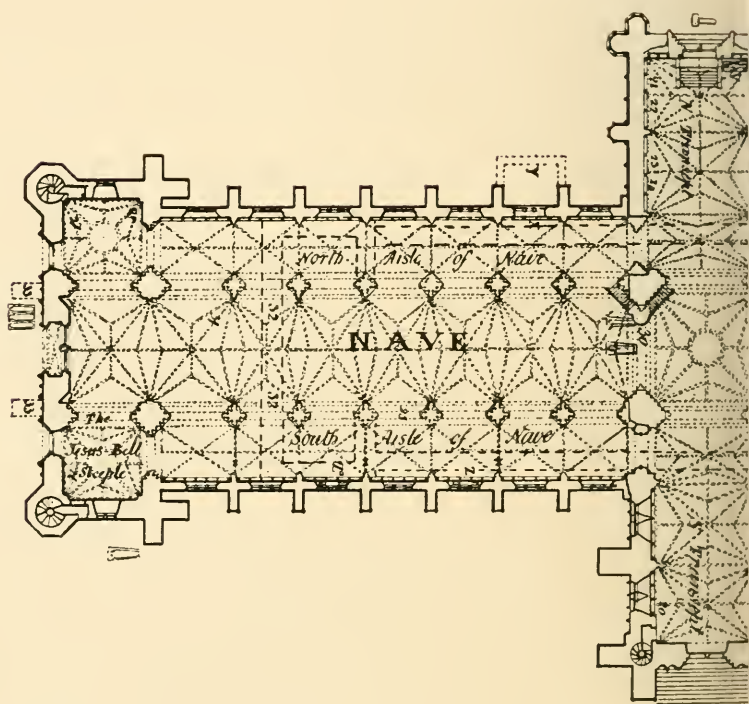
On the new design his architect lavished those abundant rows of ball-flowers which so enrich its appearance, while with better taste he increased again the heights of its parts beyond the intentions of the director of the work of Langton. The addition of the wanting mullions and tracery of the west window devolved on him. These new features are found to have been thickly powdered over with the same abundance of ball-flowers as those seen on the belfry-stage, though they are entirely wanting on the jambs executed in the Langton period. The completion of the spires, if both existed, belongs to the time of Bishop de Northburg, whose singularly elegant south-west one, with its beautiful proportions and outline, are so well known. This results from the admirable judgment his architect herein displayed,—a result produced and accompanied by some marked peculiarities. Thus, in a spire whose clear internal width was so great as 20 feet 4 inches, it would have been difficult indeed to give an entasis or swell whose result should undoubtedly prove satisfactory in execution. His plan perfectly accomplished this, while he abandons the old method entirely by adopting instead the idea of a spire divisible into three parts. Of these, the upper and lower divisions have their angles provided with bold rolls, both sides of which are ornamented with plain balls or pellets (into which shape, by this date, the ball-flowers had generally changed). One stone alone, on the north side of the lowest west spire-light, had had these cut into leaves, but abandoned, from the ordinary pellet being found much more effective at the height. The angles of the central division were furnished by him with two of these rolls, between which alone the pellets are introduced. He thus produced all the advantages of a swell, though none exists; the lines of the spire-walls being *perfectly* straight; their rectangular section throughout being not more than  $9\frac{1}{4}$  ins.; and on the horizontal bed,  $9\frac{1}{2}$  ins. He appears to have also had a rule of proportions by which he arranged the various spire-lights, so that their projection might but just lend proper spirit to the shape of his spire, but not vitiate its outline.

From the existing remains of the Figures of the Kings, many of whose beautifully designed and admirably sculptured heads now, alas ! form ornamental rockwork in the garden of the Cathedral chapter clerk, and in the grounds of Arthur Hinckley, Esq., at Stowe, there remains no doubt that, exclusive of the figures which belonged to the belfry-stage of the north-west tower, all the others which adorned the front, dated from the time of Bishop de Northburg ; to whose age had also existed the *very* original drawing, the production of the French architect. A singular circumstance seems to prove this ; for in the lower stage of the nave-buttresses, gablets are found presenting unusual sections of mouldings repeating nowhere else upwards, till (strange to say) in the gablets of the large pinnacles surrounding the base of his spire are found almost actual transcripts. Which fact can scarcely otherwise be accounted for than by the supposition that the large parchment sheets on which the French architect made his design, while mostly covered thereby, yet left certain blank spaces at the base and upper angles, whereon he had rudely sketched the peculiar sections proposed for use ; and in this way certain used below were here again ready at top, to the hand of the master mason of the very last period, who thus here reproduces tolerably close copies of a class of work elsewhere long since disused.

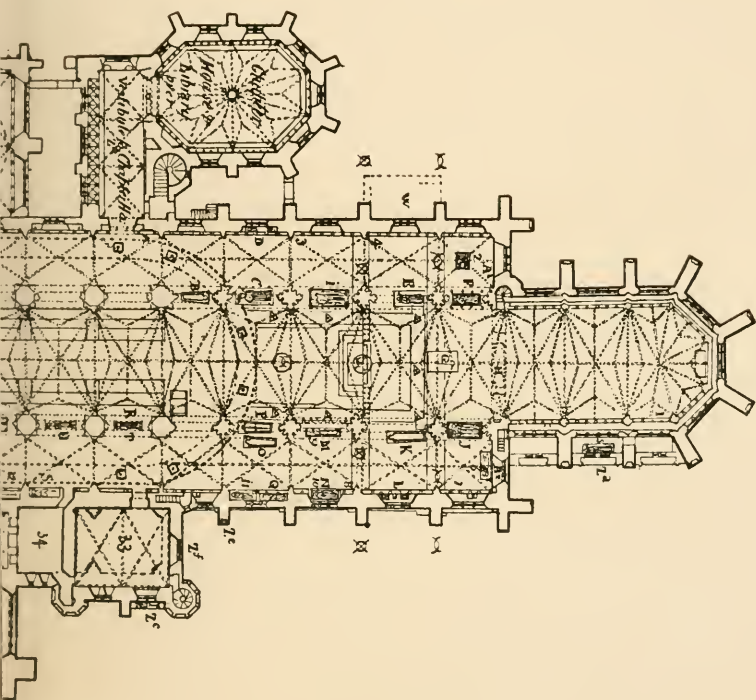
The belfry-stage of the North-West Tower retains but scanty fragments of Bishop de Northburg's work. The largest is that seen to the south of the belfry-window in the east wall. The other two sides retain the scantiest of traces in their sills. The arrangement for glass in these, however, and the glass groove in the fragment in the east window-jamb, together with the fact of glass grooves appearing in the windows of the south-west tower, and having existed long enough to wear out more than one set of iron bars, conclusively prove that no bells could have for some time existed in either tower.

For the necessity of rebuilding the upper part of the North-West Tower, no reason or cause can be assigned. The remaining slight traces of the early work of Bishop de Northburg are good and sound ; but they do not afford any suggestion. This rebuilding (D.D.D. of west front of diagram) took place late in Perpendicular times. As a mediæval copy it is probably unique, not only for its size





PLAN OF L



CATHEDRAL.





but for the amount of actual decorative features copied. No account of such rebuilding is at present known to exist ; but as the vaulting under the central and western towers appears not to have been completed until the time of Dean Denton, 1522-1532, whose arms appear ornamenting the bosses of both western vaults (and he is known to have built largely at Lichfield and other places), it may have been executed during the ten years while he was Dean of Lichfield. The four figures of this date, ornamenting its west and north faces, probably represent persons engaged in this rebuilding; that to the north face of the staircase nearest the Deanery may be intended for the Dean himself.

Singularly enough, the actual belfry-stage, from base-string up to under parapet, is just 1 foot  $7\frac{1}{4}$  inches less in height than its south-west neighbour. Its spire was also less ; a difference which the Chapter attempted to overcome, not very successfully, by an elongation, when in 1841 they rebuilt 42 feet of the original top (F on diagram of front, E being an earlier rebuilding).

The complete state of the front design is handed down with singular accuracy in Hollar's fine etching which adorns good old Fuller's *Church History*. This etching must have been taken from a larger and really admirable drawing by Samuel Kyrk,<sup>1</sup> which was made for Elias Ashmole prior to the civil war, probably in 1620. This drawing, had it been but recoverable, would, from its extreme accuracy, have been the most valuable representation left us of any English cathedral of so early a date ; of late reduced to a sort of plaster-model, whose carefully constructed cement clothing covered but a skeleton whose bones were twisted clothes-lines and nails !

The reconstruction, in solid materials, of the magnificent front of the Mercian cathedral will ever record that period of the fabric's history when the Chapter were presided over by the Very Reverend Dean E. Bickersteth, the change being solely owing to his unwearied exertions, wherein he has been spared and permitted to effect and draw towards a close results whose gains had required, in an earlier day, both the lives and wealth of not less than at least three bishops of the see, each having been men of considerable mark in their day.

<sup>1</sup> Kyrk was probably a native of Lichfield.

# NOTES ON THE BOROUGH RECORDS OF THE TOWNS OF MARAZION, PENZANCE, AND ST. IVES.

BY REV. W. S. LACH-SZYRMA, M.A.

(Read August 1881.)

I PROPOSE to select the records of three of the boroughs with which I am acquainted. I have no reason to suppose that they have more special points of interest than scores of others in England: indeed, neither of these towns is, or ever has been, of leading importance in English history. Neither of them has ever reached 12,000 inhabitants; nor probably, during the period referred to, above 4,000. One of them is comparatively a modern town. And yet, I think, even here we find some points worth consideration. The one point in which they may possess any advantage over other towns is that they are the three chief towns of the Land's End district,—a district somewhat cut off from the rest of England until these railway days,—and that thus local life may have developed itself more than in towns nearer London.

*Early History of Marazion.*—The chief of these towns, from a historic point of view, is Marazion or Marketjew, the small town close to St. Michael's Mount. If that Mount be indeed the Ictis of Diodorus (of which some doubts are now expressed), the great tin-mart of the ancient Britons, then the town might be regarded as one of the oldest in Great Britain. Not above three miles from it are the very interesting remains of Chysauster; and in the neighbourhood some of the most curious remains of the primitive Celtic population to be found in Great Britain. These remains shew that Penwith was further advanced in civilisation, or rather house-building, than one would suppose. The multitude of remains in Penwith (apparently anterior to the Roman conquest) shew that the population must have been considerable even at an early date, and in a state a good deal above mere savages.

*Penzance*, as I need hardly say, is a comparatively modern borough, originating, possibly, in the markets held in Alverton, at the head of the bay; it was burnt by the Spaniards in 1595, and takes a certain position from the time of James I, when it received its charter.

*St. Ives*, in spite of its legends about St. Ia and the martyrdom of Christian missionaries at Porthia (its ancient designation), can hardly have existed as a town prior to the reign of Henry IV, when the church—a very curious, old building with exceedingly fine wood carvings—was erected. On the decay of Lelant, once the chief port on St. Ives' Bay, it assumed a certain importance, and took a position in English history.

*John de Vere*.—As we have been dwelling on the Wars of the Roses at Malvern, the chief event connecting them with Marazion may be worth noting. It occurred in 1471, the date we have been concerned with chiefly of late. John de Vere, Earl of Oxford, after his defeat at Barnet fled to Milford Haven, and thence to Cornwall. He reached Mount's Bay in disguise, and with his followers made a pilgrimage to St. Michael's Mount. As soon as he entered the island fastness he declared it to belong to Henry VI, and took possession of it. Here he fortified himself. John Arundel, Sheriff of Cornwall, was ordered by Edward IV to advance with the *posse comitatus* of Cornwall to Marazion. He summoned the Earl of Oxford to surrender, but in vain. An attempt was then made to storm the Mount. The Lancastrians then made a sally, and Sir John Arundel was killed, fulfilling the prophecy,—

“When upon the yellow sand  
Thou shalt die by human hand”,

—a prophecy which had forced him before then to quit his house at Efford, and reside inland.

*The Markets*.—The first question opened by the consideration of our Cornish borough records is, Were towns generally formed, as our Cornish ones were, in connection with markets? Penzance and Marazion certainly were pre-eminently market towns. The name of the latter certainly, I think, contains the Cornish for market in it, as “Marketjew”, its later English form. It is “a town of the market” assuredly. St. Ives stands out as Porthia, as

a port as well as a market. In Penwith (*i.e.*, the Land's End district) there once was another market town more central in position, *i.e.*, Buryan, which now has sunk to a village.

*The Names of the Towns.*—Very many of the Cornish towns, including each of those I am especially considering, have two or more names, *e.g.*, Marazion is called also Marghasion and Marketjew, St. Ives is called Porthia, Penzance was called Buriton. But there are not a few cases in which towns have a double name, *e.g.*, Launceston was called Dunheved. Out of Cornwall there are many familiar instances, *e.g.*, Plymouth as Sutton, Salisbury as Sarum, etc. Thus we find the custom which often confuses English travellers abroad applies to parts of their own native land, *e.g.*, Köln for Cologne, Aachen for Aix-la-Chapelle, Basel for Bâle, Praha for Prag.

The same causes, *i.e.*, concurrent languages, or a combination of two towns, are here at work. It seems Buriton was a part of Penzance, but Marketjew is a sort of attempt to translate Marghasiew. Porthia is a Cornish form of the port of St. Ives. Thus we see the same law at work as confuses us on the Continent, each name taking its duplex form, as at Basel or Köln. Here, however, we have the old Celtic, or Cornu-British, running almost concurrently with the English. In practice it may be true that one name dominates, for Marazion even is rarely called Marketjew, and never Marghasiew now; but for all that, whatever the rule may be as to common conversation, in old documents we are reminded of old names.

*Light on the Subject thrown by the Documents.*—In the charter, and in borough documents since, we have the town spelt as Margasiewe; and in a deed of 1807 it is so quoted as Margasiewe, *alias* Marazion. The topic of the name of Marazion has learnedly been discussed at great length by Professor Max Müller in his *Chips from a German Workshop*, vol. iii, cap. xiv. A fantastic derivation was suggested for Marazion from the Hebrew, *i.e.*, “Bitter”, Mârâh; “Zion”, Sion. This was most improbable; and Prof. Max Müller shews pretty conclusively that the *mara* or *margha* is really “market”; the Cornish form of the Latin word *mercatus*, which the Cornishmen adopted possibly after the Roman conquest. The *ion* he accounts



for as being a mere plural ending "*ion*". The variations of the name are very great, *e.g.*, Merkin, Meerceueu (Carew), Marhesin, Marhin (Leland), Markysyw, Marchew, Margew, Machasyowe (William of Worcester), Marghasiewe, Marchaseyownog, Marchadyon (1257). The mediæval meaning was "Thursday's market".

Among the names of the places in the parish which are fixed in the records are: Park-an-Venton (enclosure by the fountain, or the enclosed fountain), Tol Radden, Adjoreeth, Henfer Gollie, Gwallan. So Marazion can boast of its share of curious old Cornish names.

The Cornish rebellion of 1549 seems to have marked an era in the history of these Cornish boroughs, to judge by the charters themselves, and also by local legends. It is said that Marazion was a town of at least relative importance during the middle ages, Marketjew being the little *urbs* of the Land's End district, or Penwith. Many are the stories of old folklore that gather around this town; and when a town is brought into the "droll", Marketjew is the place selected, not St. Ives, nor Mousehole, nor even Buryan, still less Penzance. Thus John of St. Levan meets with his town adventures in Marketjew, where the villains of the story are hanged. This is the sole ancient "droll" in the Cornish language. Also, when the Lord of Pengersic (the Cornish Faust) receives his mysterious Mephistopheles, it is to Marketjew the visitor comes, who carries him off from his castle, with his fairy wife. So in Jack the Tinkeard it appears as a town; and also in the legend of the Brewer Mayor of Marketjew.

This view of its being the largest town of the district is supported in the borough charter of Elizabeth of 1595. The town is called Marghasiewe, and was formerly "a mercantile town of great repute, until the said town, by the impious fury of false rebels and traitors against ..... Edward the Sixth ..... was by them destroyed and laid waste. The building and edifices of the same town are now in great decay, ruin, and desolation." So Queen Elizabeth, to remedy these evils, enacted that they should have the privileges of a borough, under the name, "Mayor, Burgesses, and Inhabitants, of the Town of Marghasiewe." There were to be eight burgesses and twelve principal inhabitants.

The borough charter of Penzance is a large roll of parchment written over in black letter, with the seal of James I attached. The preamble sets forth "that our vill of Penzance is an ancient vill and port, both populous and of great force and strength" (in this there was certainly exaggeration) "to resist the enemies that shall there invade, and defend the country there adjoining" (here we see reference to the armament of the town), "and is also a vill that exercised merchandize from time wherein the memory of men existeth not; and also having much commerce in and upon the high sea by means of the port of the same vill; and whereas the inhabitants of the same vill in times past have been manifoldly burthened and daily heavily burthened with expense in fortification and defence of the vill aforesaid, and to the fort of the same ..... and especially in the taking and apprehending of pirate and marine felons, and robbers upon the high sea; and very lately in the new erection and reedifying the vill aforesaid, which was by the invasion of the Spaniards demolished and burnt, to the injury of the inhabitants."

The borough maces of Marazion are of some age. The older set is of iron coated with silver, having inscribed on it two circles surrounding a central rose, with the inscription, "John Asie, Mayor of the Towne and Boroughe of Marcasiewe." The date, unfortunately, is effaced; but it is believed to be shortly after the charter, as John Asie is marked as second burgess in that document. If of 1596, or the sixteenth century, it would be, I believe, among our oldest borough maces. The modern set is of 1768. The Mayor's staff of office is of the date of 1684.

The arms of the town of Marazion are three castles *argent* on a field *gules*, with a knight's helm crowned with a castle. The two copies of the borough arms in the Town Hall itself differ essentially. The one of the mayoralty of William Bains, in 1748, gives the three castles with a single tower castellated; that of the mayoralty of William Cornish, 1770, gives the castles with three towers each, roofed in. Both sets of castles are ornamented with crosses; but in Cornish's set of arms there are four crosses to each castle; in Bains' only two. I think the royal arms of the Town Hall are of the date of Queen Anne, dated 1712. The Penzance royal arms in the Guildhall

are also of the same period, and said to be taken from the wreck of Sir Cloudesley Shovel's ship. Was this a common period for putting royal arms up in town halls?

The borough arms of Penzance are St. John the Baptist's head on a charger. The story is that James I, when he gave the charter to the borough, asked the meaning of the name Penzance. He was informed that it was a compound of two Cornish words, *i.e.*, "*pen*", meaning head (a word which runs through Celtic languages, and which some supposed is connected by common Aryan origin with the Latin *caput*); and "*sans*", holy, a Cornish word probably adopted from the Latin *sanctus*. The King said that it must be a holy head; and then, as he could think of nothing but the head of St. John the Baptist, he gave this. There may be some doubt, however, whether the town arms are not connected with the Knights Hospitalers at Madron. The name Holy Head is also disputed. If it was, *pen* would still mean a headland or cape, as it is constantly used in Cornish, where we have

"The Tre, Pol, and Pen,  
By which you know the Cornishmen."<sup>1</sup>

The *sans* is suspicious. *Sawn*, a sandy bay, has been suggested as very appropriate. A headland in a sandy bay is a fairly accurate derivation. But be it as it may, the arms of Penzance always have been the head of St. John the Baptist in a charger.

Before speaking of the documents themselves, perhaps the most interesting question that suggests itself would be, in what language were they written? I suppose you all are aware that the old Cornish language was a tongue totally distinct from the English, and not even belonging to the same Teutonic family. It was a Celtic language of the Cymric division, nearly akin to the Welsh, but still nearer to the Breton. When an English stranger was passing through Cornwall in the days when part of the Marazion documents, and not a few of our parish registers were written, and asked his way, he might have met with the reply, "*Mee a navidra cawsa Sawznech.*" "I do not know how to speak Saxon."

<sup>1</sup> "By Tre, Ros, Pol, Lan, Caer, and Pen,  
You may know most Cornishmen."

In the reign of Henry VIII, the eccentric physician Andrew Borde wrote his glossary for English travellers in Cornwall; and up to the time of James I there were two languages concurrent in Cornwall, *i.e.*, Cornish, and what Borde calls "naughty English". As late as 1611 a miracle play was written in Cornish, and probably acted for many years after.

In what language would public documents be? In spite of the prevalence of Cornish as a vernacular tongue, I am not aware of any official or legal documents in it. All its existing written remains are the miracle plays; the little epic *Mount Calvary*; a song or two; and a story, probably very late; a few proverbs; and some family mottoes. The legal documents appear to have been all Latin or Norman French, and at the period we consider English (somewhat "naughty English" occasionally), or English with a few words which are now accounted provincialisms, and constructions which seem to shew that even the officials who wrote the entries were imperfectly acquainted with the language. Whether this is usual in old English boroughs I must leave you to decide. If so, it was merely the result of defective education usual in town officials in, say the seventeenth century. If the Cornish case is singular, then it might be argued that the people were gradually passing from one language to another, and were in the state that some of the Welsh and Highlanders in remote parts are at present.

It is a curious thing to notice how few official traces of Cornish there are, or how slight is the evidence of its having been used by the upper classes in Cornwall even during the middle ages. All the ancient epitaphs and inscriptions are either Latin or Norman French. Of the latter, more traces remain than we should suppose are in the Cornish dialect. When English dominated, however, after the Reformation, it became quite established in use. However, in the Register of Paul parish, near Penzance, where there is a record of the destruction of the church by the Spaniards in Elizabeth's reign, we have a Latin entry. In this church there is, perhaps, the only Cornish epitaph extant.

*Census under Charles II.*—A question arises, was it a common custom before the governments of Europe had



established the usage of a national census, for cities and towns from time to time to have a local census? I think it must have been so, for how often in mediæval history do we find records of the number of troops to be raised by a city? Not merely in England, but in most of the cities of the Continent, there must have been an occasional census. To speak of cases on which I have made inquiries, I think there is no doubt that a census was held occasionally of the cities of Cracow and of Gnesn during the middle ages, the statements of chroniclers being so minute; also probably of the Flemish cities and the Hanse Towns. But these probably were mere lists of the male inhabitants. As to females, I do not think the evidence of a census is so strong. But what has become of the records of these ancient lists? Perchance some of them might even now be unearthed among the archives and the presses of the Town Hall or Rathhaus, or Hôtel de Ville, of many a town in Europe. In Marazion we have, curious to say, such a document drawn up at the time of the restoration of Charles II. This seems to have been compiled in connection with rating.

In connection with the census we come across the subject of lists of persons who should take parish apprentices. These lists are curious records of the old fashioned way of "boarding out", and the way the poor-law worked in the days of our fathers. A quaint illustration of the indenture of the parish apprentice in the last century, at Colyton in Devonshire, is given in the last volume of our *Western Antiquary*. The poor little pauper is bound over to his or her master with a long deed, in the sixth year of the reign of "our most Gracious Sovereign Lord George, by the grace of God King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith", etc., under the sign and seal of the churchwardens, overseers of the poor. Such documents were, doubtless, used in our Cornish boroughs to bind over the paupers whose names are given in these lists to their respective masters. The system was liable to abuse. It might, as readers of *Oliver Twist* will see, be corrupted into a sort of temporary slavery, or it might provide orphans with kind and influential protectors and foster-parents. Be this as it may, the system was in full operation in the Cornish boroughs, and it occupies a large portion of their business documents.



*Assize of Bread.*—Among the documents of the borough of Marazion worth mentioning as illustrating the change of opinion, and legislation as affected by that opinion, during the past century, is the “Assize of Bread.” It is a large parchment roll giving in parallel columns the weight of loaves according to a fixed tariff of prices. It is divided into two sections, for small bread and larger bread. The former includes the penny loaf and the two-penny; the latter, the sixpenny, the twelve-penny, and eight-penny. The proper weight of each is fixed. This was in consequence of an Act authorising the corporations of towns to set an assize of bread. Assize of bread in Penzance in 1686.

*Capital Inhabitants.*—One of the peculiarities of Marazion was the institution of capital inhabitants. The Corporation are defined as the mayor, burgesses, and capital inhabitants. The name “capital inhabitants” gives one an idea, on a ludicrously diminutive scale, of the old patrician families of the great *Urbs*, or the noble families and heads of houses of the Italian or German cities. I am not aware if this was frequent in English towns at the period. If not, it is curious it should have been enacted here.

One of the most remarkable things which appears continually in these minutes is the amount of feasting that went on at the public expense. The corporations of these three boroughs must in a small way have been something like the City guilds of London are said to be at present, very fond of a dinner. Take Penzance as a sample. In 1658 we have twelve ordinaries at a “*taveran*, with wine and *bere*”, when the Corporation drew up a “remonstrance to the protectee”,—a Cornishism, I suppose, for the Protector Oliver Cromwell. Next year we have three boxes of prunes and fourteen pounds of raisins for the Recorder. When Charles II was crowned, the borough paid £14 10s. for the wine and beer in which the Merry Monarch’s health was drunk. “Burnt sack and claret” came to £1 12s. in 1663. In 1670, to drink to the memory of Charles I cost £1 10s. A public dinner for Bishop Trelawney cost £6 16s. 4d. In 1698 we have a bottle of canary wine charged. Drinking the Duke of Cumberland’s health after Culloden is also charged (£2 13s. 4d.). Such entries swarm.

Among the ancient oaths in the Marazion borough records are: 1, the mayor's oath, a tolerably long one; 2, the burgesses' oath; 3, the twelve principal inhabitants'; 4, the constable's oath; 5, the viewer of the markets' oath; 6, the town clerk's.

The mayors of these towns present a long list of names of no general interest; and yet about the mayoralty there is a certain amount of legend. Marketjew or Marazion is especially rich on this point. The proverb says, "Like the Mayor of Marketjew sitting in his own light." The subject of this proverb about Marazion mayors has excited recently some controversy both in the *London Antiquary* and the *Western Antiquary* of Plymouth. I have made inquiries at Marazion on the subject, and find that the proverb is "sitting in his own light", as I have given it, though "standing in his own light" (without any reference to a mayor) is a common Devonshire saying, probably used throughout England. The local legend is that it refers to the mayor's seat in the old Town Hall, though I see that a correspondent in the *Western Antiquary* thinks that it refers to the mayor's seat in Marazion Church. In both cases, to judge by local tradition, the mayor sat in his own light, or with his back to the light. In the collection of proverbs by the Proverbs' Committee of the Folk-Lore Society, I hope some note will be taken of proverbs about mayors and corporations. I believe this is not a singular one, though in West Cornwall rather celebrated.

Mayors in old times must have had sometimes responsible and awkward posts. There are a few curious points of history about mayors:

1. St. Ives. The Mayor of St. Ives was hanged after the rebellion of 1549, possibly because he led the St. Ives men in their revolt. The Mayor of Bodmin met a similar fate from Sir Antony Kingston under circumstances of peculiar atrocity.

2. In the reign of Queen Anne, John Carveth, Mayor of Penzance, achieved a little local *coup-d'état* which reminds one of the achievements of the *podesta* in some Italian cities. "By force and violence", to quote the borough records, he retained the mayoralty for three years. "John Carveth stood in Mayor unlawfully"; so Penzance

forfeited its charter. Four blank pages occur in the borough records, and the reign of the usurper was counted an interregnum. This is a curious little episode of borough history, to which I suspect there are few parallels in other towns of England.

Much of the earlier records of Penzance, as well as the very name of Marazion, refers to the markets. Page after page, year after year, we find records of the farming of the market and also of the Quay. It would seem as if this was the most important business of the municipality. Both towns probably arose from their markets. So, perhaps, did St. Ives to some extent. Its market was chartered in 1488 by Henry VII. Probably in this case all three towns were formed in the ordinary way; for I suspect that a majority of our European towns, when unconnected with a court of king or great noble, or a cathedral, were formed around markets. This is as true of Belgium and Germany as of England.

One incidental point I have noticed in relation to not merely borough records in Cornwall, but to parish registers also, *i.e.*, the inferior style of writing during the Commonwealth. Is this an ordinary thing throughout England, due to the fact of persons of less education getting the administration into their hands, and to the office of town clerk being given to some popular person without special educational requirements? In Cornwall I have noted it. Although the records of the reigns of James I and Charles I are beautifully written, under the Commonwealth they are scarcely legible in many parts. I have noticed the same in other of the parish registers. I do not know if the same is true of English documents of the period generally. One point, however, we should bear in mind, *i.e.*, that English writing was about this time in a transitional state.

In 1659 there is a curious entry of a decision of the Corporation to put a certain Martyn Bosence to the University. This was done, and a vote made, the Mayor and eleven others signing the document. This custom of putting promising young men to the University has a good deal to be said in its favour. In the present day open scholarships cover, to a great extent, the need it met; but in a Utopia one can well fancy a corporation selecting

by examination the ablest young men of the town, and giving them the chance of the best education the country could provide. It is a pity one does not more often meet such entries as this in borough records. This, possibly, was one of the new lights of Cromwell's administration. I do not recollect noticing similar entries at later dates. I am not sure that this old notion might not be worth the notice of go-ahead nineteenth century reformers. Town exhibitions are not without precedent even in the Land's End district.

A list of prices of a sort of *octroi* occurs at Penzance. The Cornish word (of Saxon origin, however, as is thought) *clome* is used. "Every dozen of English clome" to pay one halfpenny. "Every pack or bag of shrids." The list is very long, and would be tedious to quote.

The licensing lists are interesting: *e.g.*, an apothecary's license in 1713; whitesmith's, 1717; to a seller of small ware, 1721.

*Musical Entries.*—St. Ives seems always to have been a musical town. The borough was liberal in its charges for musicians and borough minstrelsy. These performers seem to have been employed on all grand occasions, and paid out of the rates. The borough fiddler, though I suppose not literally an establishment in the borough now, is still in some sense a fact, for a particular fiddler precedes the Mayor and Vicar and sundry officials with a party of ten little girls who, according to the bequest of Mr. Knill, go up to the Knill Monument on St. James' Day once in five years, and the girls dance round it, the borough fiddler playing before them. It is a quaint custom, and was kept up this summer. In Penzance they were not so much behind St. Ives, *e.g.*, a payment of 5*s.* for beating the drum at the coronation of Charles II. Two payments for powder occur at the same time, either for salutes in rejoicing or for martial purposes. Possibly England was afraid of a civil war again. In 1662 and after we again and again find mention of purchases of powder and wrapper for powder-barrels, etc.

The charges for arms and ammunition are curious and instructive. These towns, however, be it remembered, were seaports, and therefore liable to attack from pirates and privateers. In 1689 there are, as might be supposed,



many charges for powder. Also "men were paid for fitting the arms at the noise (*sic*) of the French fleet. £6 were paid for "great guns", *i.e.*, artillery.

One may trace the effect of events on the public mind in these records: the great news of the victory of Russell over Tourville cost Penzance £4 15s. in rejoicings. In April 1696 there was a thanksgiving for William III's deliverance. St. Ives also spent a good deal, from time to time, on armaments, on powder and cannon.

So much for the weapons; but who wielded them? Were there trained bands in connection with the towns, as in London and great cities of England or Belgium and Italy? Or was it taken for granted that the townsmen would use them properly? These armaments in the seventeenth century open a curious feature of English town life. In a rough way it would seem as if almost every Englishman was a soldier, just as every Prussian is now.

"St. George and merry England" was an old war-cry, and St. George's Day was a national festival. On the restoration of Charles II we see the Corporation of Penzance had a feast, and paid for wine on St. George's Day, possibly in health-drinking. The festival has quite died out in Cornwall; but is, I believe, kept up by a few in some parts of England and the colonies.

Bonfires were kept up as well at Penzance in the time of Charles II as under Victoria; but then they were supported partly out of the rates. In 1665 there is a payment of £2 9s. for wine and bonfires. On May 29 they had bonfires, at least under Charles II. The loyal borough voted £1 4s. for this object in 1579. They had bonfires also on the return of William III in 1692, and on Queen Anne's coronation: indeed, it would seem on all grand occasions. Penzance always has been, and is now, in 1881, a great town for bonfires,—an ancient institution of old Cornwall which is still highly popular. But our bonfires of Petertide in 1881 (it is strange the Church festival should shew more vitality than the secular) were arranged by a committee, and not, I need hardly say, assisted by the borough rates.

The Maypole enters often into Penzance accounts, and later than one would suppose. We are all familiar with



the restoration of the Maypole at London under Charles II, and the effort to re-establish the May games. In Cornwall the observance of May Day is still more vivid than in most parts of England or even Europe. The Helston "Furry Day", though on May 8, is still a remarkable institution,—a combination of old English with local May usages. An account of this was given in this last June's *Antiquary*.

In Penzance records we learn that in 1738 Mr. Jenkin had £1 1s. for a spar for the Maypole. The Maypole was illuminated, and three new halberts bought, at the cost of £3 2s. 8*d.*, in honour of the battle of Culloden in 1745. In 1749 the Maypole cost £3 17s. 4*d.*

Oftentimes charities occur, *e.g.*, a woman from Lincoln in 1698 had a grant, and two decrepit men from Ireland. Poor French Protestants were relieved in 1688.

The efforts to defend the charters in 1687 probably occur in many of the borough records of England. Penzance had a good deal of trouble and expense in this matter. Over £80 were spent in fees in defence.

One of the most important interests about these records is the reference to great events, and how they seem to have affected the Corporation and townsfolk. Let us take Penzance. The Restoration produced naturally a great deal of carousing and festivity in loyal Cornwall. Monmouth's rebellion caused, as might be supposed, alarm; and when defeated, festivities. There were festivities at the birth of the Pretender; but quite as much on the proclamation by William III. A false alarm of the French invasion at Helford, near Falmouth, put Penzance to some expense; and there were gay doings at the victory over Tourville, the coronation of Anne, and the Peace of Utrecht. The coronation of George I caused a curious entry, *i.e.*, of £1 5s. given to the mob on the King's coronation.

Such are a few of the extracts from the borough records of three small and, in general English history, unimportant towns. If I have succeeded in any way in giving you a little interest in them, I hope its fruit will be the more careful searching by our archæologists of our old English borough records. Each of our cathedral cities, nearly all our large towns, might be supposed to contain far richer mines of archæological research than these three small

boroughs. How much may yet be done to clear our ideas of antiquity by searching our borough records !

The points which strike me as brought out by these records, especially with regard to the seventeenth century, are :

1. The amount spent by the corporations out of borough rates on public fêtes. England appears to have had more pretension to be called "merrie England" then than now; or at least the fêtes supported by public expense, free to rich and poor alike, were more numerous then than now. I question if, at the present day, any of our English corporations would favour a large portion of the public rates being expended on public festivals. In France, Belgium, and even Germany, this may be done; but not much in England. This confirms an impression which I have expressed in a recent Number of *The Antiquary*. In many points we may be helped to realise old English life by considering public life in certain parts of the European continent, where society is conservative and old fashioned. The importance given to public fêtes in these Cornish archives could hardly be exceeded in the records of the small towns of France, or Belgium, or Italy, at the present day.

2. The amount of conviviality going on at the public expense. We talk of the drinking customs of the present day; but they seem to be quite moderate compared with those of our forefathers. The wines, however, have an old English sound. "Burnt sack" and "canary" have quite an antique and Shakspearean aspect. As for feasting, many jests pass about the aldermen of London; but in olden times, in the Land's End district, they were well kept in countenance. After their fashion, aldermen feasted all over England in olden times.

3. The intimate connection of townsmen with one another. A borough appears almost to have been like a greater family, of which the mayor was the head, and the aldermen the elder brethren. This intimate connection of man with man, and family with family, was characteristic of mediæval and post-mediæval times. We see it not only in England, but on the Continent. The idea of a town or city being an enlarged family was realised as well in Belgium, in the German empire, in some parts of

Italy, as with us. Now, however, this has, to a great degree, passed away. The family is the one basis of society, and a township or borough is only felt as a society for taxation, for lighting, paving, and police; not a corporate entity affecting all the public life of men. Whether we have gained or lost by the change, this is hardly the occasion to consider. There is a something, however, to my mind very pleasing in this ideal of a greater family as presented in an old English borough.

4. The corporation also had a sort of personality which it has not now. It gave presents and received them; it offered hospitality, and welcomed guests; it had its rejoicings and galas, its fête days and merrymakings. The relations of the country gentry to the corporations shew how long feudal ideas lingered in England after our common histories represent that feudalism was abolished among us. The Cornish gentry appear, as Carew says of them, in Elizabeth's time as little "roytlets". It almost seems like the welcoming of feudal barons, in time of peace, by the old German cities.

5. The unsettled state of society and its armed condition are realised in a way one would not gather from ordinary English histories. The Cornish towns armed themselves at their own expense, and paid for the powder and shot, and cannon and muskets, to do it. They were, in this sense, not unlike the cities of the German empire, but on a Lilliputian scale. Was this the case in other towns of England up to the reign of George II? Possibly the fear of pirates stimulated Cornishmen in a way that it did not stimulate English boroughs generally.

6. Then how quaintly reads the little *coup d'état* of John Carveth at Penzance, grasping the mayoralty for three years "by fraud and violence"; or, on the other hand, the deposition of a mayor of Marazion for going abroad, by a tiny domestic revolution. There were little Cæsars and Rienzis in those far-off boroughs.

7. The notice of national events is curious. Some events of tolerable importance in English history are passed over; others, of which it is necessary to look over old records or books to explain the allusions, are observed as excuses for fêtes and merrymaking. Possibly, even in this learned Society few recollect the reported invasion of Cornwall in

June 1688 by the French, which put Penzance in an uproar.

In conclusion, there are two points relating to these borough registers which have struck me :

1. There is a suggestion made about the insecurity of our ancient parish registers, and that it would be well if they were put under national keeping. A better proposal, I think, is that they should be copied,—at least those parts of them likely to remain of public interest,—and the copies be preserved by the Government among the national records. All that has been said of parish registers applies still more forcibly to ancient borough documents, which are not merely of family but of public interest. A system whereby they could be inspected and copied at the public expense, and the copies secured in the State Paper Office, would be of great service. One could not expect boroughs to give up their valuable public records, which are of special local interest; but the nation might profitably secure copies of them, and thus secure their interesting accounts of past times from loss or accident.

2. If this were impracticable, or an Act of Parliament (for I suppose that would be necessary) could not be passed, would it not be worth while for a committee of competent archæologists to take in hand the examination of such of our ancient borough records which have not yet been published (and very little has been done in this way), and give a sketch of them? I am certain that there is a much greater wealth in these records of antiquarian and historic facts relating to our English history of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries than is commonly supposed.

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## GOLF.

BY C. H. COMPTON, ESQ.

*(Read at Malvern, August 25, 1881.)*

DR. ARNOLD, in the first of his *Lectures on Modern History*, after contrasting antiquarianism with historical knowledge, asks, "What is it that the mere antiquarian wants, and which the mere scholar wants also; so that satire, sagacious enough in detecting the weak points of every character, has often held them both up to ridicule? They have wanted what is the essential accompaniment to all our knowledge of the past, a lively and extensive knowledge of the present; they wanted the habit of continually viewing the two in combination with each other; they wanted that master power which enables us to take a point from which to contemplate both at a distance, and so to judge of each and of both as if we belonged to neither." And he goes on to say: "The past is reflected to us by the present. So far we can see and understand the past; so far, but no farther." These remarks form a fitting prelude to the subject of the present paper, connecting, as it does, the study of the past with one of the modern attractions of the Golf-Links of Malvern.

The "Links" ("Leuks"), those breezy, life-inspiring commons whose name is always associated with Scotland's ancient national sport, which, like the old Roman game, *paganica*, commencing in the open country, has found its way (thanks to the care taken in preserving open spaces for recreation) to the neighbourhood of our towns, and has brought Englishmen to compete in generous rivalry with their Scottish brethren in their at one time almost exclusively national sport.

Strutt, in his book on Sports, thus describes golf (or goff, as it was anciently written): "There are many games played with the ball that require the assistance of a club or bat, and probably the most ancient among them is the pastime now distinguished by the name of goff. In the



northern parts of the kingdom goff is much practised. It requires much room to perform this game with propriety, and therefore I presume it is rarely seen at present in the vicinity of the metropolis. It answers to a rustic pastime of the Romans, which they played with a ball of leather stuffed with feathers, called *paganica*; and the goff-ball is composed of the same materials to this day. In the reign of Edward III, the Latin name *cambuca* was applied to this pastime (*cambuta* or *cambuca*, from *baculus incurvatus*, a crooked staff: the word *cambuca* was also used for the *virga episcoporum*, or episcopal crozier, because it was curved at the top,—Du Cange, *Glossary*, in voce *cambuta*); and it derived the denomination, no doubt, from the crooked club or bat with which it was played. The bat was also called ‘a bandy’, from its being bent, and hence the game itself is frequently written in English ‘bandy ball.’ He then gives an illustration of two figures engaged at “bandy ball”, and the form of the “bandy” as it was used in the fourteenth century. This illustration is taken from a manuscript book of prayers in the possession of Francis Douce, Esq., and now in the Bodleian Library.

Strutt proceeds with his description of goff thus:—“Goff, according to the present modification of the game, is performed with a bat not much unlike the bandy. The handle of this instrument is straight, and usually made of ash, about  $4\frac{1}{2}$  feet in length. The curvature is affixed to the bottom, faced with bone, and backed with lead. The ball is a little one, but exceedingly hard, being made with leather, and (as before observed) stuffed with feathers. There are generally two players, who have each of them his bat and ball. The game consists in driving the ball into certain holes made in the ground, which he who achieves the soonest, or in the fewest number of strokes, obtains the victory. The goff-lengths, or the spaces between the first and last holes, are sometimes extended to the distance of two or three miles. The number of intervening holes appears to be optional; but the balls must be struck into the holes, and not beyond them. When four persons play, two of them are sometimes partners, and have but one ball, which they strike alternately, but every man has his own bandy.”

This description is a fair one of the game as it is now played, with the exception that golf-balls are now made of gutta-percha, the shafts of the clubs are made of hickory wood, and the club, which Strutt calls the "bandy", is a much more refined and precise weapon than the club as shewn in the old prints, which bears a much nearer resemblance to the shinty-stick of Scotland, or hockey-stick of England. This club is now generally used only for the first stroke, when the player is permitted to place his ball before playing or "teeing" it off. After this stroke he must play it as it lies on the ground; and this led to several modifications of the original club to enable the player to meet the inequalities or difficulties of the ground. These difficulties arise from the natural formation of the country, such as sand-heaps or "bunkers", if the links (as they most frequently do) lie along the sea-shore; or clumps of gorse, if on downs or commons. They are called "hazards". If the player unfortunately drives his ball into one of these "hazards", so that it cannot be played out with a club, he must lift the ball, or take it out, step back three paces, and drop the ball over his shoulder, having the "hazard" in a straight line with the hole he is playing for, and play the ball from the place where it is dropped, counting one or more extra strokes against himself, according to the local rules of the game.

Had it not been for the improvements which have from time to time been introduced into the primitive game, it would not have retained its popularity, or certainly would not have, as it has lately, increased in popularity in so many parts of England as well as Scotland, where there are facilities for playing it; nor would it, as it has done, have enlisted the interest and enthusiasm of persons of all ages and both sexes; the judgment, patience, and steadiness of middle age and advanced years finding ample scope for their exercise, and reviving the vigour and strength of youth.

It will thus be seen that this game depends upon two distinct requisites: a ball and a club. Its very name is implied in the latter requisite, as it is derived from the German word *kolbe*, or the Dutch *kolf*, a club. The ball is a very ancient instrument of sport. Herodotus attributes its invention to the Lydians. Strutt says that suc-

ceeding writers have affirmed that a female of distinction named Anagalla, a native of Corcyra, was the first who made a ball for the purpose of pastime, which she presented to Nausicaa, the daughter of Alcinoüs, King of Phœacea, and at the same time taught her how to use it. She appears to have entered heartily into the sport, if we may credit the account given in the sixth book of the *Odyssey*, when she, prompted by Pallas, went to the riverside with her maidens, near where Ulysses had been cast ashore after his shipwreck, and in piteous plight had sought refuge in the underwoods, and covered himself with leaves in lieu of the garments of which Neptune had so ruthlessly deprived him. The description as given by Chapman in his translation, or rather paraphrase, is so suggestive of the game of golf that I venture to give an extract from it :

“These here arrived, the mules uncoached and drove  
Up to the gulfy river’s shore that gave  
Sweet grass to them. The maids from coach then took  
Their clothes, and steeped them in the sable brook.”

And then having washed and dried their clothes, bathed and dined.

“Nausicaa  
With other virgins did at stool-ball play,  
Their shoulder reaching head tires laying by.  
Nausicaa with the wrists of ivory,  
The liking stroke struck, singing first a song,  
As custom order’d, and amidst the throng  
Made such a show, and so past all was seen.

Nausicaa so, whom never husband tam’d,  
Above them all in all the beauties flam’d ;  
But when they now made homewards, and array’d,  
Ord’ring their weeds disorder’d as they play’d,  
Mules and coach ready, then Minerva  
Thought what means to wake Ulysses might be wrought,  
That he might see this lovely sighted maid  
Whom she intended should become his aid,  
Bring him to town, and his return advance.  
Her mean was this, though thought a stool-ball chance.  
The Queen now, for the upstroke, struck the ball  
Quite wide off the other maids, and made it fall  
Amidst the whirlpools. At which out shrieked all,  
And with the shriek did wise Ulysses wake.”

If this were a literal instead of, as it is, a very free translation of the original Greek, there is no golfer who

would not claim Nausicaa as a sister in his sport. We have, first, the "sweet grass by the gulfy river's shore", the very place for golf-links; then Nausicaa with the "wrists of ivory", so suggestive of those delicate wrist-strokes which make such pretty play on approaching the greens, and when "she the liking stroke struck", the mind's eye sees her making a splendid "tee-stroke"; and when she struck the ball quite wide of the other maids, and made it fall amidst the whirlpools, it fell into as legitimate a "hazard" as ever brought an unfortunate golfer to grief. And when, as the story goes on to narrate, Ulysses came from his leafy thickets, and scared away her maids; and she, emboldened by Minerva, assisted him in his distress out of as unfortunate a "hazard" as ever mortal fell into, and introduced him to her father's court, nothing is wanting to fill up the picture, and recognise her as the very princess of golfers.

But the truth must be told, that this description is more Chapman's than Homer's, who simply says that after dinner they played at ball, when Nausicaa sent the ball into the whirlpool. The Queen then threw the ball to her handmaid; but it missed her. There is no word to imply that a club or bat was used. There is, indeed, no authentic record of how, or at what time, the primitive game of ball, in which the hand only was used, developed into those numerous games where clubs or bats were added; but there is sufficient evidence to enable us to trace certain characteristics which shew that these games were all offsprings of a common stock, but diverse, according to the habits, civilisation, and characteristics of the nations who adopted them. The extract we have given from Strutt shews that in the reign of Edward III a game was played with a ball and crooked club, called *cambuca*, which he identifies with golf; and that it differed from club-ball, a game also then in use, the latter being played with a straight club or bat, and is supposed to have been the original game from which cricket has sprung. In the thirty-ninth year of that King's reign (A.D. 1349) these games had become so common that the King sent a letter to the Sheriffs of London complaining that the skill of shooting with arrows was almost totally laid aside for the purpose of various useless and unlawful



games, and the penalty for playing at these games was imprisonment at the King's pleasure. The same command was repeated by a proclamation of King Richard II, in the twelfth year of his reign.

Strutt also speaks of a game of "stow-ball" as being frequently mentioned by writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which he says "was a species of golf; at least it appears to have been played with the same kind of ball."

There is also the "stool-ball", mentioned by Chapman, which Dr. Johnson defines to be "a play where balls are driven from stool to stool", quoting Prior as his authority; and Richardson derives "stool" from the Saxon *stole*, Dutch *stoel*, German *stoll*, Swedish *stol*; from the Saxon *stellan*, German *stelle*, Swedish *ställa* (*ponere, statuere*, to put or set); which are equally applicable to the word "stow", the stool being the goal or hole; and "stow" or "stowing" being the placing the ball in the hole; the technical term for which in golf is "putting the ball", *i.e.*, striking it into the hole, or stowing it away.

The game of stool-ball, however, still survives as a local game in the county of Sussex; and since I read this paper I have, through the kindness of one of our lady Associates, been furnished with a copy of the rules of the game as now played in that county. These rules provide that the ball is that usually known as "best tennis, No. 3." The bat is not to be more than 7 inches in diameter,  $17\frac{1}{2}$  inches long, and about 1 inch thick. The bat is in form similar to a battledore, and should be made of elm or walnut. The wickets to be boards, 1 foot square, mounted on a stake; the top of the wicket to be 4 feet 9 inches from the ground. The game is played with two wickets, to be 16 yards apart, and the bowling-crease an equal distance between the two wickets. The remaining rules shew that the game is played almost precisely similarly to cricket, and is presided over by two umpires, whose duties are similar to those officials in the game of cricket. The number of players is twenty-two; eleven on each side, and the fielders are placed as at cricket. The game is also called "tuts" and "lady's cricket", and is considered exclusively a Sussex game.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> There is, however, a set of stool-ball implements kept at Leith Hill in Surrey.



Although it seems clear, from the references already given, that golf was played in England in mediæval times, it never became, as it did in Scotland, a national sport. Tennis appears to have been in England, early in the fifteenth century, a fashionable if not a national game; and though in most of its characteristics totally dissimilar to golf, it had the use of "hazards" in common with that game. Thus we find in Shakspeare's *Henry V* (Act I, Scene 2), when Henry gives audience to the Ambassadors of the Dauphin, the Ambassador, in answer to Henry's claim to the French dukedoms, says that he sends him in lieu thereof a ton of tennis-balls as meeter for his spirit. King Henry replies :

"We are glad the Dauphin is so pleasant with us ;  
His present and your pains we thank you for.  
When we have match'd our rackets to these balls,  
We will in France, by God's grace, play a set  
Shall strike his father's crown into the hazard."

In Stevens' edition of *Shakspeare* a note is added to the word "hazard": "A place in the tennis-court into which the ball is sometimes struck." If he had added, "and when so struck is left unplayable", he would have fully explained the very apt simile used by Shakspeare.

Golf was sufficiently established in Scotland in the fifteenth century, and attracted the same fears that it would displace the practice of archery, as it did in England in the reign of Edward III, as we find from an Act of James II of Scotland, A.D. 1457,<sup>1</sup> whereby it is decreed and ordained "that the weapons chawngis be halden be the Lordes and Barronnes Spiritual and Temporal foure times in the zeir, and that fute ball and golfe be vtterly cryit downe, and *not to be used*." In the reign of James III<sup>2</sup> a similar Act was passed; and in the reign of James IV (1491) it was statuted and ordained "that in na place of this realme there be vsit futte ballis, golfe or uther sik unprofitabill sportis, for the commonn gude of the realme and defence thairof, and that bowis and schutting be hantit, and bow markes raised; therefore ordained in ilk parochin, under the pain of fourtie shillinges, to be raised be the schereffe and baillies foresaid."

<sup>1</sup> Parl. 14, c. 64.

<sup>2</sup> Parl. 6, c. 44 (1471).

These prohibitory enactments proved utterly futile, as legislation on similar lines has so frequently on subsequent occasions failed, when opposed to the necessities or matured instincts of a people imbued with the spirit of freedom. Archery fell into disuse, till it was supplanted, as a military weapon, by the discovery of gunpowder, whilst golf and the "other unprofitabill sportis" increased in popularity, the King himself (James IV) transgressing his own enactments, as is shewn from the following entries in the accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland:

"1503, Feb. 3. Item to the King to play at golf with the Erle of Bothuile, xlijs.

"Item to golf clubbis and ballis to the King that he playit with, ixs.

"1505-6, Feb. 22. Item for xij golf ballis to the King, iiis.

"1506, July 18. Item the xvij day of Julij for ij golf clubbes to the King, ijs."

But golf had not only to run the gauntlet of enactments passed for the protection of archery and national defence, it also took such a hold upon the Scotch people that it interfered with the observance of the Sabbath. Thus we find that in 1592 the Town Council of Edinburgh ordained proclamation to be made through that borough that "na inhabitants of the samyn be sene at ony pastymes or gamnis, within or without the town, uponn the Sabbath day, sic as golf", etc. And again, in 1593, the Town Council, finding "that dyvers inhabitants of this burgh repaires upon the Sabbath day to the town of Leith, and in tyme of sermons are sene vagrant about the streets, drynking in taverns, or otherwayes at golf, aircherie, or other pastymes, uponn the links, thairby profaning the Sabbath day", warned them to desist "under the payne of wairding their personnis quhill thai pay one unlaw of fourty shillings, and otherwayes be punist in their personns at the discretioun of the magistrates." Several instances occur of penalties having been inflicted under these proclamations.

There is a curious story told by John Row, minister of Carnock, in his *History of the Kirk of Scotland*, which illustrates the feeling so strong among the religious Scots of his day and the Puritans of England, that national sports

were inconsistent with a religious life. Mentioning the apostacy of some of the newly made bishops in 1610, he states concerning the Bishop of Galloway, that "being at his pastime golf (for he loved that all his lifytyme verie much; so that that part of the Bishop's verses, *Ludos Gallowa* is his share), in the Links of Leith, he was terrified with a vision or an apprehension; for he said to his playfellows after he had, in ane affrighted and commoved way, cast away his play instruments (*arma campestris*), 'I vow to be about with these two men who has now come upon me with drawn swords!' When his playfellows replied, 'My Lord, it is a dreame! We saw no such thing. These men has been invisible.' He was silent, went home trembling, tooke bed instantlie, and died, not giving any token of repentance for that wicked course he had embraced."

James VI of Scotland was very fond of the game. He appointed, under the Privy Seal of Scotland, William Mayne to the office of fledger, bower, club-maker, and spear-maker, to His Majesty. This grant is dated the 4th of April 1603. In the year 1608, after his accession to the throne of England, on the union of the two countries he, as James I of Great Britain, founded the Blackheath Golf Club, the earliest club in the United Kingdom;<sup>1</sup> and on the 5th of August 1618 he granted letters patent, dated at Salisbury, giving to "James Melvill and William Bervick, and others who the said James Melvill may adjoine to them, the exclusive privilege of making golf-balls for the space of twenty-one years in the kingdom of Scotland. These letters patent make mention "that our Sovereine Lord understanding that thair is no small quantitie of gold and silver transported zeirlie out of His Hienes kingdom of Scotland, for buying of golf ballis vsit in that kingdom for recreation of His Majesty's subjects, and His Hienes being earnestlie dealt with by James Melvil in favour of William Bervick and his associates, who onlie makis or can make golf-ballis within the said kingdom for the present, and were the inbringeris of the said trade thair." The price of the balls was fixed

<sup>1</sup> The two other oldest golf-clubs are the Hon. Edinburgh Company of Golfers, who play on Musselburg Green, founded in 1744; and the Royal and Ancient Golf-Club of St. Andrew's, founded in 1754.

“not to exceed four schillingis, moneys of the realme, for every ane of the saidis golfe ballis.”

Charles I was devoted to the game. It is reported of him that he was playing at golf on the Links of Leith, in the month of October 1641, when a messenger from Ulster arrived with the news that the Irish rebellion had broken out. The King threw down his club, retired to the Palace of Holyrood, and despatched letters to the two Houses in London, who received them within two days of their receiving the news from Dublin.

James II, when Duke of York, in the years 1681 and 1682, being then Commissioner from the King to the Scottish Parliament, and residing in Edinburgh, frequently played at golf on the Links at Leith. Robertson, in his *Historical Notes of Leith*, says of the Duke, that “after the Restoration he was sent to Edinburgh, and his favourite pastimes appear to have been the torturing of the adherents to the Covenant, and the playing of golf on the Links of Leith.”

An incident occurred during the Duke of York's stay at Edinburgh, which shews that this game was then frequently played in England as well as in Scotland. Two English noblemen who were in attendance at the Scottish Court, and who had occasionally practised golf, were one day debating with the Duke whether the game was peculiar to Scotland or England; and having some difficulty in coming to an issue on the subject, it was proposed to decide the question by the result of a match between the two noblemen and the Duke and any Scotchman he chose. He selected John Patersone, a shoemaker, reputed the best golf-player of his day, and whose ancestors had been equally celebrated from time immemorial. The match was played, and the Duke and his partner were victorious. The shoemaker had half the stakes as his share, with which he built a house in the Canongate of Edinburgh (No. 77), on the wall of which the Duke caused an escutcheon to be fixed bearing the following coat of arms:—three pelicans vulned, on a chief three mullets. Crest, a dexter hand grasping a golf-club. Motto, “Far and sure.”

In May 1628 the great Montrose, “ere the troubles began, was hard at golf on the Links of St. Andrew's.” In the following year, returning to St. Andrew's from

Edinburgh, he tarries a day at Leith, expending ten shillings for two golf-balls, and a further payment to the boy who carried "my Lord's clubbes to the field." Again, on November 9th he is at Montrose purchasing golf-balls in order to play a match with his brother-in-law, Sir John Colquhoun.

Mary Queen of Scots appears to have practised this game, for it was made a charge against her by her enemies, as an instance of her indifference to Darnley's fate, that she was seen playing at golf and pall-mall in the fields beside Seton a few days after his death.

I have now gone over all the ancient incidents of the game of golf that I have been able to collect. The rest is modern history, inappropriate to the present subject. Those who are interested in pursuing the subject beyond these limits cannot do better than obtain a copy of that splendid and elaborate account of the game intituled *Golf; a Royal and Ancient Game*, printed by R. and R. Clark, Edinburgh, to which I am indebted for some of the materials I have embodied in this paper.

There is only one incident worthy of note before I close. The old *pila paganica* of the Romans, stuffed with down or feathers, retained its place as the only regulation golf-ball until the year 1847, when the introduction of gutta-percha in the manufacture of balls proved such a successful innovation as to produce as serious forebodings among old golfers as the forecast of the revolutions of the following year cast over the political horizon of Europe, when, to use Henry V's simile, so many kings' crowns were struck into the hazard. But sound improvements cannot be delayed without danger, and the gutta-percha ball, as now manufactured, has proved such a decided advantage over the old feather-stuffed ball, that it has given a fresh impulse to the game, which promises to increase in popularity, and to form one of the many links which knit both banks of the Tweed in friendship and honourable rivalry.

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## ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS.

BY WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH, ESQ., F.S.A., HON. SEC.

(Read January 21, 1880.)

I HAVE the honour of laying before the Association transcripts of the texts, with descriptive notes, of several documents which have come under my notice since the the close of last session.

At Ely I was enabled, by the kindness of the Ven. Archdeacon Emery, to make a transcript of an Anglo-Saxon charter preserved among the archives in possession of the Dean and Chapter; and at Wells, where the Rev. Canon Bernard most hospitably received me, I was permitted by him to examine the entire series of charters in the possession of the Dean and Chapter, and to make transcripts of any that were of interest. A Saxon charter relating to Pucklechurch, probably the charter of Edred in A.D. 954, mentioned in William of Malmesbury's *History of Glastonbury Abbey*,<sup>1</sup> has been temporarily mislaid from this repository; but I hope it will soon be restored to light, and Canon Bernard has kindly promised then to allow me to examine it.

I. ORIGINAL ANGLO-SAXON CHARTER IN POSSESSION  
OF THE DEAN AND CHAPTER OF ELY.

Grant by Eadgar, Emperor of the whole of Britain, to Elfhelm, his faithful thegn, of two and a half manses at Wreattinge (Wratting, co. Cambr.), dated A.D. 974. Printed (with variations as collated in the footnotes) by Kemble, *Cod. Dipl.*, vi, 103-5.

“<sup>P</sup><sub>X</sub> Imminentibus vite caducis terminis quam nos secleris [li]cet<sup>2</sup> onere pressi nutu divino statuti tamen dominica prosequentes monita prout quimus secundum illud<sup>3</sup> evangelium ubi dicitur date et dabitur vobis. Ideo ego EADGAR totius britannie<sup>4</sup> basileus quan-

<sup>1</sup> Migne's *Patrol.*, 179, col. 1714.

<sup>2</sup> Torn in original MS.

<sup>3</sup> “illud” omitted by Kemble, vi, 103.

<sup>4</sup> “britannie,” Kemble.

dam ruris partienlam duas videlicet mansas et dimidiam in loco qui celebri . ÆTPREATTINGE nuncupatur vocabulo cuidam ministro mihi oppido fideli qui ab hujusce patriae gnosticis nobili .ELFHILM. appellatur onomate pro obsequio ejus devotissimo perpetua largitus sum hereditate ut ipse vita comite cum omnibus utensilibus pratis videlicet . pascuis . silvis . voti compos habeat et post vite sue termin[um] quibuscumque [volu]erit cleronom[is] immunem derelinquat. Sit autem praedictum rus omni terrene servitutis jugo liberum tribus exceptis rata videlicet expeditione pontis arcisve restauratione. Siquis igitur hanc nostram donationem in aliud quam constituimus transferre voluerit privatus consortio sancte dei ecclesie eternis barathri incendiis lugubris iugter<sup>1</sup> cum juda xpi proditore ejusque complicitibus puniatur . si non satisfactione emendaverit congrua quod contra nostrum deliquit decretum. Hiis metis praefatum rus hinc inde giratur :

“Dis syndon para þreora hida land gemæra æt prætinge pudes 7 feldes spa hit binnan þ[æm]<sup>2</sup>mearecum beluð<sup>3</sup> ærest æt ðan hean gatan fram þan gatan east 7lang stræte oð pest tuniga gemæra<sup>4</sup> of þam felde on þa pude mearca 7lang þæs mæres oð.....ldinga gemæra 7lang gemæres oð pichamme .....<sup>6</sup>gemære 7lang gemæres to eanheale of eanheale gemære to bellesham gemære 7lang gemæres þæt eft on þa...<sup>6</sup>die.

“Anno dominicæ incarnationis .decccclxxiii. scripta est hec carta his testibus consentientibus quorum inferius nomina caraxantur :

“† Ego Eadgar rex praefatam donationem concessi. † Ego Dunstan dorovernensis ecclesie archiepiscopus consignavi. [Canterbury.] † Ego ospold archiepiscopus confirmavi. [York.] † Ego ædelpold episcopus corroboravi. [Winchester.] † Ego alfpold episcopus consolidavi. [Sherborn.] † Ego ælfstan episcopus consensi. [London.] † Ego sideman episcopus non renui. [Crediton.] † Ego ælfstan episcopus conscripsi. [Rochester or Ramsbury.] † Ego ælfðyð regina. † Ego æsepi....<sup>6</sup> abb'. [? Æsewig, Abbot of Bath.] † Ego kyn.... abb'. [? Kyneweard, Abbot of Middleton, co. Dors.; Bishop of Wells A.D. 973.] † Ego osgar abb' [of Abingdon, co. Berks]. † Ego ædelgar abb' [of Newminster, near Winchester]. † Ego ælfhere dux. † Ego ædelpine dux. † Ego byrhtnoð dux. † Ego oslac dux. † Ego æfelpæard m. † Ego ælfsige m. † Ego ælfpeard m. † Ego byrhtic m. † Ego leofpine m. † Ego eanulf m.”

*Endors.*—“þis is para þreora hida land boc æt prettinge þe eadgar cyninge gebocode ælfhelme his þegne on ece yrfe.

“DE WRETTINGE.

“Carta Edgari.”

<sup>1</sup> Sic in MS.; “jugiter”, Kemble.

<sup>2</sup> Torn in MS.

<sup>3</sup> “belið”, Kemble.

<sup>4</sup> A line drawn through the words “oð...gemæra” in the MS.

<sup>5</sup> “[ge]mæres”, Kemble.

<sup>6</sup> No hiatus here in Kemble.

## II. MSS. AND CHARTERS IN THE POSSESSION OF THE DEAN AND CHAPTER OF WELLS.

1. Twenty-one leaves of the “Regula S. Benedicti”, a folio MS. in vellum, written with twenty-three lines to a page. They are out of the proper order; but as they now stand, the chapter-rubric on the rev. of the first folio is

[§ 67.] “De fribus qui in itinere diriguntur.  
Fratres qui pro quovis responso, &c.  
Be þam gebroðrum þe on fare synd  
þa gebroðra þe for lyplcere neode út farað.”

The fragment ends :

[§ 65.] “lxxv de proposito monasterii.”

Another example of this, with Latin and Saxon chapters, but entirely different text, is in the British Museum, Cotton. MS. Titus, A. iv. A fine Latin MS. of the Rule is Harley MS. 5431.

I have been favoured with the following remarks upon this valuable fragment by Dr. Arnold Schröer of Vienna University, who has been commissioned by the Austrian Government to examine and collate the best Saxon texts of the “Rule of St. Benedict.”

### “ON THE WELLS FRAGMENT OF THE OLD ENGLISH VERSION OF THE ‘BENEDICTINE RULE.’

“The Wells fragment of the Old English (Anglo-Saxon) version of the ‘Regula St. Benedicti’ takes a very prominent place amongst the MSS. still extant. It belongs probably to the end of the tenth century, and contains sixteen chapters, in Latin and English alternately, on twenty-three leaves, in small quarto; unfortunately in a rather bad condition, some parts being almost illegible on account of some water-spots and other dirty materials all over the parchment. The MS. begins with the hardly recognisable end of the English chapter XLIX, and ends in the middle of the Latin chapter LXV,—‘q : ab abbate suo ei’. There is a gap in the MS.; one leaf, as it seems, being lost, the English text of Chapter LV breaking off with ‘gif hig hwa hæbbe oð’; the next leaf beginning in

the middle of the Latin chapter LVII: '(arti)ficum venundandum est', etc.

"It is a great pity that only these few leaves are left, as the fragment gives a version very much differing from the usual one as preserved in MSS., Cotton., Titus, A iv; Faustina, A x; Claudius, D iii; C. C. C. C. 178; and C. C. C. O. 197; the latter following more closely the Latin text, while the former seems to be a later version based upon the original one, and brought, as it were, into better English syntax. In this respect the value of the fragment is chiefly a syntactical one when compared with the other MSS. However, the Wells version must have been done not very much later than the other one, as the MS. is about of the same date as the two oldest MSS. which contain the usual text, the Corpus MSS. of Cambridge and Oxford; and, moreover, as the supposed author, Æthelwold, was busy with this work in the second half of the tenth century. It is not quite improbable that the revised version, as preserved in the Wells fragment, is a later work of Æthelwold's, as he may have retouched and corrected it afterwards himself. Possibly the MS. came over to Wells from Glastonbury, among other relics and property of that old Benedictine Abbey, the former dwelling-place of Æthelwold.

"The English text alone will be printed, with an introduction and glossary, parallel to the corresponding chapters of the usual version, in my edition of the Old English Benedictine Rule, which is to come out in the *Bibliothek der angelsächsischen prosa*, herausgegeben von R. P. Wülcker (Cassel-Wigand), in the course of next winter.

"My thanks are due to the Dean and Chapter of Wells for kindly having permitted me to make a transcript of the English, and a collation of the Latin text of the fragment."

2. "Liber Isidori Etymologiarum", written on fine vellum, in the twelfth century. At the end is a note attributing the MS. to a much earlier age: "Datus Ecclesie Wellensi per Leofricum<sup>1</sup> primum Episcopum, vide *Mon. Angl.*" Small 4to.

3. A Latin Bible of the fourteenth century, written on

<sup>1</sup> No such name occurs among the Bishops of Bath and Wells.

fine vellum, in the French style, double columns, with initials of colours and gold, red and blue capitals and head-lines. The first folio is wanting. At the end are two fly-leaves, in an earlier and larger handwriting, containing (i), a treatise entitled "*Materia Psalterii*", commencing with the words "*Quoniam psalterium*", etc.; (ii), the first few lines of the "*Visio Sancti Pauli apostoli*", commencing "*Dies Dominicus dies electus in quo*", etc. 8vo.

4. "*Registrum Brevium*", a Latin MS. of the fifteenth century, in various handwritings, on coarse vellum, containing transcripts of statutes, *formulae*, *brevia* or writs, and miscellaneous law matters. At the end is written, "*Ex dono Simonis Collins.*" Small folio.

5. A Psalter for the Monastery of Hayles, co. Glouc., written and glossed, with additions, prayers, and homilies, in the eighth year of King Henry VIII. 359 leaves. Large folio. At the beginning is the following note :

"Anno incarnationis Dominicæ Millesimo Quingentesimo Quarto decimo scriptum est hoc Psalterium expensis venerabilis viri domini Christophori Urswyke, Illustrissimi Principis Regis Henrici septimi quondam Elemosinarii magni, exequutoris testamenti et ultimæ voluntatis Nobilis viri domini Joannis Huddelston' militis, et in hoc loco repositum : Anno invictissimi principis serenissimi Regis Henrici octavi Regni sui octavo, in memoriam perpetuam prenominati militis Domini Joannis et Domine Joannæ, consortis suæ ; Scriptum (inquam) manu Petri Magii Unoculi Teutonis, natione Brabantini, oppidi Buschiducensis, Leodiensis diocesis ; Quarum animabus misereri dignetur ineffabili misericordia sua altissimus. Amen. Misericordia."

A Psalter in manuscript, of this period, when printing was already common, is considerably rare.

6. The Homilies of St. Chrysostom, also for the Monastery of Hayles, written by the same scribe, and inscribed "*Liber Monasterii de Hayles, dioc. Wygorn. in com. Glouc.*" A similar note records the preparation of the book in the year 1517 for the same owner. 432 leaves. Very large folio. Two coloured shields of arms are at the beginning. This manuscript copy of the Homilies belongs to a rare period, for the introduction of printing had caused the transcription of such works to be discontinued.

7. "*Catalogus Librorum in Bibliotheca Wellensi.*" An alphabetical list of the contents of the Cathedral Library, written in the seventeenth century, on paper. Folio.



8. "Catalogus Benefactorum Quorum ope ac munificencia Ecclesia Cathedralis Wellensis ejusque Bibliotheca post felicem serenissimi Regis Caroli II di reditum auctior et ornatior evasit. Anno Dom. 1672." An alphabetical list of the additions to the Library, on vellum. Folio.

9. Foundation Charter by William II, "Monarch of Britain", granting the Abbey of St. Peter's, Bath, to John of Tours, Bishop of Wells, in augmentation of the bishopric of Somersetshire. Dated Dover, 6 kal. Feb. [27 Jan.] A.D. 1090; with a clause stating that it was originally agreed to at Winchester A.D. 1088.

"<sup>P</sup><sub>X</sub> inperpetuum deicolis omnibus tam futuris quam presentibus. Quoniam deo omnitenente tempora seculorum ordinante . et his prout placuerit finem imponente celum et terra . et omnia que in eis sunt suo fine transibunt . et vita nostra que ad tempus floret . et cito tamquam flos foeni decidit . videtur esse momentanea . ideo cunctis agendum . ut hic bonis actibus future beatitudinis mercedem gaudia absque omni immutatione perenniter mansura. Quo circa ego Willelmus Willelmi regis filius . dei dispositione monarches britannie pro mee meique patris remedio anime . et regni prosperitate . et populi á domino mihi collati salute . concessi JOHANNI episcopo abbatiam Sancti petri bathonie . cum omnibus apenditiis tam in villis quam in civitate et in consuetudinibus . illis videlicet quibus saisita erat ea die qua regnum suscepi . dedi inquam ad sumersetensis episcopatus augmentationem . eótenus presertim ut inibi instituat presuleam sedem . Anno dominice incarnationis . Mill'. xc. Regni vero mei . iiij . Indictione . xij . vi . kl' Febr'. Luna . iij . pepigi id in eorum optimatum meorum presentia . + quorum Nomina subter sunt annexa . et ut pro posteritates succedentes apud quosque homines veritatis amatores perseveret ratum . mee regie auctoritatis annecto sigillum . sed et propria manu mea depingo crucis dominice signum.

"Lanfranco<sup>1</sup> archipresule machinante Wintonie factum est hoc.... hujus beneficii . Mill'. lxxxviiij . anno ab incarnatione domini. Secundo vero anno regni regis Willelmi filii prioris Willelmi . Confirmatio autem hujus charte facta est apud doveram . eo tempore quod superius determinatum est.

" + Ego thomas archiepiscopus eboracensis laudavi. Ego Mauricinus londoniensis episcopus corroboravi. + Ego Walchelinus Wintoniensis episcopus aptavi. Ego Osmundus Sarberiensis episcopus consolidavi. Ego Osbernus Exoniensis episcopus confirmavi. Ego Remigius lincolniensis episcopus astruxi. Ego Rotbertus herefordensis episcopus audiui. Ego Rotbertus cestrensis episcopus conspexi. + Ego Gunnulfus rovercestrensis episcopus annui. Ego Wolestanus Wigrecstrensis episcopus concessi. Ego Radulfus cicestrensis episcopus vidi. Ego Herbertus tetfordensis episcopus audiui. Ego Goisfridus constantiensis episcopus hoc exquisivi. + Ego Ego Hoellus cenomannensis episcopus interfui.

<sup>1</sup> This paragraph is an insertion in smaller type.

" + Ego Wido abbas Sancti Augustini Cantuarij. + Ego Gislebertus abbas Sancti Petri Westmonasterij. Ego Turstinus abbas glestoniensis. Ego Symeon abbas de eli. Ego Balduinus abbas sancti Eadmundi. Ego Raginaldus abbas de abandona. Ego Rotbertus abbas sancti Petri Wintonie. Ego Walterus abbas de Evesham. Ego Paulus abbas sancti albani. Ego Odo abbas de certiseio. Ego Godefridus abbas de malmesberia. Ego Goisbertus abbas de bello. Ego Serlo abbas de Glocestra. Ego Goisfridus mala terra. + Ego Rogerus Comes. Ego Rotbertus comes. + Ego Symon comes. Ego Hugo comes. + Ego Alanus comes. Ego Henricus comes. Ego Walterus comes. Ego Willelmus comes. Ego Rotbertus filius Hamonis. Ego Philippus capellanus. + Ego Rotbertus cancellarius. Ego Samson capellanus. + Ego Turgisus capellanus. + Ego Geraldus capellanus. Ego Ansgerus capellanus. Ego Herbertus capellanus. + Ego Willelmus capellanus. + Ego Enquerannus capellanus. + Ego Rannulfus capellanus. + Ego Petrus capellanus. + Ego Turaldus capellanus. Ego Eudo dapifer. Ego Ivo dapifer. Ego Haimo dapifer. Ego Rogerus dapifer. Ego Willelmus dapifer. Ego Rotbertus de oili. Ego Urso de abetot. Rotbertus dispensator. Hugo de portu. Rogerus de busleio. Rannulfus peuerellus. Willelmus peuerellus. + Aiulfus vicecomes. + Alueradus de lincola. + Ernulfus de hesding. + Folco crispinus."

William of Malmesbury, a contemporary, and not far distant neighbour of Bishop John, writes of these circumstances, after enumerating the preceding Bishops of Wells, as follows :

"Omnes<sup>1</sup> hi sedes suas Wellis habuerunt, in ecclesia Sancti Andreæ. Cum vero eis successisset Johannes, natione Turonicus, professione medicus, qui non minimum quæstum illo conflaverat artificio, minoris gloriæ putans si in villa resideret inglorius, transferre thronum in Bathonium animo intendit. Sed cum id inaniter, vivente Willelmo patre, cogitasset, tempore Willelmi filii effecit, *cum omnia essent venalia in curia, sacrum officium nummis nundinatus*. Nec eo contentus, totam etiam civitatem in suos et successorum usus transtulit ab Henrico rege quingentis libris argenti mecatu urbem", etc.

The words in italic, accusing the court of venality, and the Bishop of simony, were erased by the author from his autograph. The continuation of Malmesbury's account of the life and character of John of Tours, although too long for insertion here, may be read with great interest.

10. Appointment by Louis VII, King of the French, of Reginald, Archdeacon of Salisbury, to be Abbot of St. Exuperius of Corbeuil. Dat. Meaudun, A.D. 1164. Witnesses, Count Theobald, the royal steward; Matthew, chamberlain; Guy, butler; and Hugh, chancellor.

<sup>1</sup> Will. Malm., *Gesta Pontif.*, ed. Hamilton, Rolls Series, p. 194.

"In nomine Sancte et individue Trinitatis amen. Ego Ludovicus dei gratia francorum rex; Nobis honor est, et ecclesiis nostris commodum quotiens earum curam discretis et honestis committimus viris; Notum itaque f[ac]imus universis tam presentibus quam futuris quod abbatiam sancti Exuperii de Corbolio. Raginaldo archidiacono Salesberiensis pro honestate sua et pro amicorum suorum prece. donavimus habendam et tenendam sicut frater meus philippus et ceteri ante eum abbatiam tenuerunt. et hoc fecimus salvo jure nostro et canonicorum salva etiam ecclesie dignitate; Quod ut ratum sit in posterum scribi [... auctorita]te communiri precepimus. Actum Miledu[num] ... incarnati. M<sup>o</sup>. c<sup>o</sup>. Lxiii<sup>o</sup>. astantibus in palatio [quorum infra s]cripta sunt nomina et signa. S'. comitis theobaldi dapiferi nostri; S'. Mathei camerarii. S' Guidonis buticlarii. constabulario nullo;

"data per manum hugonis cancellarii."

11. Statute by Robert, Bishop of Bath, 1135-66, removing the fairs hitherto held in church, or the *atrium* of the church, to the disturbance of the religious services, to be held henceforth in the streets of the town, on the vigils and feast days of the Invention of the Holy Cross (3rd of May), St. Calixtus (14th of October), and St. Andrew (30th of November). Witnesses, Ivo, Dean of Wells (c. 1159); Reginald, the precentor (c. 1164); Archdeacons Robert (of Wells) and Thomas (of Bath), and others.

"Rodbertus dei gratia Episcopus Bathoniensis. universis fidelibus suis. clericis et laicis tam francis quam anglis: saltem. et dei benedictionem. Postquam divina vocante clementia pontificalis apicem dignitatis conscendimus. summa ad hoc animi intentione desudavimus. ut ecclesie beati ANDREE in Welles. regimini nostro com[un]isse venerationem debitam impenderemus. et ab aliis impendi faceremus. et si que in ea prave essent consuetudines: eas a liminibus ejus propulsaremus. et honorem ejus. et utilitatem. quantum in nobis erat: amplificaremus. Nounullorum autem constat experientie quod tumultus nundinarum. que in eadem ecclesia. et in atrio ejus. hactenus esse consueverunt: ad dedecus et incommodum ejusdem Ecclesie accedit. cum in ea ministrantibus quam maxime sit inportunus. quia et eorum devotionem impedit et orationum quietem perturbat. Verum. ne contra vocem dominicam domum orationis speluncam patiamur fieri negotiationis: statuimus et firmitur precipimus. Ut quicumque illic in tribus festivitatis. Videlicet in inventione Sancte CRUCIS. et in festivitate Sancti Calixti. et in celebritate Sancti ANDREE. negotiaturi convenerint: in plateis ville illius negotiationes suas. securi. et ab omni prava consuetudine. et inquietudine liberi: exerceant. et nullatenus ecclesiam. vel atrium ecclesie violare presumant. Concedimus etiam consilio clericorum nostrorum et constituimus. ut omnes in predictis sollempnitatibus. et earum vigiliis: quieti de teloneo inperpetuum permaneant. Quod quidem in posterum ratum esse. volentes. presenti scripto commendamus. et sigilli nostri impressione roboramus. Testes. Ivo decanus Wellensis. Reginaldus precentor. Rodbertus. et Thomas Archidiaconi. Edwardus. Magister Eustachius.

Willelmus de Sancta fide<sup>1</sup>. Radulphus Martre . Willelmus de Atebera . Petrus de Chiu . Walter pistor . et alii multi clerici et laici.”

No seal.

12. Ratification by Rainaud (*i.e.*, Reginald Fitz Josceline, 1174-92), Bishop of Bath, of the sale of half a virgate of land at Lanferleg' [co. Somers] by Walter, the baker, of Bath, to Edward of Welles, and Hugh his heir; the title-deed of grant by Robert, late Bishop of Bath, having been destroyed by fire. Witnesses, Master Ralph de Lechlade, Archdeacon of Bath; Richard, Archdeacon of Constances; Serjeants Edward and Robert, and others.

“Omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos presens carta pervenerit : Rainaudus divina permissione Bathoniensis Episcopus Salutem in vero saluari. Ad universitatis vestre noticiam volumus pervenire : quod Walterus Pistor Bathoniensis per consensum nostrum et consensum omnium heredum suorum : videlicet Radulphi . Ernaldi . Willelmi . et Roberti : vendidit in Curia nostra coram Magistro Radulpho de Lichelade senescallo nostro . et aliis multis : totam terram suam quam habuit apud Lanferleg' . scilicet dimidiam virgatam terre . cum pratis . et omnibus pertinentiis suis . Edwardo de Wellis . et Hugoni heredi suo . et omnibus heredibus suis : pro quinque Marcis argenti . quas ipsi predicto Waltero et heredibus suis dederunt . et duobus solidis : quos ipsi heredes inter se in Curia nostra dividerunt . Pro hiis itaque denariis prefatus Walterus . et omnes heredes sui . terram illam cum omnibus pertinentiis suis in perpetuum abjuraverunt . Cum autem ipse Walterus . cartam bone memorie Roberti . quondam Bathoniensis Episcopi quam de terra illa habuerat : in manus predicti Edwardi de Wellis et heredum suorum resignare deberet : affidavit coram universis eam incendio deperisse . Et ut omnis tolletur mala suspicio : affidaverunt ipse et omnes heredes sui quod hanc venditionem sine dolo et absque malo ingenio firmiter in perpetuum tenebunt . et terram illam eis garantizabunt . Vt autem hec venditio in Curia nostra facta : firma et stabilis perseveret : eam omnimodo ratam habentes : presentis scripti testimonio . et sigilli nostri appositione confirmamus . concedentes . ut jam dictus Edwardus et heredes sui terram prenominatam cum pratis et omnibus pertinentiis suis . de nobis et successoribus nostris jure hereditario teneant : adeo libere et quiete : sicut aliquis predecessorum suorum eam melius vel liberius aliquo tempore dinoscitur possedissee . salvo redditu nostro trium solidorum . quos inde singulis annis nobis debent reddere pro omni servitio . Hiis testibus . Magistro Radulpho de Lichelade<sup>2</sup> Archidiacono Bathoniensi . Ricardo Archidiacono Constandiensi . Magistro Roberto de Geldeforde<sup>3</sup> . Jocelino capellano . Gaufrido clerico . Roberto de Sancto Laudo . Johanne de Sancto Laudo . Osberto de Fernberge . Petro de Chiu . Gaufrido Franc' . Durando et Ermenauda de Bathonia . Edwardo servienti . Roberto servienti .

<sup>1</sup> Afterwards precentor. See Hardy's *Fasti*.

<sup>2</sup> Afterwards Dean of Wells, 1217. See Hardy's *Fasti*.

<sup>3</sup> Afterwards Archdeacon of Bath. See Hardy's *Fasti*.



David capellano . Magistro Mart'. Willelmo Aurifabro . Sigrimmo . Roberto nepote . et aliis multis."

Fragment of the seal and counterseal of the Bishop.

13. Presentation to Pope Innocent, by Robert Prior and the Convent of Bath, and the Dean and Chapter of Wells, of the unanimous election of Master Josceline, a cleric of Bath and Canon of Wells, to be Bishop in place of Savaric, deceased. Witnessed by the Prior and the whole of the officers and monks of Bath Abbey. [A.D. 1192.] Hardy, in his *Fasti*, states that the election took place without the knowledge of the Canons of Wells.

"Sanctissimo Patri et Domino Innocentio dei Gratia Summo Pontifici devotissimi sui Robertus Bathoniensis Ecclesie Prior et Totus ejusdem Ecclesie Conventus : Salutem . Et Tam promptum quam debitum in omnibus famulatum. Cum pie recordationis Episcopus noster Savaricus viam universe carnis fuisset ingressus : Convenimus In [unum] Nos et Decanus et Capitulum Wellensis Ecclesie ad quos una nobiscum : Episcopi nostri noscitur electio pertinere . ut de preficiendo nobis Episcopo communi[etiam?] tractaremus : Tandem vero post diutina et diligentem deliberationem Communi omnium Hinc . inde voto . et desiderio . In Magistrum Joscelinum . clericum Ecclesie nostre . et Canonicum Wellensis Ecclesie . virum Industrium . Literatum et honestum : vota nostra contulimus ; ipsum in pastorem et Episcopum animarum nostrarum . Invocata Sancti Spiritus Gratia : sollempniter eligentes ; Pedibus itaque vestre Paternitatis provoluti : quanta possumus devotione suplicamus . quatinus Electionem nostram Concurrente Tam cleri quam populi voluntate celebratam : et principis assensu subnixam : auctoritate apostolica confirmare dignemini. Ne si ecclesie nostre diutius pastoris provisione caruerint . irreparabilem quod deus avertat . Tam in spiritualibus quam in temporalibus jacturam incurrant.

Ego Robertus Prior subscribo	+	Ego Nic'	S+
Ego Aluredus	S+	Ego Arnaldus	S+
Ego Vincentius	S+	Ego Urbanus Cellarius	S+
Ego Hamo	S+	Ego Radulfus infirmarius	S+
Ego Hugo	S+	Ego Robertus	S+
Ego Johannes Supprior	S+	Ego Marchus	S+
Ego Aurelianus	S+	Ego Willelmus Sacrista	S+
Ego Martinus Camerarius	S+	Ego Walter rectorius	S+
Ego Adam	S+	Ego Johannes custos operis	S+
Ego Reginaldus	S+	Ego Johannes elemosinarius	S+
Ego Ricardus	S+	Ego Robertus	S+
Ego Willelmus Thesaurarius	S+	Ego Simon Precentor	S+
Ego Ricardus Subsacrista	S+	Ego Johannes tercius prior	S+
Ego Willelmus	S+	Ego Fulco	S+
Ego Anselmus Succentor	S+	Ego Willelmus	S+
Ego Walterus	S+	Ego Hugo	S+
Ego Serlo subclerarius	S+	Ego Johannes	S+



Ego Robertus Grauatarius	S +	Ego Walterus	S +
Ego Walt	S +	Ego Robertus	S +
Ego Walter	S +	Ego Johannes	S +
Ego Walterus	S +		

"In hujus itaque Rei testimonium . Robur . et majorem firmitatem : huic scripto sigillum nostrum apposuimus."

No seal.

14. Grant by King John, when Earl of Moretaigne, to the Cathedral Church of Wells, of the manor of North Curry.

"Johannes Comes Moretoniensis : Omnibus ad quos presens carta pervenerit : salutem. Sciatis me concessisse et presenti carta mea confirmasse Deo et Ecclesie Beati Andree in Wellis et Canonicis ibidem Deo servientibus : Manerium de Nordcuri cum Ecclesia ejusdem ville . et Terram de Hacche : cum omnibus pertinentiis eorum : ad Communitatem eorundem canonicorum in perpetuam elemosinam in perpetuum possidenda . sicut venerabilis pater noster Rain[aldus] Bathoniensis Episcopus ea predictis Canonicis Wellensibus dedit et concessit : in Communam . et carta sua confirmavit. Quare volo et firmiter precipio : quod prenominata Ecclesia Wellensis et Canonici ejusdem Loci habeant et teneant in perpetuum ad eorum Communam : predictum Manerium de Nordcuri cum Ecclesia ejusdem ville . Terram quoque de Hacche . cum omnibus pertinentiis . Libertatibus . et Liberis Consuetudinibus eorundem : integre . et plenarie . bene . et in pace . libere et quiete . et honorifice in perpetuam elemosinam : in Bosco . in Plano . in Pratis . in Pasturis . in viis . in Semitis . in aquis . in Molendinis . in Vivariis . in stangnis . in Moris et Mariscis . et in omnibus aliis Locis et Libertatibus. Et prohibeo : nequis eos inde in aliquo vexet vel disturbet : super forisfacturam meam. Hiis Testibus . Roberto Comite Mellenti . Willelmo Comite Saresberiensis . Stephano Ridel Cancellario meo . Hamone de Valuin' . Simone de Marisco . Radulpho Morin . Roberto de Teil . Fulcone de Cantel[upo] . Roberto de Mortuo Mari . Henrico de Monte forti . Patricio fratre suo Henrico de ver . Engelramo de Pratell' . Apud Merleberga."

15. *Inspecimus*, by Hubert Archbishop of Canterbury, of the grant by William Abbot of Bec, of the church of Cleeve, co. Somers., to the monastery there.

"Hubertus dei gratia Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus . Totius Anglie Primas . Omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit : Eternam in domino Salutem. Super hiis que coram nobis facta sunt et firmata : juste possumus testimonium perhibere . cumque ea ratio commendat . nec eis canones adversentur : Licite ea poterimus nostro Auctentico roborare. Hinc est . quod ad universitatis vestre noticiam volumus pervenire . quod nos interfuimus ubi vir venerabilis Willelmus Abbas Beccensis monasterii et ejusdem Loci Conventus Ecclesiam suam Sancti Andree de Cliva . Abbati et monachis de Cliva in suo perpetuo tenendam et habendam cum omnibus ad eam pertinentibus sub hac forma concesserit.

“Noverint tam presentes quam futuri . quod Willelmus abbas et Conventus Beccensis monasterii de communi Consilio et assensu domini . Savarici Bathoniensis Episcopi . necnon et decani et Capituli Wellensis Ecclesie concesserunt Ecclesiam Suam Sancti Andree de Cliva . que est prebenda Wellensis Ecclesie . Abbati et monachis de Cliva in Suo perpetuo tenendam et habendam cum omnibus ad eandem Ecclesiam pertinentibus . reddendo inde eidem Abbati et Conventui Beccensis Ecclesie annuatim apud majorem okebornam pensionem quadraginta quatuor Marcarum Stellingarum . In duobus terminis anni . Scilicet in festo Sancti Martini in Hyeme viginti duas Marcas . In festo Sancti Johannis Baptiste viginti duas Marcas . Et quoniam monachi Cisterciensis ordinis multis gaudent privilegiis ; Dicti Abbas et monachi de Cliva concesserunt et Suo autentico confirmaverunt . quod Si aliquo tempore contigerit eos cessare a Solutione pretaxate pensionis . et super hoc requisiti pensionem detentam non solverint : Ecclesiam Ipsam de Cliva eidem Abbati et Conventui de Becco Liberam Sine ullo impedimento dimittent . et nihilominus pensionem detentam integre eis persolvent . Insuper et omnes decimas suas de terris et animalibus infra dyocesium predictae Ecclesie de Cliva provenientes . non obstantibus privilegiis Suis a sede apostolica impetratis vel impetrandis Sine ulla retentione ‘Abbati’ eidem et monachis de Becco persolvent . Sed et Idem Abbas et Conventus de Becco . memoratis Abbati et monachis de Cliva concesserunt . quod si aliquando contra prefatam concessionem suam venerint . et Super hoc requisiti non satisfecerint : liceat eisdem Abbati et monachis de Cliva . ipsis abbati et Conventui de Becco sepe dictam Ecclesiam de Cliva resignare . et libere uti privilegiis Suis in omnium decimarum Suarum retentione . Dicti quoque Abbas et monachi de Cliva nullam transactionem vel commutationem facere poterunt alicui de jam dicta Ecclesia de Cliva : nisi ille vel illi qui eam Suscipient . Se prius Abbati et Conventui de Becco obligaverint ad Compositionem istam tenendam et prefatam pensionem quadraginta quatuor marcarum eis fideliter reddendam . Si quis autem contra dictos monachos de Cliva . Super memorata Ecclesia vel aliquo quod Eadem Ecclesia tempore Hujus concessionis inite possederit . litem Suscitaverit : dicti Abbas et Conventus de Becco Suis expensis eos warrantizabunt . per se vel per procuratorem Suum Ad ipsorum petitionem ad hoc destinatum . Quod si Super aliquo quod predicta Ecclesia tempore hujus Conventionis inite non possederit . litem alieni inferant vel patiantur . Suis expensis agant vel conveniantur .

“ Ut igitur hec per temporum Successionem rata et inconcussa permaneat : presentis Scripti testimonio . et Sigillorum partis utriusque sunt roborata patrocinio . Actum anno Gratie . Millesimo Centesimo . Nonagesimo Nono . In presentia domini Huberti Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi . Godefridi Cameracensis Archidiaconi . S[imon Fitz Robert] Wellensis Archidiaconi . Magistri Roberti de Glemefort . Magistri Johannis de Tinem[ua] . Magistri Willelmi de Sumercotes . Magistri Ade de Waldingueham . Johanne de Kenovill’ . Johanne de Sancto Edmundo .

“ Ut igitur hiis ex auctoritate nostra majus accedat firmamentum : ea presenti Scripto et Sigilli nostri appositione testificare duximus et confirmare .”

16. Confirmation, by King John, of the manor of North Curry to the Cathedral, 30 Sept. 1199.

"Johannes Dei gratia Rex Anglie . Dominus Hibernie . Dux Normannorum . Aquitanorum . Comes Andegavorum . Archiepiscopis . Episcopis . Abbatibus . Comitibus . Baronibus . Justiciis . Vicecomitibus . Prepositis . et omnibus Ballivis et fidelibus suis Salutem. Sciatis nos pro amore dei et pro Salute anime nostre . et pro Animabus omnium Antecessorum et Successorum nostrorum et pro Stabilitate regni nostri : concessisse et presenti carta nostra confirmasse Deo et Ecclesie Sancti Andree de Wellis et Canonicis ibidem Deo Servientibus . in puram . liberam et perpetuam elemosinam : Manerium de Nordcuri cum Hundredo sibi pertinente . et cum Ecclesia ejusdem manerii . et cum terra de Hacche et terra de Wrentis . et cum omnibus aliis pertinentibus suis . Que bone memorie Rex Ricardus frater et nos dum eramus Comes Moretoniensis dicte Ecclesie Wellensi concessimus : et Cartis nostris confirmavimus. Quare volumus et firmiter precipimus quod predicta Ecclesia Wellensis et Canonici ejusdem loci ad sustentationem et communam suam habeant et teneant predictum manerium de Nordcuri cum Hundredo sibi pertinente . et cum Ecclesia ejusdem manerii . et cum terra de Hacche et terra de Wrentis . et cum omnibus aliis pertinentiis suis : bene et in pace . libere et quiete . integre et plenarie . in bosco et plano . in pratis et pasturis . in viis et Semitis . in Aquis et molendinis . in Moris et Mariscis . in Vivariis . Stagnis . et Piscariis . cum Soca et Saca . et Tol et Team . et Infangenethef . et cum omnibus aliis libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus . in liberam et perpetuam elemosinam . liberam . quietam . et solutam ab omni prorsus servitio . consuetudine . et exactione seculari. Nos vero et heredes nostri predictum Manerium de Nordcuri et omnia predicta : predicte Ecclesie Wellensi et Canonicis ejusdem Loci defensare et Warantizare tenemur : tamquam propriam et liberam elemosinam nostram : in perpetuum. Hiis testibus . Gaufrido<sup>1</sup> Archiepiscopo Eboracensi . Rogero Episcopo Sancti Andree<sup>2</sup>. Comite David . Willelmo Comite Arundell . Willelmo de Humet<sup>3</sup> Constabulario Normannie . Hugone de Gornaco. Datum per manus Simone Archidiaconi Wellensis et Johannis de Gray apud Cenomanum . xxx . die Septembris Anno Primo Regni nostri."

17. Charter of King John confirming to the canons of St. Andrew's, Wells, the manor of Nordcuri (North Curry, co. Somers.), with advowson of the church and land at Hacche<sup>3</sup> and the hundred. Dated at Beauford, 16th April [? A.D. 1209].

"Johannes Dominus Anglie . Hibernie . Normannie . Aquitanie . et Andegavie . militibus et libere Tenentibus Hundredi de Nordcuri et

<sup>1</sup> Geoffrey Plantagenet, natural son of Henry II.

<sup>2</sup> Roger, son of Robert Earl of Leicester, Lord Chancellor in 1178; Bishop of St. Andrew's, in Scotland, *circ.* 1190. *Ob.* 1202.

<sup>3</sup> West Hatch, a parish in North Curry Hundred, W. Somerset, formerly under peculiar jurisdiction of the Dean and Chapter of Wells until 1856, now a distinct parish. The Dean and Chapter are lords of the manor and chief landowners there.

hominibus ejusdem manerii : Salutem. Sciatis nos reddidisse pro salute anime nostre et pro salute anime domini et fratris nostri bone memorie Regis Anglie Ricardi : et omnium antecessorum et Successorum nostrorum : Deo et ecclesie Sancti Andree in Well' et canonicis ibidem deo servientibus in communia eorundem Canonicorum Manerium de Nordeuri cum advocacione Ecclesie et terra de Hacche . et Hundredo . et omnibus aliis pertinentiis suis : tamquam jus eorum perpetuo sibi possidenda : sicut Carte quas inde habent : tam domini et fratris nostri : quam nostra : testantur. Et ideo nobis mandamus et firmiter precipimus : quatinus illis de cetero sitis intendentes : et in omnibus absque contradictione respondentes. Teste me ipso Apud Beanford<sup>1</sup>. xvij die Aprilis."

No seal.

18. Deed by William, [twelfth] Abbot, and the Convent of Bec in Normandy, A.D. 1199-1211, setting forth the terms of the arrangement of a dispute with Savaric, Bishop of Bath and Glastonbury, and "his church of Wells", whereby the Bishop, with consent of Alexander, Dean of Wells (occ. 1180 and 1209), and the Chapter, grant that the Abbot of Bec, as a canon of Wells, shall for ever hold the church of Clive (Cleeve, co. Somers.) as a prebend of Wells, and shall not be compelled to go into residence; and the Abbot acknowledges the receipt, by his proctor, of a stall in the choir and a seat in the Chapter, and confraternity in life and death with the other canons; and agree to supply a vicar in perpetual residence in Wells, at a yearly salary of four marks sterling and his proper perquisites; with a provision that bishops of Bath at death shall have a religious service in Bec Abbey for their spiritual benefit, like that for an abbot, and the canons like that of the monks of Bec, and the abbots and monks of Bec in like manner in Wells Church.

"Omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos presens carta pervenerit. Willemus dei gratia Abbas Beccensis et Totus ejusdem Loci Conventus : Salutem in domino. Noverint universitas vestra quod cum inter dominum . S. Bathoniensem et Glastoniensem Episcopum . et Ecclesiam suam Wellensem . et nos : controversia diutius verteretur super ecclesia de Clive ; quam idem episcopus et Decanus Wellensis . et Capitulum ejusdem Loci tanquam prebendam Wellensem sibi vendicabant .

<sup>1</sup> Probably Belford in Bamborough Wapentake, co. Northumberland. The King was at Tadcaster, co. York, on Tuesday, April 14, anno 10 (1209), and at Alnwick on Friday April 24. The intermediate days are not identified by Hardy in his "Itinerary of King John" in the Preface to the Record Edition of the Patent Rolls.



et nos e contrario illam tanquam jus nostrum . et ecclesie nostre petebamus : sub hac forma pacis tandem conquievit . videlicet quod jam dictus episcopus de consensu Alexandri decani Wellensis et totius Capituli . et de communi assensu nostro concessit . et ordinavit . et autentico scripto suo confirmavit : ut Abbates Beccenses imperpetuum habeant et teneant prenominatam ecclesiam de Cliva cum omnibus pertinentiis suis in prebendam Wellensem . Cui ordinationi perpetuum prebentes assensum : ego Willelmus Abbas Beccensis de communi consilio . et assensu capituli nostri . ad concessionem predicti Episcopi et Decani . et Capituli Wellensis ecclesiam ipsam de Cliva cum omnibus pertinentiis suis suscepi tanquam Canonicus Wellensis mihi et successoribus meis nomine prebendæ Wellensis perpetuo habendam . et possidendam . more aliorum canonicorum ecclesie Wellensis . eo tamen excepto : quod nec ego nec successores mei cogi ad residentiam faciendam apud Well' . in propria persona . Recepimus etiam per procuratorem nostrum stallum in choro . et Locum in capitulo : in ecclesia Wellensi . communam . et plenariam fraternitatem in vita . et in morte tanquam canonici ecclesie Wellensis habituri . Invenimus autem vicarium perpetuo residentem in ecclesia Wellensi . ministrantem pro nobis in officio sacerdotali . qui recipiet annuatim a nobis quatuor marcas stellingorum . in quatuor terminis anni . scilicet in Natali unam marcam . In Pascha : unam marcam . In festo Sancti Johannis Baptiste : unam marcam . In festo Sancti Michaelis : unam marcam . per procuratorem nostrum quem constituemus super predicta prebenda de Cliva . recepturum etiam alia que vicarium in officio sacerdotali ministrantem contingunt in ecclesia Wellensi secundum consuetudinem ejusdem ecclesie . Concedimus etiam imperpetuum ut pro episcopis Bathoniensibus decedentibus sicut pro Abbatibus Beccensibus . et pro canonicis Wellensibus sicut pro monachis Beccensibus decedentibus : humanitatis officia secundum consuetudinem ordinis Beccensis persolvantur . Id idem de abbatibus et monachis Beccensibus in ecclesia Wellensi de eorundem concessione habituri . Quod ut ratum sit et firmam : presenti Carta nostra et sigillis nostris duximus confirmandum . Hiis testibus . Domino H.<sup>1</sup> venerabili Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo . Henrico<sup>2</sup> de Castell' Archidiacono Cantuariensi . Magistro Johanne de Tinemue . Magistro Willelmo de Summercot . Johanne de Kenovilla . Magistro Edmundo de Hampton' . Magistro Ricardo de Alneto."

19. Rescript by Pope Innocent III to [Josceline de Wells] Bishop of Bath, that M—— a poor scholar, now in orders, when employed in teaching his fellow schoolboys had laid violent hands upon them, and so fallen under censure ; but he had been absolved by the Abbot of St. Victor, the appointed person, and forgiven by the Pope, who hereby desires the Bishop to allow him to exercise his orders, and promote him. Dated at the Lateran, 5 kal. April, *i.e.*, 28 March A.D. 1213:

<sup>1</sup> Hubert Walter, Archbishop of Canterbury A.D. 1193-1205.

<sup>2</sup> Henry de Castellis, Archdeacon of Canterbury A.D. 1199-1200.



"Innocentius episcopus servus servorum dei . venerabili fratri . Episcopo Bathoniensi . salutem et apostolicam benedictionem . M. pauper seolaris [vester] proposuit coram nobis . quod cum idem in annis adulescentie constitutus de Magistri sui [precepto] suos condiscipulos erudiret idem quosdam eorum non tam erudiendi studio quam causa extorquendi aliquid ab eisdem, [et] etiam ire impetum faciendi sepius graviter verberavit . et etiam in alios clericos se eredit manus temerarias injecisse . ac postmodum excessus hujusmodi ad memoriam non reducens minores ordines absolutionis beneficio non obtento suscepit . Demum ab...abbate Sancti Victoris qui de absolvendo violentarum manuum injectores mandatum sedis apostolice receperat speciale fuit juxta formam ecclesie absolutus, injuncto eidem ut ad presentiam nostram accederet super receptis vel recipiendis ordinibus gratiam petiturus . Unde nobis humiliter supplicavit . ut super hiis cum eo agere misericorditer dignaremur . Ideoque fraternitati tue per apostolica scripta mandamus . quatinus si alius est idoneus . ipsum de misericordia que super[est] judicio in susceptis ordinibus ministrare permittas . et ad superiores libere promoveri nisi forsitan talem excessum com[peritis], per quem fuerit irregularis effectus . Tu denique, frater episcope, super te ipso et credito tibi grege taliter vigilare procures . extirpando vitia et plantando virtutes . ut in novissimo districti examinis die coram tremendo iudice qui reddet unicuique secundum opera sua dignam possis reddere rationem . Datum Lateran' v kl'. April'. Pontificatus nostri anno sextodecimo."

No seal.

20. Decree, probably by the Bishop of Wells (but not having any name of the party who executed it), in reply to the petition of Walter [Haselshawe], Archdeacon of Wells, that the Archdeacon be entitled to his proper share of revenue at each annual division, provided he has been in residence for a space of six months continuously or in the aggregate. Dated at Fynemore, Thursday the Feast of St. Lawrence, A.D. 1290.

"In dei nomine amen. Auditis propositis et allegatis rationibus . tam ex parte dilecti filii nostri Walteri Arehidiaconi nostri Wellensis super petitione distributionis residui bonorum communium in fine anni debite canonicis residentibus in ecclesia nostra Wellensi quam ex parte quorundam aliorum canonicorum eidem se opponentium in hac parte : declaramus et sententialiter diffinimus dictum Arehidiacomm debere percipere juxta statuta ecclesie Wellensis partem de dicto residuo : si per dimidium annum resederit in ecclesia predicta continue vel interpollatim contradictoribus super hoc silentiam imponentes. Data apud flynemore die Jovis in festo sancti Laurencij . anno domini m<sup>o</sup>. cc<sup>o</sup>. Nonogesimo."

Portion of an official seal.

## DOLBURY AND CADBURY:

## TWO SOMERSETSHIRE CAMPS.

BY C. W. DYMOND, ESQ., M.INST.C.E., F.S.A.

*(Read December 6, 1882.)*

THAT part of our island which is bounded on the north by the river Avon, and on the south by the sea-coast of Dorsetshire, is at the same time remarkable for the number, and pre-eminent in the aggregate interest attaching to the specimens of ancient fortification which bestud its surface. Few other districts in England of the same area are richer in defensive works of earth and stone: none can present such an array of examples of the best military art of a forgotten and almost irrecoverable past. We have but to name the chief of these, to challenge rivalry within the four seas. On the north, the great stone stronghold of Worlebury, overlooking the Bristol Channel and the estuary of the Severn, has constructive features which make it unique among us as a specimen of primitive castrametation: on the south frowns the vast inclosure of Maiden Castle, hardly matched for extent of fortified area and for height of rampart: Dolbury, nine miles in a direct line inland from Worlebury, and, like it, in the main a stone fortress, though of inferior complexity of structure, occupies one of the boldest spurs thrown off by the Mendips: Cadbury Castle (so called to distinguish it from the three other Cadbury camps within, or close to, the district in question) is celebrated not only for the quadruply intrenched strength of its detached position, but for the romance which tradition has thrown around its name: Hamdon and Castle Neroche, almost impregnable on their lofty heights, midway between sea and sea, watch over the wide basins watered by the Tone and the Parret: while the strong fortress which crowns Brent Knoll, islanded in the midst of the levels, has few competitors for grandeur and defensibility of site.

Of most of these camps some accounts have been published; and the writers have generally drawn upon all the

historic and other data that were in their time available. Little is therefore left to an author, in re-approaching the subject, but to collate the sources of information, and to bring to a focus the rays of light which these afford, while noting with more precision, and planning with greater accuracy and detail than has before been done, the natural and artificial features of sites and works. During a residence of several years in the county, I have seized opportunities of making such observations on two of the camps mentioned above,—Dolbury and Cadbury; and now lay the results before the Association, amplified, and, as far as possible, completed, by embodying the descriptions, and recording the speculations of other travellers on the same path.<sup>1</sup>

## DOLBURY.

The photo-lithographed plan of Dolbury which illustrates this paper is reduced from one plotted to a large scale from an exact instrumental survey made in the year 1872; and clearly shows all visible features of the works, as well as incidents of the surface. Within my knowledge, only two other plans of this camp have hitherto been published. One of these, lithographed to a small scale, from a survey made during the first third of this century by Mr. Crocker, was inserted by the Rev. W. Phelps in his *History of Somersetshire*. It is inaccurate in several particulars, some of which will appear on a comparison with our new survey. The other plan, a rude and

<sup>1</sup> The following references are to works and papers which, though not verbally quoted, contain matter which has come under review in writing these pages. Phelps, *History of Somersetshire* (1836) on Dolbury, B. iii, pp. 99, 100; on Cadbury, vol. i, p. 337, and pp. 401-404; also B. iii, chap. 6, pp. 118, 119; on British trackways, B. iii, pp. 84-112; on Roman roads, B. iii, pp. 130-137; on principal events in the conquest of England before the Norman, B. i, pp. 2-22, and B. iii, p. 76; on locations of tribes, B. i, pp. 4-10, and B. iii, pp. 76-143. Warre, *Proc. of Somersetsh. Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.*, on Cadbury (c. 1857), vol. vii, ii, pp. 58-60; on types of British earthworks (c. 1858), vol. viii, ii, pp. 63-75; on events in the history of Somersetshire (1854), vol. v, i, pp. 7-12; on Castle Neroche (1854), vol. v, ii, pp. 29-48. *Proc. Som. Arch. Soc.*, Report of Society's visit to Cadbury, vol. xvi, i, pp. 18-26. Long, *Ibid.*, Presidential Address, vol. xv, i. Searth, *Journal of British Archaeological Association* (1875), on Roman roads, camps, etc., in the Mendips, pp. 129-142.

very small woodcut, will be found in Rutter's *Delineations of N. W. Somerset*.

The fortified inclosure occupies the western extremity of a spur of Blackdown (a part of the limestone range of the Mendips) which, on the southern side, declines, by a very abrupt, and, in some parts, precipitous natural escarpment, to a deep and narrow ravine: on the north, the descent to the open plain, though steep, is less sudden: the western end, 230 feet high, is slowly surmounted by an ancient winding chariot-way from the gorge, through which must have run, as now, one of the principal passes of the hills. Eastward from the main rampart, a narrow plateau extends on a level for about 150 yards, beyond which there is a gentle dip to a wide neck intervening between it and the rising background. This plateau is crossed, at the distance of 100 yards from the outer eastern trench of the camp, by a slight, doubly embanked trench, 75 yards in length. Another trench, or ancient hollow-way, may be seen on the northern slope of the hill, commencing behind the gardens of the cottages which flank the lower part of the main approach, bearing somewhat in the direction of the north-eastern corner of the camp, and terminating about half way up the hill. Such incomplete lines of defence are frequently found in the outskirts of primitive camps. Westward, on the opposite side of the pass, and at a lower level than Dolbury, a small intrenched camp called *Dinhurst*, on the edge of an almost precipitous bluff, is its *vis à vis* across the gorge. It remains but to note that the ground inclines with growing steepness from the flat western end of Dolbury to the crest of the ridge at the eastern end, there being a difference of level of about 155 feet between these two points. From this crest there is an abrupt fall over some rugged rocks toward the eastern half of the northern rampart, behind which it forms a deep trench; while, on the other side, there is a gentler descent to the southern rampart.

It will be seen that the plan of the works approximates to a rectangle, and that the inclosure is embanked on every side. Its greatest interior length and breadth are respectively 1,570 feet and 750 feet, and the area of the *enceinte* is  $22\frac{1}{4}$  acres. The southern rampart is not in-

trenched,—the natural escarpment making such a precaution unnecessary ; but on the other three sides there are both double banks and double trenches. There were probably only two chief entrances,—those at the west end, and at the north-eastern corner. There is a third entrance near the south-eastern angle ; but it is doubtful whether this is of ancient date, as it is shallower than the others, and is neither shown on Crocker's plan, nor mentioned by any of the writers referred to. It will be noticed that at two or three points there are interruptions of the outer northern trench ; and it is quite possible that these may indicate the positions of ancient sallyports, of which no other trace remains ; for the footways which here and there cross the ramparts are all modern.

The older plans, to which reference has been made, represent a rectangular inclosure, external to the camp, to the south-west of the main entrance, reinforcing, as it were, the defences of the inclined approach. There neither is, nor evidently ever was, any such outwork. A narrow tongue with steep flanks, as shown in our plan, forms the western termination of the southern escarpment ; but it carries not the slightest trace of any artificial work, for which there would be neither room nor use, as a deep hollow intervenes between it and the approach-road which rounds the opposite shoulder.

Within the south-western angle of the camp, at the lowest level in the area, there is a somewhat rectangular, shallow hollow, measuring 175 feet by 125 feet, its eastern side, and a portion of the northern one, being formed into a kind of bench or shelf. This has been frequently, though erroneously, regarded as the site of a *prætorium* ; and the theory that it was a pond for the storage of water seems to be the most tenable.

On reference to the plan, it will be seen that the uniformity of the inclosed area is broken by seven long mounds. The object for which these were raised has never yet been ascertained. They are of various degrees of relief and regularity of form ; and are, for the most part, surrounded by shallow trenches from which some of the embanked material must have been taken. While very like some of the long barrows, or those mounds known as “giants' graves”, near the foot of Hawes Water,



in Westmorland, they can also hardly be distinguished from similar objects on large warrens in Dartmoor and elsewhere, which have been raised for the rabbits to burrow in; and such might have been thought to be their use here (for Dolbury is a noted warren), had not the keeper told me that it was not so, and that these banks were not recent. The Rev. W. Phelps hazards a conjecture, which he erects into a fact, that "under these long barrows were deposited the remains of some departed British chieftains." None of these mounds, however, give evidence of having been opened; nor can I find any record of search for interments having been made in them. Mr. Kerslake (1877) makes an ingenious guess as to their use, when he regards them as the remains of raised causeways or streets flanked formerly by the huts of the inhabitants.<sup>1</sup> To this theory it will perhaps suffice to object, that the trenches surround the ends, as well as run along the sides, of these mounds; that some of the latter are too round-backed for the supposed purpose; and also that it would be unnecessary to embank the ways on so dry a site. A series of banks, somewhat like these, appear to exist in Ogbury camp, Wilts, and were noticed by Stukeley, who is thus quoted by Mr. E. T. Stevens, F.S.A., in his descriptive handbook of the Stonehenge excursion of the Wiltshire Society:<sup>2</sup>—"Within it [the camp] are many banks carried straight, and meeting one another at right angles, square, oblong parallels, and some oblique, as the meres and divisions between ploughed lands; yet it seems never to have been ploughed."

On farther reference to the plan, it will be seen that fifteen cruciform constructions are laid down at intervals, chiefly along the hollow-ways and trenches within and without the ramparts. Similar objects elsewhere have misled practised antiquaries into the conviction that they are the relics of ancient military defences; but the simple fact is, that they are nothing but modern devices, made within the memory of the keeper, to entrap vermin. The circular wall, and the inclosed portions of a rectangular building, are the ruins of a warrener's lodge that, for many

<sup>1</sup> *A Primæval British Metropolis*, pp. 37 and 99.

<sup>2</sup> *Sketches on Stonehenge, etc.*, p. 54.

years, occupied this, the highest point in the camp, where there may originally have been a beacon. A causeway, doubly scarped on its northern side, and probably ancient, leads from this point to the north-eastern entrance; and, half way down the rocky breast, there is a narrow ramp (shown on the plan) which may possibly be no more than a natural shelf produced by regular stratification. Above this occurs a large pit, dug, doubtless, in recent times in search of minerals. The three pathways over the northern rampart have already been noted as modern; and it may be well to record the fact that the southern loop of the double part of the main approach-road is merely a diversion to facilitate cartage.

The principal feature which differentiates Dolbury from almost every other camp in the district is the structure of portions of its *agger*. In remains of this class it is commonly a simple embankment composed of stones and earth; and this was probably its primitive form in those works where, either from natural strength of position, or from haste in execution, or from lack of walling-stone, or, possibly, from constructive ineptitude, a more artful mode of defence was not adopted. It was so here, I think, in the case of the southern embankment, which, though of the usual brashy material, is entirely overgrown by grass, affording no evidence of having ever been very different to what it is now. But when we examine the other portions of the *agger* (the higher and inner one), we find it assuming another character: there is more stone and less earth in its composition, especially in the northern rampart, along the eastern half of which little but stone is visible. That this is in part the ruins of ancient walling, may be seen on a perambulation of the rampart. Starting at the south-western angle, and proceeding northward, the first exposed piece is met with at a point about 100 feet north of the western entrance. Afterward (excepting about 500 feet in the middle of the northern side, where the face is continuously out of sight) it comes into view at short intervals all the way around, to a point 175 feet south of the north-eastern entrance, especially in a length from 300 to 400 feet west of the north-eastern angle. All these visible portions of the face are plotted on the plan. Where least broken down, they stand about

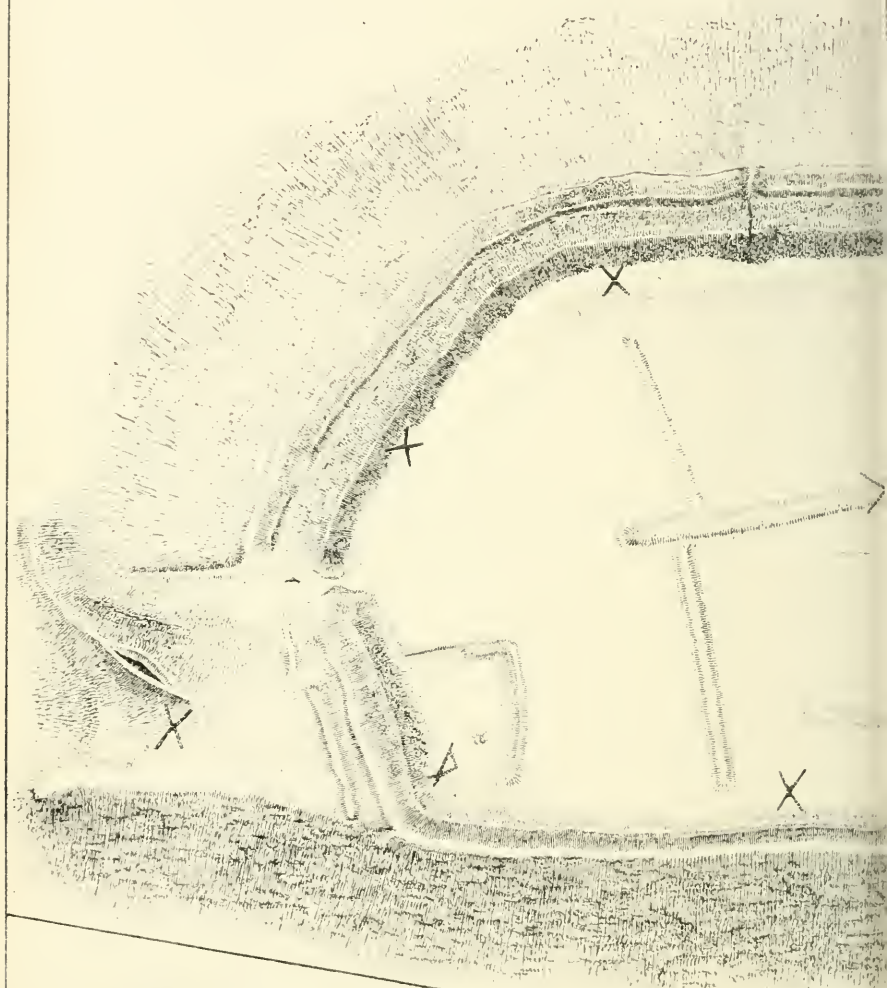
4 feet high above the present surface of the rubbish in the trench, which, as at Worlebury, and several ancient fortresses in North and South Wales, and elsewhere, is, doubtless, the fallen material of the original wall. Probably, if an explorer had time to clear away the *débris*, nearly the whole length of the foundations might be uncovered. At Worlebury, the walls had generally more than a single terraced face,—in one part there were as many as four; but here, there is no reason for thinking that there ever was more than one, and that springing from near the foot of the outer slope of the *agger*. Whether this, after being built to a height sufficient to frustrate any attempt at escalade without ladders, was leveled off to a simple bench at the top; or whether this bench was surmounted by a breastwork; there is no evidence to show. Perhaps the former is the more likely to have been the case; as a parapet might be most useful if erected on the crest of the bank.

Some antiquaries have thought that they could discern in the walling at Dolbury indications of a later date than they found at the rival fortress; but the fact is that, allowing for some superiority in the natural bedding of the stone at Dolbury, its masonry is essentially of the same character as that at Worlebury. There is no difference of style between the two, except such as may be accounted for by the shapes and sizes of the materials at hand.<sup>1</sup> These are, on the whole, rather ruder and bolder, and less uniform in size, at Worlebury than at the more inland camp. In neither case has the least tool-mark been detected. A sketch of a piece of the walling which exhibits, at the same time, the greatest boldness and the greatest contrasts of size in the materials, is inserted as an illustration on the plan. As to the bank intermediate

<sup>1</sup> The idea that the style of a piece of rude, dry walling is indicative of its relative age is purely imaginary. That there should be a difference between the walling executed by a people destitute of metallic tools, and that erected by a race possessed of them; and a still greater difference between the former and masonry set in mortar, is quite reasonable: but there is positively nothing in one class of work which, *per se*, indicates a higher or a lower antiquity than in another with which it may be compared. The difference between varieties of dry walling is necessarily regulated chiefly by the character of the stone, and, in a minor degree, by the energy of the builders.



# DOLBURY CASTLE, N

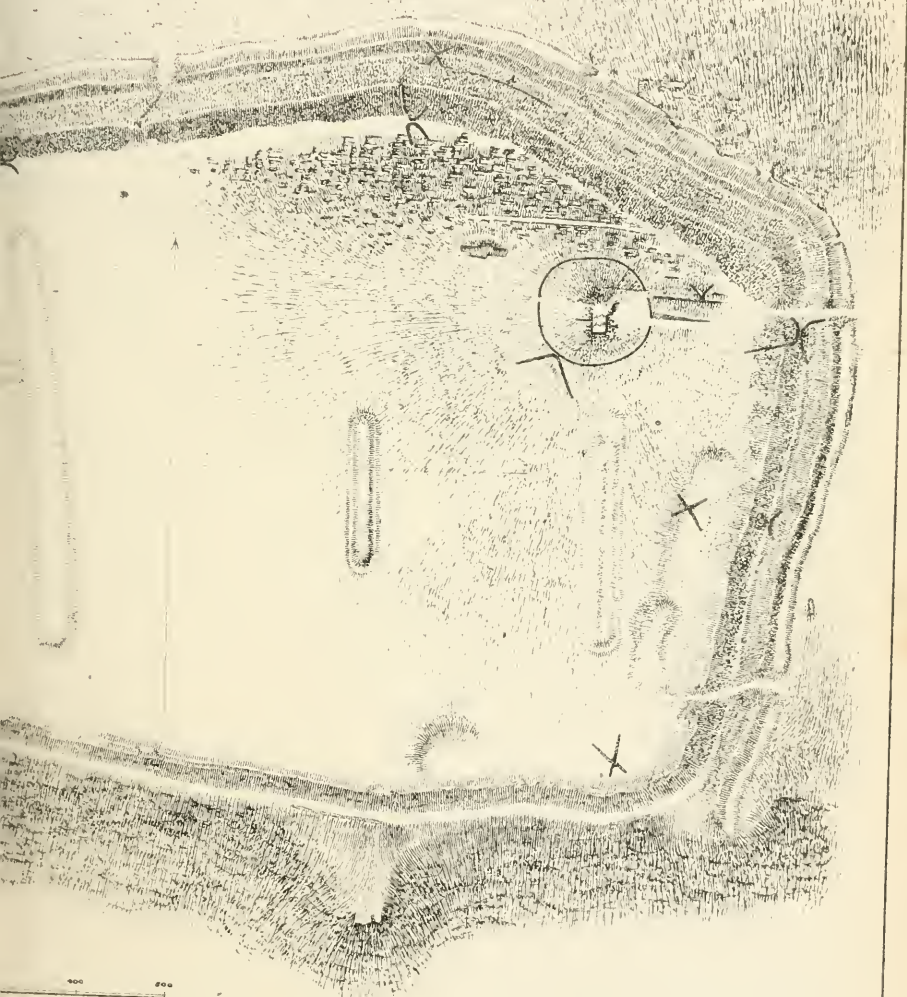


*Piece of Walling at A.*

0 100



# SANDFORD, SOMERSET.



FEET.



between the two trenches, nothing remains to indicate that it was either faced or crowned by a wall; for very little rubble appears in the outer trench.

It is recorded<sup>1</sup> that Roman and Saxon coins have been found in Dolbury, with iron spear-heads and other weapons. A friend lately showed me some articles which he had obtained by digging a foot or two below the surface, at about the middle of the inclosure. They consisted of fragments of not very coarse, unglazed pottery, made by hand on a wheel, varying in colour from a light to a dark grey, and from three-sixteenths to three-fourths of an inch in thickness; one of them, with zigzag ornament, being broken from the rim, neck, and swell of an urn or jar similar to some discovered at other British camps on the Mendips. With these were found a sling-stone of whitish pebble, and two flint flakes.

These facts exhaust almost all that is known about Dolbury. A few records of objects recovered from its soil, one or two popular sayings, and the collected results of antiquarian research among the relics of the neighbourhood, dimly illumined by hints struck off from the history and legendary lore of the past,—these are our only guides in conjecturing who established this ancient fortress, and what was probably its eventful, subsequent history. Leland (1545) is the earliest writer who has noticed it; and this is all that he says:<sup>2</sup>—

“There is apon the Tōpe of one of *Mendipe* Hills a Place encampyd caulyd *Dolbyn*,<sup>3</sup> famous to the People, thus saynge:

*If Dolbyri dyggyd ware,  
Of Golde shuld be the Share.”*

Many have been the theories as to who were the founders of Dolbury. Some have conjectured the Phœnicians: not a few have attributed it, with similar works

<sup>1</sup> Collinson, *History of Somerset* (1791), vol. iii, p. 579. See also Camden, *Britannia*, Gough's second ed. (1806), vol. i, p. 103.

<sup>2</sup> *Itinerary*, vol. vii, part second, fol. 68a.

<sup>3</sup> *Dolbery* in margin of text. It can scarcely be doubtful that *Dolbyn* in Stow's transcript, from which this part of Leland was printed, was *Dolbyri* in the lost original manuscript. The error is one that might easily be made by such an untrustworthy transcriber as Stow was said to have been. It is incredible that Leland wrote the word so differently in two contiguous lines; so Gough prints the word *Dolbyri* in both places.

in this part of the country, to the Belgic Britons : others have referred them to the race usually distinguished by the name of Celts : others, again, have given this fortress to the Gael ; and yet others to the Firbolgs ;—on the assumption, not yet proved in every case, that each of these was a people distinct from the rest. Rutter (1829) says :<sup>1</sup>—

“ The inhabitants of the neighborhood attribute the formation of this camp to the ‘ Redshanks’, *i.e.*, the Danes.<sup>2</sup> It is manifest, however, that it is a fortress of the same description as the others formed by the Britons ; and, that it was afterwards occupied by the Romans or Romanized Britons, the coins found here by Mr. Swymmer sufficiently testify.”

Mr. Long suggests that the saying recorded by Leland may have arisen from the place having been an emporium, or keep, for safeguarding the mineral products of Mendip, on their way first by the ancient British track, and afterward by the Roman road following nearly the same course, and called by Sir R. C. Hoare the *Via ad Axium*, to the place of export near Uphill, at the mouth of the Axe. Although, as Mr. Long points out, Dolbury is in easy communication with the Mendip mining district, yet, standing, as it does, partially isolated on a long spur of the hills, with a deep valley between it and the high ground over which the road was conducted, it would, I think, have been inconveniently out of the way for a retreat to be used *in transitu* ; and must have been designed principally, on strategic grounds, either as an *oppidum*, or as a great stronghold of the people located in the neighbourhood.

To sum up the story. It is clear that all that can be safely said on this subject is, that this camp was formed in pre-Roman times by some of the warlike dwellers or sojourners in the land ; and that, afterward, it was occupied by the Romans or Romanized Britons ; perhaps, temporarily, by the Danes ; and, subsequently, by the Saxons.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Delin. of N. W. Som.*, pp. 114, 115.

<sup>2</sup> “ There is hardly a more abusive epithet in the Land’s End district than ‘ red haired Dane.’ ” (R. N. Worth on *Prehistoric Devon*, Presid. Address, Plymouth Inst., Session 1881-82, p. 38.) Holinshed quotes Mamertinus as identifying the “ Redshanks ” with the Picts. (*Description of Britain*, ed. 1807, vol. i, p. 10.)

<sup>3</sup> Even if no objects had been found pointing to an occupation of

## CADBURY.

The photo-lithographed plan of Cadbury which illustrates this paper is reduced from one plotted to a large scale from a reconnaissance-survey made in the year 1873, by a combination of paced lines and compass-bearings. Except that there may be a lack of strict accuracy in the radial intervals between the outer banks, trenches, and escarpments, on the steep hill-side, a comparison between it and other plans makes it clear that there is little room for amendment here, while in all matters of detail, both greater and less, this new plan is much fuller and more correct than the earlier ones. These are,—(1) A plan, dated 1834, lithographed to a small scale, after a survey by Mr. Crocker, and published in Phelps' *History of Somersetshire*: (2) An estate-plan, of somewhat later date, to about the same scale, a copy of which is in the possession of a friend: (3) A very small plan (doubtless copied from Crocker's) which illustrates a paper by the late Rev. F. Warre on *Types of British Earthworks*.

Cadbury Castle occupies the whole of the top of a steep hill, about 300 feet in height, standing detached as an outpost a little in advance on the north-west of the higher range which stretches from Yeovil to South Cadbury, different parts of which are distinguished by the names of Corton Down, Poynington Down,<sup>1</sup> and Holway Hill. Cadbury hill forms a portion of the great outcrop of the inferior oolite resting upon the lias, which comes to the surface below. It commands the basin watered by the affluents of the river Yeo; and was an important link in that chain of strong forts which dominated the Somer-

this camp by the Saxons, the latter half of its name, it is well known, would strongly indicate the fact (Buph, Bucez, Byni, Bynz, A.S., a town, city, fort, or castle). The first element, as in many parallel instances, is clearly Celtic; and if there were no other examples in the district with a like ending, more than one plausible Celtic etymology might be found: but as these "burys" are plentiful all around, there can be no reason for disconnecting them from the Saxon occupation.

<sup>1</sup> So Mr. Kerslake (*Prim. Brit. Met.*, p. 52) says the natives call it, though it is spelled *Poynington* in books and maps. He advocates (pp. 45-64) its identification with the *Peonnum* or *Peonnan* of the Saxon Chronicle, the site of battles between Saxons, Welsh, and Danes, A.D. 658, 1001, and 1016.



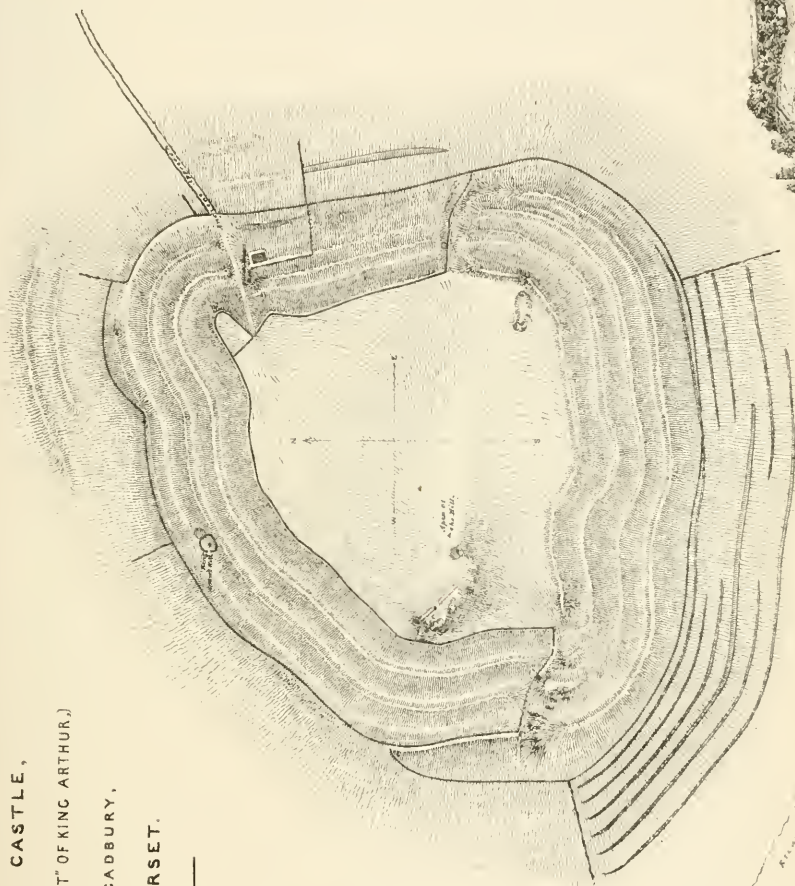
setshire levels from points of vantage at the verge of the high hill-region behind them,—long ere the dawn of history, the broken coast of a deeply embayed estuary. The spot is two miles from the nearest point (at Sparkford) of a Roman road which left the *Via ad Axium* at a point somewhat to the east of Maiden Bradley; went through Stourhead; passed south-westward, at the distance of a mile or two from Bruton and Castle Cary; and then, through Sparkford and Queen's Camel, to Yeovil. There is no record of any other ancient road in this locality; but there must have been vicinal ways, the traces of which have since disappeared. The nearest camps of any note are Hamdon, eleven miles to the south-west, and Castle Orchard, ten miles to the north-east.

The plan of the works may be described as an irregular triangle, fenced by four concentric ramparts, with intervening trenches, stepping steeply down the hill-slopes from the edge of the plateau. Below these, the plan shows that, on the north and north-east, there were detached lengths of outermost embankments; on the eastern side a piece of bold escarpment; and on the south and south-west,—one of the steepest parts,—a series of six similar escarpments partly cut into the rock. The main entrance was probably that still used, at the north-eastern corner, where the ascent is the easiest, and where the northern rampart was made to bend round, so as to form a flanking defence. It has been generally held that the one at the opposite corner was also ancient; and that there was a third entrance on the eastern side, where the plan shows an existing way through the ramparts. Although these roads appear in Crocker's plan, there is reason for doubting the antiquity of the last, which has some appearance of having been made for the convenience of a former occupier of the land, and is neglected by Phelps in his enumeration of the entrances. While Stukeley writes of only one entrance from the east, guarded by six or seven ditches, it is clear, from Leland's account, that the south-western one was in existence in his time; and, therefore, it was doubtless a part of the original work. It is due to the late Mr. Warre to note that, while he regarded the north-eastern as a secondary entrance, and the south-western one as the chief, he made a good deal

CADBURY CASTLE,  
(THE REPUTED "CAMELOT" OF KING ARTHUR.)  
SOUTH CADBURY,  
SOMERSET.



*Arthur's Well.*



*View of hill from N.E.*

SCALE  
100 FEET  
100 YARDS

*Representations of the "South Gate"*

*Designed by G. D. P. in 1873.*



of the south-eastern entrance, which, he says, "having crossed the outer defences, opens into the moat, between the inner agger and the one next to it; the path over the inner agger being steep and narrow, and probably strongly fortified. This opening of the road into the moat is a feature very commonly to be observed in British fortifications, and seems to have been intended to lead an attacking force to points where they might be overwhelmed from above." Mr. Warre also thought he observed "a smaller opening on the north side, leading through the entrenchments to the spring which supplied the place with water;.....but the entrenchment on the north had been so tampered with by modern fences" that he could not speak positively about it. This is hardly a correct way of describing the facts, for the only piece of modern fencing in connexion with the embankments on that side is the revêtement-wall before noticed, which supports the inner face of the inner *agger*, and which is complete along the whole length of the plantation. I saw no trace of the supposed way to the spring. I think also that the terms in which Mr. Warre speaks of the increased steepness and narrowness of the south-eastern entrance as it crosses the inner *agger* is likely to leave a wrong impression. I did not detect any narrowing of the way here, nor much aggravation of the severity of the gradient. I have written of the south-western entrance as though there was only one at that point; but the truth is, that immediately to the south of the existing cart-way which gives easy access to the area, there are signs of another, and a much rougher way, shown on the plan, cutting across the three higher banks straight up to the angle. It is also shown, but too distinctly, on Crocker's plan. Whether this was the ancient and only entrance at this point in Leland's time, may perhaps remain an open question.

The hill-shading clearly indicates the superficial features of the *enceinte*, which measures approximately about 1,000 feet by 750 feet, and may have an area of about 18 acres.<sup>1</sup> It will be seen that the ground rises gradually from the north-east and east to the apex of the hill, from

<sup>1</sup> Crocker's plan has no scale whereby to check the accuracy of this estimate.

whence there is a somewhat abrupt fall to the rampart on the west, and to the entrance at the south-western angle. Almost on the brow, there are remains of a straight piece of embankment, interrupted in the middle, and faint indications of small mounds between it and the edge. Not the slightest trace can be seen of the "work ditched round, and called *King Arthur's Palace*, and which might have been the *prætorium*" of an imaginative author (quoted *post*); and while there can be no doubt that the operations of agriculture have obliterated the traces of many foundations that were once visible, it is impossible to resist the conviction that this description of an inner work was inspired rather by that author's notions of what the ruins of *Camalet* might be expected to be, than by a sober apprehension of what he really saw at *Cadbury*. Phelps thinks the apex of the hill might have been occupied by a *speculum*, or watch-tower. In the south-eastern angle there is a small gravel-pit or quarry. Two springs burst out of the hill-sides, among the ramparts. The chief of these, called *Arthur's Well* (said to be never dry), is in the outer trench, on the north side, inclosed within a ring-fence, adjoining which is a small pond: the other, called *Queen Anne's Well*, is in the middle trench, by the side of the main entrance-way, close to the keeper's cottage.

As a rule, the embankments are composed of the usual mixture of stones and earth, nearly everywhere overgrown by grass. In some places they and the trenches exhibit exposures of rock; but I have nowhere observed any indication of ancient walling, such as Mr. Warre, somewhat doubtfully, thought he had been able to detect. Stone must always, as now, have been scarce on the site; and the place amply strong without bulwarks of masonry.

The modern works shown on the plan will, for the most part, be easily recognised. The banks and trenches belting the western, north-western, and eastern sides, are planted with trees, and fenced in by walls. The upper one forms a *revêtement* to the inner *agger*, on the side of the *enceinte*; while the lower approximately follows the line of the outer *agger*. Another wall sweeps around its southern foot, from the westernmost bend to the south-eastern entrance. From these, several fence-walls radiate



in various directions; and the main approach, beyond the trenches, is shut in by hedges.

The earliest topographer who notices Cadbury is Leland (1542), whose account, quoted *in extenso*, runs as follows:<sup>1</sup>—

“At the very South Ende of the Chirch of *South-Cadbyri* standith *Camallate*, sumtyme a famosse Toun or Castelle, apou a very Torre or Hille, wunderfully enstrengthenid of nature. to the which be 2. Enter-inges up by very stepe way: one by North Est, and another by South West. The very Roote of the Hille wheron this Forteres stode is more then a mile in Cumpace. In the upper Parte of the Coppe<sup>2</sup> of the Hille be 4. Diches or Trenches, and a balky Waulle of Yerth betwixt every one of them. In the very Toppe of the Hille above al the Trenchis is *magna area* or *campus* of a 20. Acres or more by Estimation, wher yn dyverse Places men may se Foundations and *rudera* of Walles. There was much dusky blew stone that People of the Villages therby hath caryid away. This Top withyn the upper Waulle is xx. Acres of Ground and more. and hath bene often plowid and borne very good Corne. Much Gold, Sylver and Coper of the *Romaine* Coynes hath be found ther yn plouing: and lykewise in the Feldes in the Rootes of this Hille, with many other antique Thinges and especial by Este. Ther was found in *hominum memoriu* a Horse Shoe of Sylver at *Camallate*. The People can telle nothing ther but that they have hard say that *Arture* much resorted to *Camalat*.....Diverse Villages there about bere the Name of *Camalat* by an Addition, as *Quene-Camalat*, and other. The Hylle and the Diches kepe well now viii *Shepe*.”

Two years later (in 1544) Leland, writing of the places where the Round Table was reported to have been held, adds that the name of Arthur was still magnified by the dwellers around Camalet (Cadbury), and concludes with a burst of rapture called forth by contemplation of the wonders of a scene which had led his imagination captive. He says:<sup>3</sup>—

<sup>1</sup> *Itin.*, vol. ii, f. 46, 47.

<sup>2</sup> “*Sic in autographo. Toppe* in Burton’s transcript.” *Coppe* is A. S. for cup, vessel, or top.

<sup>3</sup> *Assertio Arturii*, fol. 10a. The following extracts from the Index at the end of that work will fix Leland’s allocations of the proper names. Though not specified, *Urbs Legionum* is, of course, Caerleon. “*Camaletum* castrum olim magnificentissimum in ipsis Murotrigum limitibus. Britannice *Camalete*, alias *Cairmalet*.” “*Murotriges*, qui et *Somurotriges*, vulgo Somersetshire menne.” “*Simeni*, meo iudicio, olim fuerunt, qui nunc Avoniani ad meridiem.” “*Venta Simenorum* ad differentiam *Ventæ Belgarum*, *Ventæ Icenorum*, *Ventæ Sylurum*.” (*Ibid.*, ff. 38b, 39a, b.) In another part of his works, Leland identifies *Venta Simenorum* with Bristol. Camden affirms that there were no people named *Simeni* in Britain. *Murotriges* is a name defunct in the nomen-

"Hanc, ut ferunt, pompam frequentiuscule celebravit, præcipue vero in urbe Legionum, quem locum insigniter coluit. Idem fecit Ventæ Simenorum, et Camaleti Murotrigum. Vulgus scriptorum indoctum illud arbitratur Ventam alio nomine Camaletum dici. Quin vulgi iudicium non moror. Fama publica Murotrigum, radices Camaletici montis incolentium, prædicat, attollit, cantitat nomen Arturii, incolæ aliquando castrî, quod idem olim, et magnificentissimum, et munitissimum, atque in editissima specula, ubi mons consurgit, situm est. Dii boni, quantum hic profundissimarum fossarum? Quot hic egestæ terræ valla? Quæ demum præcipitia? Atque, ut paucis finiam, videtur mihi quidem esse et artis et naturæ miraculum."

Next in order of date comes Camden (1586), who writes :<sup>1</sup>—

The river Ivell "rises in Dorset, and, as soon as it enters Somersetshire, .....receives a small rivulet, on which stands *Cumalet*, a steep mountain, difficult of ascent, having on its top traces of a decayed castle, and a triple rampart of earth enclosing twenty acres. The inhabitants call it *Arthur's Palace*; but the Roman coins frequently dug up here prove it to be a Roman work. By what name it went in their time I am utterly ignorant, unless it be the place that in Ninnius' catalogue is called *Cæer Calemion*,<sup>2</sup> by transposition of letters for *Camelion*. The neighbouring village of *Cudbury* may probably enough be supposed to be that *Cathbregion*, where, according to Ninnius,<sup>3</sup> Arthur gave the Saxons a memorable overthrow."

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clature of modern archæology, and rather smacks of a mixture of *Durotriges* and *Morini*, two names of a tribe which, however, is usually limited to Dorsetshire.

<sup>1</sup> *Britannia*, Gough's second ed., vol. i, p. 78. See also Gibson's ed. (1695), pp. 58, 59.

<sup>2</sup> In some texts this is *Cair* or *Cæer Celemion*: and these are evidently plural forms of a word whose etymology has not been traced. That in this respect, as well as in general similarity of sound, there is a correspondence with *Colomeæ*, adduced by Stukeley (see *post*), perhaps may be thought to strengthen, rather than to weaken, his conjecture.

<sup>3</sup> *Historia Britonum* (7th cent.), cap. lxiv. (See *Monum. Hist. Brit.*, vol. i, pp. 73, 74.) "Undecim bellum fuit in monte quod dicitur Agned Cathregonnon." Various texts read, Cathregomion, Cabregonnon, Cathregonnon; and two add,—“in Sumersetesshire, quem nos Cathbregion appellamus.” Dr. Giles' translation (*Six Old English Chronicles*, p. 409, § 50) has,—“on the mountain Breguoin, which we call Cat Bregion, or Agned Cathregonion.” Most of the forms of this name also have a plural ending. Were it admissible to theorize playfully on the point, it might be suggested that the appellation (wherever may have been the true site) was that of a spot identified with *Bergion*, according to Holinshed (*Description of Britain*, vol. i, p. 7), a brother of *Albion*. Such, indeed, would hardly be more unsound than Camden's conjecture, based on a partial and casual consonance between a British word of the 7th century, and a common Saxon appellative of much later date.

Gough (Additions to Camden),<sup>1</sup> after making citations which will be quoted in their proper places, records that,

“In the Inquisition of William, last lord Botreaux, it is called *Cadbury Castle*,<sup>2</sup> and hence it is that the country people now know it by no other name, and give the name of *Camalet* to the next hill, under which the turnpike-road passes, but which has no works on it.”

Drayton (1612), in *Poly-Olbion*,<sup>3</sup> throws in a little flourish about Cadbury, introduced by noting that the river Ivel (or Yeo) is

“The nearest neighbouring flood to *Arthurs* ancient seat,  
Which made the *Britaines* name through all the world so great.  
Like *Camelot*, what place, was euer yet renownd?  
Where, as at *Carlion*, oft, hee kept the *Table-round*,  
Most famous for the sports at *Pentecost* so long,  
From whence all knightlie deeds, and braue atchieuements sprong.”

Stow's information (1615) about Cadbury is mainly taken from Leland; in addition to which he merely re-counts<sup>4</sup> that

“This round table he kept in diners places, especially at *Carlion*, *Winchester* and *Camalet* in *Somersetshire*.”

Speed (1627) only repeats<sup>5</sup> the substance of what Camden had published about forty years before.

Stukeley (1724) is the only topographer who materially adds to the information left to us by Leland. He records his opinion, in which he agreed with Camden, that it was a Roman work, and says<sup>6</sup> that it is made in the solid rock, has three or four ditches quite round; sometimes more: that its figure is squarish, but conforming to the shape of the hill; and that the area is upward of thirty acres. A higher work within, ditched around, and called *King Arthur's Palace*, he conceives might have been the *prætorium*. He describes the rampart as made of great stones, covered with earth, with only one entrance from the east, guarded by six or seven ditches; and enumerates the following objects as having been found in the camp:—many round pebbles, probably for slings or cross-bows, and supposed to have been brought from the sea-shore:

<sup>1</sup> *Britannia* (ed. 1806), vol. i, p. 92. See Gibson's ed. (1695), p. 77.

<sup>2</sup> Dugdale, *Bar.* (1676), i, p. 631.

<sup>3</sup> P. 48. Selden's note (1612) on this passage (p. 54) is nothing but a succinct repetition of what has been quoted from Leland, *ante*.

<sup>4</sup> *Annals*, p. 55.

<sup>5</sup> *Theatre of Great Britaine*, p. 23.

<sup>6</sup> *Itinerarium Curiosum*, second ed., vol. i, pp. 140, 142, and 150.

immense quantities of Roman coin, chiefly of Antoninus and Faustina: various other Roman relics;—camp-utensils and remains of military equipage, urns, pateræ, fibulæ, pavements, hypocausts, bolts, and hand-grindstones, have been found on the top; and, near Arthur's Well, square stones, and door-jambs with hinges have been dug up; and vaults are said to be thereabouts. It is also recorded that an urn, holding about two quarts, was found filled with Roman coins in the common field of Corton Dinham, two miles south of Cadbury. These were of Valerian, Gallienus, Aurelian, Tacitus, Florianus, and Probus. The Doctor was told of a road across the fields, bearing rank corn, and called *King Arthur's Hunting Causeway*. He supposed this castle to be the *Colomeæ* of Ravennas, “unless *Quin-Camel*, not far off, can better put in its claim, to which this might be the garison.”

These particulars are repeated by succeeding topographers,<sup>1</sup> among whom Collinson (1791) adds, that “many places here and in the neighbourhood are called by the name of King Arthur, thus, Arthur's round table, Arthur's kitchen, Arthur's well (a spring by the principal entrance on the north-east side);”<sup>2</sup> and, after quoting Stukeley's description of the “higher work within, ditched around”, gives another push to the ideal Camelot by adding that it is “of a circular form”. He farther notes that the Saxons merely called this place *Sud Cadeberie*, and that there is no such place as *Camalet* in the Norman Survey.

Maton (1797), one of the few topographers who write from personal observation, in this instance gives us no material information.<sup>3</sup>

Coming to more recent accounts, I find that, when the Somersetshire Archæological Society visited Cadbury in 1857, some fragments of Romano-British pottery, and a few sling-stones, were picked up; and that, on a subsequent visit of the same Society, in 1870, the following objects, found in the camp, were exhibited by Col. Ben-

<sup>1</sup> *England Illustrated* (1764), vol. ii, p. 228; Spencer, *Complete English Traveller* (1773), p. 56; Collinson, *History of Somerset*, vol. ii, p. 71; Camden, *Britannia*, Gough's second ed. (1806), p. 92; *Beauties of England and Wales* (1813), vol. xiii, part 1, pp. 478, 479.

<sup>2</sup> This is an error: see my description of the camp, *ante*. He might have added *Arthur's bridge*, on the road between Castle Cary and Shepton Mallet.

<sup>3</sup> *Western Counties of England*, vol. ii, pp. 22, 23.



nett, the owner of the property:—Roman coins, bones (of *bos longifrons*, deer, and swine), horse-shoes, a quern of an early and very interesting form, and a doubtful stone hatchet. The late Rev. W. Arthur Jones believed that there was no classical authority to prove that the Romans ever used horse-shoes; and he thought that these must be of later date than the Roman coins.

In the Introduction to a reprint of Malory's *Morte Darthur*, Sir Edward Strachey (1868) says:<sup>1</sup>—"I find it [Cadbury] called the Castle of Camellek in maps of the dates 1575 and 1610;.....but in 1736 a learned antiquarian<sup>2</sup> writes that the name had been superseded by that of Cadbury Castle."

We must now quit the region of fact (intermixed though our facts have unavoidably been with traditional, speculative, and imaginary matter), and again cast a glance over that dim and shadowy—all but unhistoric—field, in which most of those who have essayed to explore it have journeyed long,

"And found no end,—in wandering mazes lost."

We learn that "*King Arthur's Well* is said to possess many marvellous virtues, and shares with the lonely 'palace' on the top the reverence of the country-people, who, indeed, imagine the whole hill to be haunted ground, and to be gradually sinking";<sup>3</sup> "and if Arthur's Hunting Causeway in the field below, Arthur's Round Table and Arthur's Palace within the camp, cannot still, as of old, be pointed out to the visitor, the peasant girl will still tell him that within that charmed circle they who look may see through golden gates a king sitting in the midst of his court."<sup>4</sup>

But if we are really to know anything of the Cadbury of the past, we must first withdraw beyond the influence of the spell which the beautiful romance of the days of chivalry has cast about this spot, and which fatally beguiled the early authorities. For this reason it would not be safe to accept their accounts without making deductions on the score of statements that are, without

<sup>1</sup> P. xii.

<sup>2</sup> John Strachey, *Somersetshire Illustrated*, MS.

<sup>3</sup> Murray, *Handbook to Wilts, Dorset, and Somerset* (1869), p. 376.

<sup>4</sup> Strachey, *Introd. to Morte Darthur*, p. xii.



doubt, the outcome either of imagination or of credulity. Thus, we may probably dismiss Leland's silver horse-shoe, and his picture of the hero-worship of the natives ; also Stukeley's ditched keep, or *prætorium*, pavements, hypocausts, door-jambs with hinges, and supposed vaults.

Though it would be far beyond the scope of this paper, and would need extensive and exhaustive research in a dimly lighted and difficult field, to properly discuss the points of the Arthurian story, I have endeavoured to clear the way, as far as may be necessary for the present purpose, by trying to track the story of *Camelot* to its source. Leland, who has led later writers, is the earliest of our topographers who uses the word ; and he applies it to the hill of Cadbury, as though it had then no second appellation. Whether, fired by the story, and struck by the names of the villages and stream hard by, he christened this remarkable work by the title which it has since poetically borne ; or whether he already found it attached to the spot ; may be an open question. If the latter, it would be a matter of some difficulty to trace its origin, and the date of its first application. Going back behind Leland, I do not find the word *Camelot* (for that is the form it takes in an earlier period) in any of the historians or chroniclers who have adopted the story of Arthur, not even in Geoffrey of Monmouth, who made that story so peculiarly his own. It makes its first appearance in English in Malory's *Morte Darthur*, a romance professedly translated or adapted from a French source. The form of the word is French, as are most of the names of that tale of wonder ; but the structure, though elaborated in France from simpler Breton versions, has been traced back to a still simpler nucleus of incidents imbedded in the most ancient literature of Wales, which, we are told, must be carefully separated from the accretions that, at a subsequent period, became incorporated with the primitive materials. So far as I have been able to follow this clue, I cannot find any reference therein to *Camelot*. The name was, therefore, probably coined, with the events of which it was supposed to have been the scene, when the earlier legendary (perhaps semi-historic) facts were, at a much later age, attired in their foreign garb. For, whatever may be the truth about Arthur, we must of course

at once dismiss, as involving an anachronism of several centuries, the whole of the machinery of chivalry amid which the narrative moves, the Round Table, probably also the celebrated royal city, and the circumstances of state and refinement in which poets have delighted.

The fame of the Celtic hero extends over the whole of the region generally allotted to that people at successive periods during the first few centuries of our era,—that is, from the Lowlands of Scotland to Brittany; and the scenes of his alleged exploits were variously allocated by patriotic partiality in the different districts over which the race became dispersed. These multiplied localizations of the same events in regions widely asunder indicate a very early belief in the historic truth of the main features of the story. Between the extremes of view that have been held,—on the one hand admitting faith in the traditional narration, stripped merely of its impossible accessories; and, on the other, reducing the whole to an unsubstantial nature-myth,<sup>1</sup> it is perhaps now more generally conceded that there was an historic original of the Arthur of romance; and the most recent criticism seems disposed to find his chief theatre of action in the north-west of England, and the south-west of Scotland, where a greater number of objects bear his name than are found in any other district.<sup>2</sup>

When we contemplate the conflicting claims thus set up, and find our facts pared down by the knife of the critic to a bald and scanty remnant, it becomes a secondary question whether Arthur ever had anything to do with Cadbury; and all that can with safety be said of the alleged connexion is, that if this personage has been truly identified, as to the chief incidents of his career, with the West of England, and if the Camelot of romance had any historic reality, then the fortified hill of Cadbury has the best title to be the remains of that place.

Thus much has perhaps been due to the *manes* of those who, in good faith, have built up, and supported the credit of, the great Celtic epic: but we must turn to speculations more prosaic, yet hardly less vague. We have seen that both Camden and Stukeley, with strange error of

<sup>1</sup> See Cox's *Critical Introduction to Popular Romances of the Middle Ages* (1871).

<sup>2</sup> See *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th ed., article "Arthur."

judgment (as has been well pointed out by Mr. Warre), attributed the construction of Cadbury to the Romans, because so many coins of that people have been found there, and notwithstanding that it is not planned according to their well known system of fortification. The evidence of the coins of course goes no farther than to show that the work was occupied either in Roman or post-Roman times; but gives no clue as to when it was established. Mr. Warre (who, it is well known, for many years paid special attention to this branch of the archæology of Somersetshire) had a theory that two distinct classes of camps exist in that district, and are to be attributed to two different races. In one class he ranged all those whose plans, as he thought, were divided into three parts, which he compared to the outer and inner baileys and the keep of a mediæval castle; and in the other, those which were not thus subdivided; and he thought he could discern such a geographical distribution of these as indicated ancient territorial boundaries. The former class he regarded as "the characteristic type of the original British fortified towns in this part of England"; and, taking the line of the Parret and the Devonshire Axe as that at which their constructors stood at bay, he enumerated their frontier-defences from north to south as the Castle Hill at Stowey, Rowborough, Norton Fitz-Warren, Castle Neroche, Hamdon, Musbury, and Membury. But outside the Damnonian district, he instanced others of the same type,—Worlebury, Dolbury, Combe Down, and Orchard Castle, the existence of which he explained by attributing them to the same people before they were confined within narrower limits. In short, Mr. Warre gave all such works to the Loegri, who, in the Welsh triads, are said to have dwelt in these regions in very early times, and to have made a treaty with some emigrants from the Continent, called the *men of Gal Edin* (supposed to have been the people otherwise called *Belgæ*), who, after breaking faith with the natives, went to war with them, and, in course of time, deprived them of large portions of their original territory—of all, in short, that was to the east of the line above referred to. To this foreign people Mr. Warre attributed the undivided, or concentric, camps, of which Cadbury Castle is one of the best examples.

After much thought, and a careful comparison of most of the instances he adduces, and of many to which he has not referred, I am disposed to think that Mr. Warre's induction was based on too small a number of examples; and those, in many cases, either erroneously classified, or not sufficiently marked to lend it any support. His three-fold arrangement, for instance, is only found in its proper succession in two or three of the camps he has named,—the best example being Castle Neroche. Hamdon has it not. In Worlebury, the two lower divisions are separated by the “keep”; and Dolbury does not in any way answer to the definition: Membury and Norton, too, must certainly be grouped in the other category. And it seems not to have occurred to Mr. Warre that there are many examples of the concentric camp in Damnonia, even down to the extremity of Cornwall; and also that specimens affiliated to those of the triple order are found in many other localities,—for instance, in Wales, Ireland, Brittany, and Istria. Among many less important works of the concentric class in Damnonia, it will be sufficient to instance Chywoon Castle, Castle-an-dinas, and Castle Kenyoe, in Cornwall; Ditchen Hills, Denbury, Cadbury (near Silverton), and Membury, in Devonshire; and Norton camp in Somersetshire;—all within the region unpenetrated by the Belgæ, and all good examples of the circular, oval, or concentric form.

In fact, the truth appears to be, that the plans, arrangements, and modes of construction of primitive works of defence were ruled almost solely by the form of the ground, and by the nature of the materials found upon the site; and, though there may have been some differences of fashion among different races, arising from tribal needs, habits, and pursuits, I am convinced that these were not sufficiently marked to make any such a local classification as that proposed by Mr. Warre at present possible. If this is the correct view of the case, we shall be unable to do more, in the case of Cadbury, than to repeat what I have already said about Dolbury; and I fear we shall get no brighter light upon the subject until a much more extensive and systematic exploration by the spade shall have been applied to these and many other similar works in the same district.

## Proceedings of the Association.

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WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 15, 1882.

T. MORGAN, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

THE election of the following Associates was announced :

Sig. Louis Arrigoni, 6 Corso Venezia, Milan  
 Wm. Daubeny, Esq., Stratton House, Park Lane, Bath  
 J. W. S. Dix, Esq., Durdham Down, Bristol  
 Wm. Hughes, Esq., Essington Villa, 89 Alexandra Road, St.  
 John's Wood, N.W.  
 Colonel M'Laughlin, R.A., United Service Club, Pall Mall  
 E. Crofton M'Laughlin, Esq., United Service Club, Pall Mall  
 Miss Montgomery, Ivy Lodge, Twickenham  
 John H. Phillips, Esq., on behalf of the Philosophical and Archæ-  
 ological Society of Scarborough  
 J. D. Pode, Esq., Slade Hall, Ivybridge, Devonshire  
 D. Radford, Esq., Lydford Bridge, Bridestow, Devon  
 H. C. Ray, Esq., Iron Acton, Gloucestershire  
 J. Westwood, Esq., Jun., C.E., The Lake, Snaresbrook, Essex  
 J. Millar Wilkinson, Esq., 22 Russell Road, Kensington, W.  
 Miss Wolfe, Tower House, Roupell Park, S.W.

The receipt of the following donations to the Library was recorded, and thanks ordered by the Council to be conveyed to the donors :

- To his Grace the Duke of Northumberland* for "A Descriptive Catalogue of Antiquities at Alnwick Castle", and "Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities." 4to.
- To the Smithsonian Institute*, for "First Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology", 1879-80 ; "Annual Report of the Board of Regents", 1880 ; "List of Foreign Correspondents", 1882.
- To the Trustees of the Australian Museum, Sydney*, for "Catalogue of the Australian Stalk and Sessile Eyed Crustacea", by W. A. Haswell, M.A., B.Sc. 1882.



- To the Kent Archæological Society*, for "Archæologia Cantiana", vol. xiv. 1882.
- To the Sussex Archæological Society*, for "Archæological Collections", vol. xxxii. 1882.
- To the Essex Institute (America)*, for "Historical Collections", four Parts, vol. xviii, 1881; "Bulletin", four Parts, vol. xiii, 1881.
- To the Cambrian Archæological Association*, for "Archæologia Cambrensis", Nos. 50 and 51. 1882.
- To the Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society*, for "Proceedings", 1881, vol. vii.
- To the Powys-Land Club*, for "Collections", vol. xv, Parts II and III, 1882.
- To the Royal Institute of British Architects*, for "Transactions", Session 1881-82.
- To the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, for "Proceedings", vols. ii and iii, 1879-80 and 1880-81.
- To the Society of Antiquaries*, for "Proceedings", vol. viii, No. v, 1880, and List of Members.
- To the Royal Archæological Institute*, for Journals, vol. xxxix, Nos. 154 and 155. 1882.
- To the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland*, for Journal, vol. v, 4th Series, Nos. 49, 50, 51. 1882.
- To the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society*, for "Transactions", vol. vi, Parts 1 and 2. 1881-82.
- „ „ for "Notes on the Wills of the Great Orphan Book and Book of Wills in the Council House at Bristol."
- To R. Ballard, Esq., Malvern*, for "The Solution of the Pyramid Problem." 8vo. 1882.
- To John Evans, D.C.L., etc.*, for "Unwritten History, and how to read it: a Lecture." Pamphlet. 1882.
- To George Buckler, Esq.*, for "Colchester Castle." Fourth Section. Oct. 1882. Pamphlet.
- To the Imperial Archæological Commission, St. Petersburg*, for "Annual Report, 1880", and "Atlas."

It was announced that arrangements were in progress for holding the next Annual Congress of the Association at Dover, in the autumn of 1883, the intention being to visit several places of antiquarian interest in the locality.

During the vacation, the contemplated demolition of the Tol House at Great Yarmouth had been reported to the Council. A memorial in favour of the retention of the ancient building, visited during the Yarmouth Congress, was prepared and signed by the Treasurer on behalf of the Association. Similar memorials had also been prepared by other

antiquarian societies. It was now announced that the local authorities had decided to retain the building, and to place it in the hands of trustees for restoration, that it may be devoted to some local service, either as a museum or otherwise.

It was also reported that the quaint Rectory House of St. Paul's, Deptford, was about to be demolished, the site having been sold for building purposes. The building, designed by Sir John Vanbrugh, is triangular in plan, of yellow brick, with red brick angles and dressings, Portland stone cornices, etc.

Mr. Worthington G. Smith, F.L.S., exhibited a polished celt wholly made of dolerite, found a few days ago in a field at Bedford; also a very symmetrical flint celt,  $6\frac{1}{2}$  inches long, finely chipped on both sides, recently found between Brentford and Hanwell. He also exhibited a rubbing from the effigy of Groffydd ap Davydd Coch, at Bettws y Coed, showing marks where arrows were sharpened in mediæval times when, it may be, that churches were besieged; also a whetstone with a groove on both sides, made by sharpening flat blades, probably belonging to the bronze age.

The Chairman exhibited another article of very similar appearance, with the groove very apparent. It was found, some time since, at Horsham, Surrey. One of the members called attention to the frequency of the discovery of similar articles in Ireland.

Mr. Walter Myers, F.S.A., M.R.I.A., exhibited a bronze cylinder found near Gourneh, in Thebes, bearing the cartouche of Pepi, sixth dynasty; also a selection from his collection of inscribed tiles, one with the name of Rameses the Great, several of Trajan and Hadrian; the most interesting of which was one containing a copy of a letter referring to some defaulters who had gone to Alexandria. These inscriptions are written on fragments of pottery, probably the remains of wine-jars, the greatest number relating to the delivery of wine, with receipts for the same. He also exhibited some fine flint arrow-heads obtained in Chinsi.

Mr. Flinders Petrie referred to the great number of inscribed fragments of pottery to be found in Egypt, on most of the ancient sites, or even worked up in the sun-dried bricks of a later period. Those exhibited, he considered, were the remains of the wine-jars supplied for the use of the Theban soldiery.

The first paper was by C. H. Compton, Esq., on the "Antiquarian Features of the recent Exhibition of the Horners' Company of the City of London, held in the Mansion House." This will, it is hoped, be printed in the *Journal* hereafter. The paper was illustrated by several objects which had also formed a part of the Exhibition referred to. Among these were the following: an ancient *lituus* found in the Thames at Vauxhall, kindly sent by Mr. H. Syer Cuming, V.P., F.S.A.

Scot.; the *shophar* of the well known Jewish Synagogue at Bevis Marks, lent by the authorities; and a second *shophar* found in an old house in Leadenhall Street, exhibited by Mr. Alfred A. Newman. The three articles of flattened horn were all nearly identical in form.

Mr. Newman claimed the *lituus* of Mr. Cuming as a *shophar*, and as one of the relics of the presence of the Hebrews in England prior to their expulsion from the country in mediæval times. It is of the same form as has been used in the ceremonial of the Synagogue from time immemorial, that from Bevis Marks having been used since the return of the Jews. The latter is probably of German work.

Mr. Adler, a learned Hebrew scholar, also identified Mr. Cuming's exhibit as a *shophar*; and he placed the articles on the table side by side, to indicate the similarity of the form. The flattened form is produced by softening the horn by a process of heating in hot water. They are ram's horns, and are used in the Synagogue for sounding in the new year. They are also referred to in the Book of Leviticus, for use in the ceremony of the year of Jubilee. Their sound is extremely shrill and penetrating.

The following paper was then read, in the unavoidable absence of the author:

#### A HOARD OF BRONZE BRACELETS AT BRADING, I. W.

BY C. ROACH SMITH, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A.

Captain Thorp has communicated to me the discovery, near Brading, Isle of Wight, of a lance-head and bracelets in bronze, which I forward to the Association, together with sketches from drawings made by Mrs. Thorp.

Captain Thorp states that "they are faithfully copied from the originals, in the position they are said to have been found, nearly fifty years ago, by Mr. John Haydon, chief carpenter and wheelwright then (as at the present time) on the Nunwell estate in the parish of Brading. Mr. Haydon informs me that he was superintending the construction of a wooden bridge over one of the broad dykes in the marshes, and upon making a large hole for one of the posts, upwards of 6 feet deep, entirely through the alluvial soil, he came upon these relics embedded in hard clay, in the position now presented; the armlets, linked together, surrounding the spear or lance-head. Mr. Haydon has pointed out to me the spot in which he discovered these interesting remains; and he tells me I am the only person to whom he has imparted the information, and I place every faith in his statement.

"I have made a strict examination of the locality, and find the land rises from where the discovery was made; the nature of the ground having every appearance, from its circular form, of having been an island at some remote period. The highest point is considerably above

the surrounding level, suggesting to me, from certain indications on the surface towards the centre, that it might have been an early cemetery ; and it is my intention to excavate."

In Dr. Evans' valuable work on ancient bronze weapons, implements, and ornaments, will be found several instances of spear-heads and bracelets being found together. They probably belong to the latter part of what is called the bronze age. We were already deeply indebted to Captain Thorp for the now well known discovery of the Roman villa at Morton, and for the excavation of a British barrow upon Nanwell Down. This, his latest discovery, increases our obligation to him. Our debt of gratitude will probably be increased ere long, as Captain Thorp is resolved to continue his researches in the vicinity of Brading.

The lance-head is 13 inches long, and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inch wide at the broadest part. The eleven bronze armlets average  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches from curve to curve ; and about a quarter of an inch thick in the centre of oval, tapering to the ends. Some of the latter are square or flat ; others are pointed. They appear to have been beaten out, having the marks of the hammer.

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This was illustrated by a drawing by Mrs. Thorp, shewing the position of the lance-head, and the interlaced bracelets grouped around its socket in the form of a crescent.

During the proceedings, the following description of a further portion of the ancient bulwark of the City was rendered :

#### THE ROMAN WALL OF LONDON AT MOORGATE.

BY E. P. LOFTUS BROCK, ESQ., F.S.A., HON. SECRETARY.

The course of the old enclosing wall of the City of London is well known to have been along the north side of the present thoroughfare called London Wall, and the large scale Ordnance Map indicates its position with fair accuracy. The remarks I made on a recent occasion, as to the actual existence of a large portion of the Wall beneath the present level of the earth, appear to be well justified by the discovery that has just been made.

The old house, No. 55 London Wall, close to Finsbury Place, has recently been pulled down to make way for new premises, which will be extended into Fore Street, where another clearance has been made, the site from one thoroughfare to the other being completely uncovered. It had long been noticed that the old building in London Wall leaned considerably away from that street. The reason of this is very apparent on the site being cleared. The front wall was found to rest on a solid mass of Old London Wall, while the building itself had been built over the once deep ditch on the outer side. This had been filled

in at various times. The excavations for the new works have had to be carried through a deep mass of yielding black mud, extending beyond the southern edge of the present Fore Street, and showing that, at this point, the ditch was of greater width than the distance from street to street.

The discovery claims our attention; but lengthy description is hardly called for, since the Wall, as met with here, tallies almost exactly with what has been met with elsewhere. There are the same facing blocks of Kentish ragstone, squared, four courses in number, between the courses of tiles; the same rough core of rubble masonry; the same bonding courses of red tiles (they were  $11\frac{1}{2}$  inches by 10 inches, and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inch thick, and went quite through the wall); and even, in one position, the outer chamfered plinth, of dark brown ironstone, was met with. This was in some work of underpinning to the party-wall of the adjacent house to the west. The base of the Wall was only opened at one other spot, and the plinth was not noticed there. The foundation was on puddled clay and flints.

The width of the Wall was very apparent, and I was able to measure it from face to face with every facility for accuracy. Its thickness was 9 feet 2 inches; but this included a facing, on the City side, of mediæval work about 2 feet thick, evidently inserted to thicken the Wall. A peculiarity of construction not noticed elsewhere, was the existence of a series of ornamental recesses with semicircular heads, in the southern face of the Wall, in the later facing. These appear to have been about 2 ft. 6 ins. wide, about 1 ft. 11 ins. deep, with piers between them 1 ft. 11 ins. wide. Their imposts were about 15 ft. below the present level. There were, perhaps, six of such niches; but the work was too much demolished on my visit for accurate observation. The heads of the arches were of bright red brick of larger size than those of modern use. They were 11 ins. by 5 ins., by  $2\frac{1}{4}$  ins. thick. These arches had been inserted to produce some ornamental effect; but it was a matter of some difficulty to realise this now, buried, as they were, deeply below the accumulations of many centuries. The Roman wall was visible within the recesses, showing that the piers and arches had been inserted to thicken the wall. The extent of the wall met with was about 43 feet in length from east to west. Its average height, above the level of the excavated site, was 4 ft.; but it extends quite 8 ft. below this uninjured, and it will be utilised as a foundation for the new works. At the east end it came up to within 2 ft. 6 ins. of the present paving of London Wall. The excavated site is 17 ft. 6 ins. below the modern level. The mortar was of the usual hard description, with no admixture of pounded brick. In one position, close to the west end of the site, curious evidence was afforded that the wall had been erected later than some of the Roman buildings of the city which it had to



enclose. A mass of the well known salmon-coloured concrete, formed of pounded red brick, evidently from some other building, was built up in the wall as old material. Several scored flue-tiles were also found during the excavations, and others and thick roofing-tiles had also been used in the composition of the wall.

This discovery is of interest, since, from the similarity of its construction thus noted, it shows that the Wall of London is identical in all the points where it has been yet observed, where the original work remains unaltered; and that it must have been erected at one time and as part of one design.<sup>1</sup>

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 6, 1882.

T. MORGAN, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A., HON. TREAS., IN THE CHAIR.

The following gentlemen were duly elected :

James B. Davidson, Esq., M.A., 14 Old Square, Lincoln's Inn  
Chas. Norman, Esq., 8 Bishopsgate Street Within.

Thanks were ordered to be returned

o the *Glasgow Archaeological Society*, for "Transactions", vol. ii, Part II. 1882.

Dr. J. Stevens forwarded for exhibition a drawing of an elegant Roman cinerary urn, lately found near Winchester, with the following notice :

"Just outside the place where the North Gate of the city of Winchester formerly stood, were found, a few years ago, several perfect cinerary urns and certain other remains, which seemed to point out the place as the *ustrinum* of the Roman city. These discoveries were on the site of the brewery of Mr. Hugh Wyeth. About 200 yards from this place, in the garden of Mr. Giles Pointer, was found, a few days ago, an urn of the shape and of dimensions of the sketch which I send you. Height,  $4\frac{3}{4}$  ins.; diameter of neck,  $2\frac{1}{8}$  ins.; of body,  $4\frac{3}{4}$  ins.; of foot, 3 ins. It was taken out of the ground quite perfect. The colour is black, evidently from the effect of fire. Human bones were found on the spot, near the urn, and amongst them part of a human skull. I may remark that when digging, for making some alterations in his

<sup>1</sup> Not long since the City Wall, forming the north boundary of the little churchyard of St. Alphage, London Wall, was opened out by the removal of the buildings abutting upon it in Fore Street. The excavations were carried down almost to the foundations, but nothing of Roman workmanship was visible. The wall appeared to be of mediæval date, so far as this northern facing was concerned. A few months ago the wall was met with still further to the west. It was of massive construction, but wholly of hard chalk and Kentish ragstone, of mediæval date. It was entirely cut through, and its construction was very apparent. The base of old Cripplegate was laid bare close to this spot, and several massive walls, projecting to the north of the City Wall, were visible, and some running diagonally towards them. These extend beneath Wood Street.

house, Mr. Pointer found two or three skeletons, which appeared to have been buried without coffin or other cist. The whole neighbourhood is interesting. Within a stone's throw are the remains of the mitred Abbey of Hyde, and the scene of the legendary story of the battle between Guy of Warwick and the giant Colbrand, and close by was one of the towers of the walls which surrounded Winchester. Headbourne Worthy Church, with its Saxon remains, is about one mile and a half from the place."

Mr. J. T. Hand forwarded a note of archæological investigations at Seagry, Wilts :

"I desire to inform you that the Wiltshire Archæological Society, at the earnest desire of my friend, the Rev. H. K. Anketell, Vicar of Seagry, paid a visit to that place on the 4th of August last, and upon examination of a certain spot which for generations had been traditionally reported to contain traces of extensive buildings, and also of ancient interments, a remarkable verification of the fact was afforded by the discovery of a quantity of British pottery, some of which bore a sort of dog-tooth ornamentation, fragments of iron, and charred bones. The field in which this find took place is situate at the top of 'Five Thorns Lane'. There are four raised mounds in the field; and at a depth of about 2 feet below the surface were found the foundations of very extensive buildings, many of them bearing the marks of having been burned, thus corroborating the traditional belief that a large ecclesiastical building once stood there. The Vicar stated that it was destroyed by fire in the eleventh century. Of this fact I have never seen any intimation, and therefore simply give it as I received it. The fragments of pottery, iron, and bones, were found about 4 feet below the surface.

"My family were all born and lived in that village, and the report of the existence of these remains has always been well known to me from my earliest years; and my grandfather, who died at the age of ninety-two (born 1754), had heard the same from his father and grandfather.

"My attention was, as far back as 1832, strongly centred upon this matter; and in the chartulary of the Abbey of Malmesbury will be found a charter from King Ethelred, A.D. 982, giving certain lands at Rodbourne; and to this are affixed the boundaries. This place adjoins Seagry; and to my delight I there found reference made to the 'Five Thorns' and also the 'Hethene Buriels', as also references to other places or things which were perfectly recognisable by me and my family.

"In *Domesday*, under 'Segrie', no mention is made as to the existence of a church. By a deed of gift, Alexander de Segre gave the church of Segre and other lands to the Priory of Bradenstoke, but makes no mention as to whether it was situate at Upper or Lower

Seagry. The existing church is at Lower, and was rebuilt during the incumbency of the Rev. J. Hemsted, now Rector of Ickford, Oxfordshire, who left Seagry in 1854. In a letter I received from him he wrote that, 'when the old church was pulled down, the fragments of an earlier building, of a Saxon or early Norman character, were found embedded in the walls, here and there, in a random manner. These I had carefully collected, with a view to their preservation; but upon visiting Seagry a short time since I could not find them.'"

Mr. C. H. Compton exhibited a piece of Roman concrete pavement dug up in excavating close to the Cathedral of Nôtre Dame, Boulogne, last spring, for sewage purposes. It was found about 10 feet from the Cathedral wall, and close to the Pont Neuf. Also a fragmentary lump of Roman mortar from the same site. These specimens are similar to the pavements which are found at Leadenhall. Some specimens of old stained glass from the round west window of Amiens Cathedral, one piece having a vine-leaf, and two other fragments being fine specimens of old ruby coloured glass; picked up by Mr. Henry Spencer Compton from the *débris* caused by workmen chipping out the old glass where the pattern had become imperfect, and replacing it with new glass. Mr. Compton also exhibited a dice-box made of bone, dug up 28 feet below the surface, near London Wall, two or three years ago. Date uncertain.

Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., *Hon. Curator*, exhibited, on behalf of Mrs. Rendle, an engraving by Heemskirek (1561), showing specimens of the ancient *lituus*.

The Chairman exhibited, on behalf of Mr. Swayne, F.S.A., of Wilton, near Salisbury, a photograph of the roof of the Swayne Chapel; and coloured drawings of a fresco on the wall over the chancel-arch of St. Thomas' Church, Salisbury. This picture represents the not unusual subject of "The Last Judgment", treated in the conventional manner of the 15th century.

Mr. Sherborne exhibited a circular snuffbox of horn, the top and bottom inlaid with subjects in gold and silver; probably 17th century.

Mr. R. E. Way exhibited a fine, brightly coloured costrel, or pilgrim's bottle, yellow and red, mottled, found in June 1882, in excavations at Trinity Crescent, Tower Hill.

Mr. W. de G. Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, exhibited a photograph of the "Tabula Honestæ Missionis" recently found at Liège, and read some notes on it, which it is hoped will be published hereafter.

Major Alexander Palma di Cesnola, F.S.A., exhibited six large cards, on which were mounted a very large and representative collection of gold and silver jewellery from his Cyprus excavations, two terra-cottas, and a Phœnician glass *unquentarium*, in illustration of the paper which he read, entitled "Phœnician Art in Cyprus." It is hoped that this paper will be printed in a future part of the *Journal*.

In the discussion which took place afterwards, Mr. Birch, Mr. Wright, Mr. E. Walford, Mr. Boscawen, the Assyriologist, and the Chairman, took part.

Mr. Birch read a paper by Mr. C. W. Dymond, F.S.A., entitled "Cadbury and Dolbury, two Somersetshire Camps"; and exhibited, on behalf of the author, two carefully prepared plans of the camps. This paper will be found printed above, at pp. 398-419.

The Chairman read the following

#### REVIEW OF THE CONGRESS AT PLYMOUTH.

BY THOS. MORGAN, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A., HON. TREASURER.

A Congress in south-western Devonshire, following that in Cornwall after the short interval of six years, would seem to demand some reason for fixing it here. The reason is not far to seek, if we consider the interweaving of the history of the two counties in early times, and the temptation there was to complete researches begun in Cornwall by exploring contemporary remains in south-western Devon. The buildings, forts, churches, and earthworks, will be described in detail in the official report of our Congress next year. My aim in anticipating this by a short review is to bind some of these objects together, by which the excursions may be fixed upon your minds, to encourage further investigations of the incidents and places referred to, with a view to papers and discussions in our *Journal*, and at our evening meetings.

We are assembled at Plymouth, in the Guildhall. The dedication of so large, massive, and costly a building to the purposes of the Corporation of Plymouth is indicative of the times, and of the important place filled by the cities of the empire in the progress of the nation. The exhibition of the maces, antiquities, and documentary records, not only in Plymouth by Mr. R. N. Worth, but also in Totnes by Mr. E. Winneatt, and at Plympton by Mr. Brooking-Rowe, and the value attached to them, are sufficient proof of the appreciation given to such genuine evidence of contemporary history. The strong room in which the regalia and records of Plymouth are secured, will prevent these relics from being consumed by fire; and public spirit will guard them against such mischief as was recorded by Mr. Worth, when, in 1601-2, a chest full of valuable documents was wantonly burnt. We had a useful digest, by Mr. Worth, of the Plymouth records, illustrating its life in times past, its guilds, its courts of justice, the invasions of the French on four occasions, political and domestic events, reception of distinguished foreigners and English celebrities, and of the events laid open in the Black and the White Books, and the Register-Book lately recovered.

Mr. Lambert pointed out the merits of the maces and of two cups.

The former, though of Queen Anne's time, were chased with emblems of preceding sovereigns; and among these was a portecullis, the Lancastrian emblem of Henry VII and of the Beauforts, Dukes of Somerset. Mr. Worth called attention to the Union Cup, the gift of John White in 1585, as one which had been used by many Elizabethan heroes.

Mr. R. N. Worth pointed out the parish church of St. Andrew,—a fine specimen of the Devonian churches of the fifteenth century, when the Reformation was looming in the distance, and money pouring in from foreign commerce, causing many churches to be restored, and many rebuilt.

Mr. Brock called attention to these facts and to the curious instance of another church, called "Charles Church", built as late as the reign of Charles I, in the Pointed Perpendicular style; not very dissimilar from the many specimens in Devon of the reign of Henry VII.

The "Prysten-hous", near St. Andrew's, was attributed to its proper use by Mr. Worth, through finding a document among the Corporation records, which showed the sum paid for it by way of rent as a house for the priests, and dispelled the popular notion that it was the remains of an abbey.

The afternoon was spent in visiting the old remains in Plymouth, which are fast disappearing; and first we viewed the Dominican Friary, now in the occupation of Messrs. Coates. A portion of the refectory is tolerably perfect, and the old timbers very sound; but the house was never of large dimensions. On the way hither, at the corner of Looe Street and Buckwell Street, stood the house once occupied by Sir Francis Drake before he went to Buckland Abbey. We had to hasten to receive the address of Sir James Picton, which was cordially received after our festive dinner.

The next morning, at an early hour, the Globe Hotel was astir with preparations for the trip to Horrebridge and Buckland Church and Abbey. The latter is situated in one of those beautiful, wooded dells in which the Cistercians delighted to dwell, with streams of good water near, and broad lands around to yield the fruits of the earth in abundance. We had evidence of this in the very large barn of the Priory, with its original, timbered roof of the fourteenth century. What little remained of the Abbey building was said by Mr. Brock to date about eighty years earlier than the barn. The few remains of the Abbey form part of the old Tudor house tenanted in his time by Sir Francis Drake, and to which I will again refer in describing other domestic buildings.

In the church of Buckland, which is one of the fifteenth century, is a white marble monument, by Bacon, to the memory of Baron Heathfield, the defender of Gibraltar, who died on 6 July 1790. He married the daughter of Sir Francis Drake, a lineal descendant of the great



navigator. The stone roof of the canopied chapel in which this is contained is said to have been brought from Buckland Abbey.

From hence we emerge on to the Moor, radiant with purple heath, and take up our quarters at Prince Town, in the midst of those stone relics of an ancient people which we were so anxious to see. The interval, devoted to a midday meal, raised hopes that the mist which was gathering around might clear off; but the mist grew thicker, and the rain fell more heavily after hours of waiting; and as the stones could not be visited, therefore, in the fog which surrounds us, let us speculate a little upon primæval races, so much spoken of lately, who may have placed one rude stone upon another. In this as in other counties of England we have remains enough of man contemporary with recorded history, but whose works and actions are unrecorded. To investigate these is the work of our Association, and not to connect the man of flint with his fossilised weapons and implements; yet it is no longer possible to shut our eyes to the discoveries of such explorers as well as deep thinkers as M. Boucher de Perthes, of Abbeville in France, whose museum of flint and stone implements found in the valley of the Somme, is as well known to scientific men in this country as it is in France. Not less known than his museum are his valuable printed works, in which I find opinions which may well be adopted as an introduction to the antiquities of these western counties. He finds two classes of men to be the greatest obstacles to scientific investigation; those who believe everything, and those who believe nothing; and he finds the arguments of both classes to be equally illogical. He visits with the severest condemnation those who would limit the operations of God's providence to the first creation of a chaotic mass of matter which was left to develop itself under its own laws. He proceeds to show that the work of creation is still going on, as well in the material as in the intellectual world, and that it is an enduring evidence of the Divine Intelligence ever at work. The geologists show us how the crust of the earth has been gradually formed by marine and fluviatile deposits through a series of ages, and equally slow has been the development of the intellectual creation. It has been my privilege lately to hear papers and discussions at the meetings of the Anthropological Society, under their President, General Pitt-Rivers, upon the various races of men on the African continent, where we see them still in the same uncivilised state as on this island and other countries of Europe, at the same time that Greek and Roman arts and culture were gradually being extended through the towns and centres in their midst. The weapons of war and domestic implements among these rude people were suited to their wants, and to the materials ready to hand, out of which the tools were made. It is, then, for the antiquary to compare the remains found of their handiwork, and endeavour to establish some

chronological sequence in their history; and it is here the labours of the anthropologist and the antiquary meet upon the same ground.

Unequal as I am to follow the researches of geologists such as Professor Boyd Dawkins, or of Mr. N. Whitley, into the Kent Cavern near Torquay, and the bone-caves of Yealme and Brixham in this county, I must beg you will be satisfied on this occasion with the humbler task of bringing together some results of many labours and observations, during the past seven years, in a more modern field of inquiry, following in succession the elaborate researches of Sir Gardner Wilkinson, recorded in the sixteenth and eighteenth volumes of our *Journal*, and assisted by the published and unpublished works and drawings of Mr. Borlase, M.P., and the Rev. W. C. Lukis, besides the published accounts of the local Societies before referred to. Mr. J. Romilly Allen, Sir Henry Dryden, Bart., Mr. J. W. Dymond, Mr. C. Lynam, Mr. Francis Brent, and others specially qualified to describe these rude remains of our forefathers, have done much to advance our knowledge of them by writings, drawings, and measurements, from actual survey; and it is useful to take stock of our acquisitions of such knowledge from time to time, and thus prepare, as it were, a fresh basis for further investigations.

When the *Domesday Survey* was made, this county was at the head of all the counties, other than those which Mr. Dawson Turner calls the Danish counties, in point of population. Pursuing the course of the Tamar up stream to Tavistock, visions will arise of Saxon times and Danish invasions. Not far off, Brent Tor rears its lofty head crowned with the Chapel of St. Michael and All Angels. Though simply fortified by art, yet nature has built its ramparts; and we are in the immediate neighbourhood of Dartmoor and the wonderful remains of its early inhabitants.

To the north of Dartmoor, though our visits will hardly reach so far, the famous town of Okehampton, with its castle and square keep, stands out in the history of war as does Crediton in that of peace. It has been remarked that the four names chronicled as of Bishops of Crediton appear as moneyers on the coins of the time, a list of which, with the moneyers, is given in vol. viii of the *Transactions* of the Devon Association. The "South Hams" below Exeter have been called the garden of Devonshire; and how many interesting scenes and events are recalled by the names of Moreton Hampstead, Chudleigh, Teignmouth, Newton Abbot, Totnes, and Dartmouth!

In the small area of which I have taken this rapid survey, specimens of most of the types of remains which illustrate what are called pre-historic, because unrecorded, life are to be found; and other remains may be referred to in the neighbouring county of Cornwall and elsewhere to complete a series of them. They have been often classified. I will refer to some of the examples.

Hut-circles abound on Dartmoor; the pounds or enclosures circular, generally of 23 ft. diameter internally; the stones often 4 to 8 ft. in length, and placed upright on their ends. At Roundy Pound, near Castor, the walls are 6 ft. 2 ins. thick, composed of large blocks; and the outer enclosure is 106 ft. in diameter. The inner circle is 47 ft.; the space between the outer and inner circle being divided into compartments by walls radiating towards the centre, similar to those described by Mr. Tate at Greaves Ash in Northumberland, and Clûn Castle, Cornwall. The most remarkable as a walled village is Grims-pound, below Hamilton Down; the diameter, including walls, being 502 by 447 ft., and twenty-five hut-circles still remain within its area. Among the other pounds or circular enclosures, of smaller dimensions, on Dartmoor, few contain more than one or two hut-circles. Mr. G. Wareing Ormerod has given many examples of hut-circles; but these are sufficient indications of families or clans grouped together in hamlets, villages, and large towns.

Cup and ring-markings are indentations upon certain stones, and are connected together by lines which seem to indicate designs or ground-plans of the hut-villages within the pound, and these communicating with each other by road-ways. The subject has been treated on by Mr. J. Romilly Allen, as to the inscribed stones at Ilkley in Yorkshire,<sup>1</sup> and by Sir G. Wilkinson, who had seen similar markings all through England, Wales, Ireland, and Scotland, Isle of Man, India, and United States of America. He had also detected ring-marks on the monolith called Long Meg, in Cumberland.<sup>2</sup> Mr. C. W. Dymond has also furnished accounts of others on Burley Moor, Yorkshire.<sup>3</sup> Our lamented Associate Mr. J. Brent, F.S.A., at one of the evening meetings a short time before his decease, entered at length into a discussion of this interesting question, and thought the cups and rings represented the barrows and stone circles surrounding the tombs of the inhabitants.

Barrows, or mounds of earth covering cistvaens, or cromlechs, or dolmens. These were called *hlows* in Saxon times; some being round, others long; some with passages or chambers of stone leading into them, others without. By the word "cromlech" we in England understand a chamber formed by three lines of stones erect, in the form of a triangle, having the apex towards the east; and these were covered by one or more capstones to form the roof, which thus shelved down to the narrow entrance. "Dolmen" is the name which has been given to two lines of stones erect, open at each end, and supporting a horizontal roof of large stones placed upon them. These, though they now appear above ground, are all supposed by Mr. Lukis to have been once covered with a mound, the earth of which has been gradually washed away; but in the case of the cromlech proper, this was probably not

<sup>1</sup> *Journ.*, vol. xxxv, p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, xvi, p. 118.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, xxxvi, p. 413.

the rule. Examples of cromlechs in this county are the Spinster's Rock, near Drewsteignton, on a farm called Shilston (Selvestan in *Domesday*) or Shelf-Stone. The table-stone is 15 ft. in length by 10 ins. broad, supported upon three pillars 7 ft. high.

We were to visit the Trevethy Stone, in the neighbouring county, a mile and a half from the Hurlers, consisting of eight principal members, forming one large covered cist with an annex, crowning a low mound, and the entrance facing the east. This cromlech has been fully described by Mr. C. W. Dymond.<sup>1</sup>

The investigations of the "Barrows Committee", appointed by the Devon Association, furnish the latest intelligence of new discoveries in this county. Among them are a number of Roman coins in the Halton Barrows, of various ages, from the legionary *denarius* of the Antonia Gens to the coin commemorative of the secular games of Philip the Arab; and in the barrows near Sidmouth may be mentioned a bronze celt of the paalstave class.

Avenues of stones leading up either to sepulchral mounds and circles or to the circles used for ceremonial or religious purposes, and sometimes up to a single *mênhir*, or monolith, erected to commemorate an interment or public event. The Moor is very rich in this class of monuments; but I need only name one of the most important, the avenues near the huge pile of Mis Tor. Two run east and west for distances of 800 and 1,143 ft. Their courses are parallel, and they are about 100 yards apart.

Monolith, *maênhir*, and *maen-an-tol* (holed stone). Of the former, instances near Tavistock may be named, with Ogham inscriptions. These and others in the county will compare, but on a much smaller scale, with that prince of rude stone obelisks, the single stone at Locmariaker in Brittany, which measures in length 32 ft. 6 ins. The interest in the rude, long stone waned before the Anglo-Saxon *stele*, such as that we saw in the Rectory garden at Lanteglos in Cornwall,<sup>2</sup> and the pillar of Eliseg at Llangollen; the cross at Winwick, near Warrington,<sup>3</sup> and the Putta memorial, in Devonshire, of Uffa, Earl of Devon, 901-940.<sup>4</sup> These supplanted the more ancient model, which in its turn may have sprung from the artificial obelisk of Egypt, employed also as a memorial to distinguished individuals, and of the events of their lives, as on the great obelisk of Thebes, lately transported to these shores, and described by Dr. Birch, with its inscriptions, in our *Journal*, vol. xxxiii.

The Anglo-Saxon *stele* became converted afterwards into the grave-stone and churchyard-cross as well as the market-cross. Mr. C. Lynam has collected an interesting series of the churchyard-crosses in Staf-

<sup>1</sup> *Journ.*, xxxvii, p. 112.

<sup>2</sup> Figured in Blight's *Crosses in Cornwall*.

<sup>3</sup> Figured in *Journ.*, xxxvii, p. 91.

<sup>4</sup> Figured in *Journ.*, xxxiv, p. 242.



fordshire, in *Journal*, vol. xxxii, p. 432, where the numerous examples, figured from his own drawings, well represent the general type, following up that continuity in history which forms one of its greatest charms.

As to the *maen-an-tol*, its use has never been ascertained with certainty. Mr. Lukis considered it might be a stone used to separate the cell in a chambered barrow, the opening being made to convey urns or corpses in without the removal of the stones; but there are many isolated cases of pierced stones to which this theory would hardly apply. The legends attached to them from mediæval times do little to clear up the mystery of their original uses, which were probably connected with Mithraic rites. A good example of one is that near Lanyon in Cornwall, the circular orifice of which has a diameter of 1 ft. 6½ ins.; and this may be compared with one found in a *Mithræum* by Professor Fabio Gori, near Spoleto, in 1878, figured in the *Archæologia*, vol. xlvii, p. 206.

Stone circles of the two classes, sepulchral and ceremonial; the former surrounding barrows, and serving to mark out the sacred enclosure; the latter defining places of meeting for political or ceremonial purposes. The former seldom have a diameter of more than 100 ft., and generally not more than 60 ft. The mounds at Lunckhoffen, near Aargau, in Switzerland, have a diameter of 60 ft. One lately opened there contained personal ornaments and implements both in bronze and iron.

In this county, between Exeter and Moreton Hampstead, is Fernworthy Circle, having twenty-six stones erect, and one fallen. Its diameter is 64 feet. The ceremonial circles are even more interesting; but they must be sought in the neighbouring counties.

The Hurlers are three stone circles, with two detached out-liers, near St. Clear, Cornwall. The northern measures 114 ft.; the middle circle, 140 ft.; the southern, 108; and they have been thoroughly surveyed and described by Mr. C. W. Dymond.<sup>1</sup> The Duloe stone circle, four miles south of Liskeard, has been measured and surveyed by the same author. These are small examples of the class, at the head of which stand Abury, Stanton Drew, and Stonehenge.

It remains to be said of the *camps* in Devon, that they have been brought together in one view by Mr. G. Vere Irving in the *Collectanea* (vol. ii, p. 18) of this Society. They are not numerous on Dartmoor; but those of Wooston, Cranbrook, and Prestonbury, are worthy of notice. They are about three miles from Moreton Hampstead. That of Prestonbury is the most extensive, having three lines of defence: an inner area, 418 by 410 ft. diameter; then a second enclosure, and an outer work of larger diameter for the cattle.

Let us now consider if there is any clue to the occupants of the huts

<sup>1</sup> *Journ.*, xxxv p. 297.



or barrows. We have seen that huts of stone remain ; but in many cases circular pits only mark the spot where the superstructure may have been of timber or wattle, as in the pit-habitations of Gallibury and Rowborough in the Isle of Wight, described in *Journal*, xi, pp. 305 *et seq.* Mr. Thomas Wright, describing those of Wiltshire, examined by Sir Richard Colt Hoare, says that in digging among them almost every species has been found of what has been called Roman pottery ; and of coins of the larger and first brass were those of Vespasian, Nerva, Antoninus, Trajan, Julia Mammæa, the elder Philip, Gallienus, and Gratianus. The small brass are too numerous to particularise. The fireplaces were small excavations in the ground, in which has been frequently found a large flat hearthstone ; and in two parts of the extensive village described at Knook Down, near Heytesbury, were hypocausts similar to those in the Roman villa at Pitmead near Warminster. We should be justified in considering them the remains of the villages occupied by the pastoral and agricultural population of the island." The head of the family occupying each enclosure probably had such power as was usually held by the *paterfamilias* in a primitive stage of society, and he would be a unit in the government of the tything or hundred assembled from time to time in the moots at the circles of stones. The assemblies of the people, first in open-air meetings, and afterwards in the *mot-ernes*, or moot-halls, formed the rudiments of the shire-gemot, and then of the witenagemot, or assembly of all the elders of the people, when a centralising system brought together the smaller shire-meetings to form the great council of the nation after the nation itself had been unified, and came to be governed by one head.

As to the contents of the hut-circles, the arms and utensils found will, perhaps, determine the latest period of occupation, which may have been many centuries after the first dwellers in the huts had been gathered to their fathers. In the hut-circle near Birtley, in Northumberland, was found a long iron sword, 3 ft. in length, in a bronze scabbard ; fragments of Roman pottery ; and a coin of Victorinus, A.D. 265-267 ; and other articles.

The pounds on Dartmoor usually contained only two huts, though at Grimspound twenty-five were enclosed within the ring-fence.

As to the stones with cup and ring markings, they may call to memory the ground-plans of the Abbey estates at Tintern, traced upon stone by the monks, which were brought to the notice of the Society by the late Mr. Edward Roberts ; and this may be a survival of an old custom such as dictated the ground-plan of Rome cut in marble, a further portion of which has lately been discovered in that city.

Besides comparing the contents of the barrows and cromlechs, other considerations as to the dates of their successive construction may be

taken into account. The most primitive form of burial would seem to be interment within a cist not far below the surface of the ground, with simply a cairn or heap of stones to cover the spot where the body or funeral urn was buried. The next idea would be to protect the remains more efficiently by burying them within walls of a few massive stones, as in the cromlech proper, which tapers off into a narrow orifice towards the east. The great cromlech in Guernsey is a good example of this. A more complete receptacle would be the dolmen or stone chamber entered at one or both ends; a mound of earth covering the whole edifice, the entrance to which was closed by a large stone. Such a mortuary chapel came afterwards to be built on a large scale, forming a gallery which extended to the outside of the barrow, and lateral cells added to increase the space; and a dome-shaped roof constructed of overlapping stones, like the beehive-huts, often crowned the centre. The outcome of such a mode of construction might be the cell of the anchorite, such as the Chapel of St. Guthlac at Croyland, where the religious feeling attached to an old burial-place may have led him to fix upon the spot he did, within a mound, as his hermitage and place of meeting for his friends and followers.<sup>1</sup> Chapel Euny, in Cornwall, also seems, by its name and construction, to indicate Christian rites succeeding to pagan superstitions.

As to the burials in *hlows* or *haugs* (we should write *hows*), in some cases the ashes of the deceased are deposited in an urn after cremation. In other cases the body is buried entire, either in an extended or a contracted position, sometimes in a sitting or kneeling posture, and an earthen food-vessel placed near. As human bones are of a perishable nature, they have often disappeared, or have been scattered by the rifling of the tombs at different times, so that instances of ordinary burial are not so numerous as could be wished. Mr. W. C. Borlase says that "in Cornwall well authenticated instances of inhumation at all are extremely rare. Among these only two or three examples of the extended position actually occur; but the not uncommon occurrence of empty, long graves, whether cut in the hard soil or walled with stones, affords a strong presumption that had they not been rifled a similar mode of interment might have been discovered in them. Of the contracted position only one really authentic instance can be cited." Mr. Payne, Junr., of Sittingbourne, has remarked upon a similar absence of bones in the cists of Kent, in which the skulls alone are often found, they being of harder texture, and more durable, than the bones which have perished.

If the bones of known Anglo-Saxon graves are found to have decayed and perished, together with the wooden coffins or hollow trunks of

<sup>1</sup> See plan of the cell in *Memorials of St. Guthlac*, by W. de G. Birch, Esq., F.S.A. Wisbech, 1881.

trees in which they were interred (the latter frequently reduced to a black substance resembling charcoal or burnt wood), then, *à fortiori*, we should not expect to find human remains of the times preceding the Roman, if buried under similar circumstances. The absence of inscriptions renders it of course impossible to say that many of these stone monuments may not be referred to very remote antiquity; yet the negative evidence is certainly insufficient to appropriate all cromlechs, dolmens, and stone circles, to pre-Roman times.

On a spot in the island of Freyrso, off the entrance of the Drontheim Fiord, in the year 958, Hakon, the son of Harold of the beautiful hair, overthrew his nephews, the sons of Eric Blood-Axe, in three battles. The first and second of these are marked by cairns and mounds; and the third by eight large barrows, three of which are in that shape known in Scandinavia as "ship-barrows", and measure from 100 to 140 ft. in length.<sup>1</sup> In connection with this may be taken the account of the contents of a ship-barrow in which the entire vessel, with masts, gear, and tackle were found, by Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A.<sup>2</sup>

Bronze celts and weapons would be largely circulated from the shores of the Vistula and the Danube. In the death-song of Rayner-Lodbrog the following expressions occur, which are quoted to show the intercourse with these parts: "We fought with swords, we lifted high our lances, we conquered eight barons at the mouth of the Danube. A host of men there lost their lives. We fought with swords; we enjoyed the fight when we sent the inhabitants of Helsing to the abodes of the gods. We sailed up the Vistula; then the sword acquired spoils; the whole ocean was one wound."

The evidence of Roman ideas and civilisation in Saxon times, modified by the customs of a later age, is confirmed by that precious relic of antiquity, a box or reliquary, sculptured in morse-ivory, of the date of the eighth or ninth century, presented to the British Museum by Mr. A. W. Franks, late Director of the Society of Antiquaries, and now in one of the new rooms of antiquities about to be opened to the public. On this carved box one of the subjects is Romulus and Remus suckled by the wolf; another, the siege of Jerusalem by Titus; and a third, an attack upon a house which by its architecture would appear to be early Arabian. In the interior is seated a figure which might be taken for Mahomet himself, and the defender of the house, his grandson Ali. The subjects are described in Anglo-Saxon Runes.<sup>3</sup> The long swords and round shields are here seen, which existed in this country in Anglo-Saxon times.

<sup>1</sup> J. Ferguson, *Rude Stone Monuments in all Countries*.

<sup>2</sup> *Journ.*, xxxvii, p. 416.

<sup>3</sup> This reliquary has been figured in a late number of the plates of the Paleographical Society, with descriptive letter-press.

The ceremonial circles, before referred to, are evidence of the open air meetings mentioned in documentary history, as at Cuckhamsley, which preserves the name of Cwichelm, where the people of Berkshire held their local assemblies. It was this King of the West Saxons who was baptized at Dorchester, and died the same year, A.D. 636; and there are instances of the survival of such meetings in modern times, as shewn in the Stannary laws and the places of meeting where they were put in force. I will quote from Mr. G. L. Gomme on *Primitive Folk-Moots in Britain*, who cites the Mendip laws as well as those of the Forest of Dean, the Bar-Mote of the Derbyshire miners, and the Shipway Court held at Shipway Cross, near Lympne in Kent, assembled as late as 1694, for regulating the affairs of the Cinque Ports. As good an instance, however, as any of a survival is that of the stannary courts of the Duchy of Cornwall, held on the summit of the Crockern Tor, in Devon, where the seats, roughly hewn in the moor-stone, indicated the tribunal. The four stannary courts of Devonshire were represented by twenty-four jurates each.<sup>1</sup>

Open air assemblies, or *tings*, of which the foregoing instances are survivals, were gradually drawn into meetings under cover or in a building, the name of which is preserved in our word "hustings" or "housetings". The people long feared magical arts when assembled under a roof, and preferred the open air moots; remembering, perhaps, the catastrophe at Calne in A.D. 978, when the whole flooring of a house gave way, and the people assembled in it were precipitated below, except Archbishop Dunstan, who stood erect upon a beam unhurt. But even his high station did not save him from the suspicion of his being a magician.

The moral to be derived from this retrospect is the tracing throughout the course of these past events the humanising influence of Greek and Roman civilisation. If the means by which it grew were not always justified according to modern ideas, yet the result was the rescue of the country from barbarism, and the gradual establishment of those beneficent laws and Christian institutions under which it is our privilege to live.

Let us now endeavour to systematise the interesting objects of antiquity visited during the next four days; and first consider those castle-keeps placed upon mounds, and surrounded by extensive earthworks, which seem to have been adapted to Roman fortifications which had preceded them. Ethelfleda's Tower at Bridgnorth will occur to those who visited it at the Bristol Congress; and three castles of this type in the eastern counties, at Castle Acre, Castle Rising, and Thetford; also in Cornwall, the castles of Trematon, Launceston, and Ristormel,

<sup>1</sup> Carew, *History of Cornwall*, p. 18; Pearce, *Laws and Customs of the Stannaries in the Counties of Cornwall and Devon*. London. 1725.

which all, as regards their position relatively to Roman stations, remind us of the South Devon forts of Plympton, Totnes, and Lydford; though in the case of the latter, as of some of the others, the building itself is of later date than the earthworks, and may have replaced the older circular tower of Saxon times. Plympton is a good specimen, and has been fully described by Mr. J. Brooking Rowe. Its interesting shell-keep is so ruinous that little more than one half of its circle remains. In the circumference of the wall are two passages of 1 ft. 5 ins. wide by 10 ins. high; the lower one near the ground, the other 6 ft. above it; and Mr. Rowe explained these to have been filled by timber-balks intended to strengthen and support the walls upon the uncertain foundation of the mound. Mortar was freely used, and formed a casing round the timber, which had entirely decayed, leaving the spaces, as to the uses of which many theories and conjectures had been founded. The outer ballium is a quadrangle enclosing a space, 710 ft. by 380, surrounded by a high bank of earth, and resembles in form and proportions a Roman camp. In the time of King Stephen the Castle was surrendered to him, and appears to have been in a ruinous condition ever since.

Totnes has also a circular keep of 70 ft. internal diameter, on a lofty mound overhanging the town, of which Leland says that it "lyeth along from the toppe of an high rocky hille by west unto the root of it by est. The towne hath been waulled; but the waulles be now clene downe. There be yet three gates by west, est and ..... The castell waul and the stronge dungeon be maintained. The loggings of the Castell be clene in ruine. Many gentilmen hold their landes by gard and service to this Castell. The Lords Zouche were long time lords of this towne and castell, now Eggecomb, by gift of attainder of Zouche."

Mr. E. Winneatt, who acted as our guide to Totnes, described the existence of a church here, according to a charter of Judhael de Totnais, who granted the borough to the great Benedictine Abbey of SS. Sergins and Bacchus, in Angers; from which we might suspect that the said Judhael flourished not earlier than the reign of Henry II.

The square castle of Lydford retains little of its earlier masonry to connect it with the times of the first Benedictine monastery of Tavistock, when, in 997, the Danes entered the Tamar, and thence proceeded to Lydford with torches and flames and burned Esingestocke (Tavistock), the monastery of Ordulf. Their boats could have made but little use of the Tavy river, and none of the Lyd, which here is lined by cliffs upwards of 100 ft. high, and from the top of which we descended to the level of the river by a narrow path cut in the perpendicular rocks, through a ravine clothed in a rich growth of plants and coppice, till we approached the river dashing and struggling through



its rocky bed, after a fall which forms a not inconsiderable cascade. Leaving these very ancient castles, let us sum up the remains of monasteries visited, and of these if little is seen, yet much has to be imagined; and foremost among them is the Benedictine foundation of Tavistock, dedicated to SS. Mary and Romon, which, at the dissolution, was one of the wealthiest in the county. It had been founded about A.D. 960, by Ordgar, Earl or Ealderman of Devon, father of the famous Elfrida. The abbey was completed by his son Ordulph, and many privileges were conferred upon it, but, after being burnt by the Danes, it was refounded by Lyfing or Livingus.

Little is to be seen of the building but a fragment of wall of the north aisle of the church in the churchyard. The refectory in part remains, now converted into a Unitarian chapel, and a porch, used as a dairy in connection with the Bedford Hotel, while the Bedford office is supposed to represent the site of the old Chapter House. This great establishment was even exceeded in wealth by the Priory of Plympton, which also flourished before the Conquest, but was refounded by Bishop Warelwast 1107-1136 for Augustinian canons. Leland says, "he found means to dissolve the College, the foundation of the Saxon Kings, and to recompense the prebendaries, erected a college of as many as were there at Bosenham in Southsex, and annexed the gift of them to his successors, Bishops of Excester."

Though little remains of the old buildings, the Priory Church having quite disappeared, yet there is a vaulted stone undercroft, with the refectory above, in tolerable preservation, and the site is interesting to Plymouth men, as half the land upon which their town is built was once owned by the Priory, as well as the island of St. Nicholas in the Sound. Reference has already been made to the Cistercians of Buckland Monachorum, and the Dominicans of Plymouth, it remains to say a word of the building of the Premoustratensians settled at Torr Abbey. Commanding a fine view of the bay of that name, Leland said that in this Priory are "three fair gate-houses", and one of these is nearly all that now remains of the old building. He "marked almost in the middle of this bay one house set on the hard shore, and a small peere by it as a socour for fischer botes. The est point of Torre Bay ys caulled Peritorre, and to the sight is not so much pointed as Byri-hed is."

Of the churches visited at Lydford, Tavistock, Berry-Pomeroy, Cornwood, St. Maurice and St. Mary's at Plympton, Totnes and Dartmouth churches, the architecture will be described elsewhere, and, except in the small church of St. Petrock at Lydford, where is a plain, rude, conical font, and in the church at Cornwood, but little early work is to be seen. The rood-screens of wood at Berry-Pomeroy and Dartmouth, and stone pulpit in the church of the latter place, and

stone screen at Totnes, are well worth recording. If the oaken rood-screens remind us of many seen in the eastern counties, the plain panelled roofs and absence of clerestory windows in the churches of Devon afford a less favourable comparison in these respects with those of East Anglia; but, the granite of Devon being a coarse material, and therefore not capable of so much elaboration in its mouldings and sculptures, the architects, perhaps rightly, avoided excess of light.

Among Devon's worthies, whose tombs are seen in some of the churches, the Rev. J. Prince lies buried at Berry-Pomeroy, of which parish he was the Vicar, himself the writer of the lives of the *Worthies of Devon*. Space will not allow me to refer, even by name, to the long list which can be sought in J. Prince's work; but as we have been visiting those castellated and half-fortified dwelling-houses at Berry-Pomeroy, Dartington Hall, and Compton Castle, which succeeded the baronial strongholds, it is difficult not to refer to some of the lordly occupiers of these once noble buildings. Cicero delighted to visit the scenes whereon great men had once moved, and no less pleasure have we derived from the sight of that most picturesque of Devonshire ruins, Berry-Pomeroy Castle, which still bears some traces of its twofold existence, first, as the stronghold of the Pomeroyes, and, secondly, as the residence of the family of the Protector Somerset. The site of its roofless hall, and the numerous windows of Tudor architecture, which are tolerably perfect in the wall of the first quadrangle, attest its former grandeur. Too powerful for a subject, and too nearly allied to royalty, Somerset, in his fall, like that of others before and after him, caused the eldest male line of the family to be cut off, but its branches have brought down the pedigree to the person of the present Duke of Somerset, our noble President.

At the Congress at Devizes we visited the Church of Bedwyn-Magna, where the titles and dignities of the first Duke of this line are displayed upon his tomb. His father, Sir Edward Somerset, Knight, of Wolf Hall, in Wiltshire, had six sons and five daughters. Among the former were Edward the first Duke, and his brother Sir Thomas Seymour, the Lord High Admiral, who married Catherine Parr, and lived at Sudeley Castle, where we saw the tomb of his wife, the widow of a king, in the chapel there. Among the daughters of Sir Edward was Jane Seymour, the mother of King Edward VI. We were shown the bedstead of carved oak, which was said to have been that in which this unfortunate lady slept at the old house of the Somersets, now occupied by Mr. J. Michelmores, near the church. On the head of the bedstead was carved Orpheus taming the animals by his music. The harmony was not perpetuated in the royal house in the days of her son. The hind and the panther refused to listen to the voice of the charmer.

A mile and a half from Totnes is Dartington Hall, with associations from the time of the Conquest; the old house seems to have been erected by John Holland, Duke of Exeter, half-brother to Richard II, and it afterwards fell to the Crown. On the bosses of the groined roof of a porch is the emblem of the white hart, chained and gorged. It was sold to a Mr. Ailworth of London, who exchanged it for the abbey site of Polslo, near Exeter, with Sir Arthur Champernowne, Knight, second son of Sir Philip Champernowne of Modbury, by a daughter of Sir Edmund, Baron Carew of Mohun Ottery. The Rev. J. Champernowne gave an account of this ancient family, whose name is written Champernulph by Leland. There are interesting features about the building, with its double quadrangle and spacious hall, 70 ft. by 40 ft., the roof of which is gone, but not so a very large fireplace behind the dais.

Compton Castle is four miles from Torquay, and, according to Mr. G. M. Hills, *Jour.*, vol. xix, it appears to have passed from the family of Compton into that of Gilbert, in the reign of Edward II, and the present building was erected about 150 years later, about 1440; for the earlier history of its possessors I must refer to Mr. C. H. Compton's paper; and for a very complete account of the arrangements of the building to Mr. Hills' graphic description before referred to.

Before leaving Totnes, the centre of so many objects of antiquity, and where the hospitality of the Mayor (Mr. Harris) will be remembered, along with the interesting records of the town laid out for our inspection, we must not forget the Dart river which carried us so pleasantly down its stream through banks of varied landscape and foliage to Dartmouth.

Leland's description still holds good: "The towne," he says, "lyeth in length on a very rokky hill on the haven side, about half a mile from the very mouth of it. There be good marchantmen in the towne, but it is but a membre of the paroeche church of Tunstale, half a mile on the top of an hille. John Hawley, a rich marchaunt and noble warrior again the French-men, lyth burid afore the High Altare, with his two wives, in Dartmouth Church (*obit* A.D. 1403). The parsonage of Tunstale was impropriate to Torr-Bay Abbey. King John gave the privilege of Mairalte to Dartmouth." Mr. Jas. R. Bramble described the costume of the period, as shown on the brass to the memory of the said John Hawley.

Lydford and Tavistock formed another centre from whence many of our excursions were made, and the hospitality shown us by the Vicar, the Rev. J. Tait, in the name and by the direction of the Duke of Bedford, was much appreciated by us, recalling as it did a similar attention paid us by His Grace at Thorney Abbey, on our visit there from Wisbech. His great ancestor, the first Earl, of the times of

Henry VIII, will occur to the reader of history, and the part he took in it when the wars with France were going on. He was not less distinguished as an accomplished scholar. One of his ancestors had been Speaker of the House of Commons in the reign of Henry VI.

Elizabethan times will carry us back to Plymouth; but, in the meantime, a word should be said of the Tudor House of Sir Francis Drake at Buckland Abbey, among the ruins of which he built it; a fine room, with interesting allegorical designs on the walls and ceiling, stands, as Mr. Brock informed us, upon the site of the nave of the abbey church, and many of the fittings, furniture, pictures, and prints tell of Sir Francis and his times. The best portraits were of the naval commander himself, and of his prisoner D. Pedro de Valdes, Vice-Admiral of the Spanish Armada.

The present occupant, Mr. Bundock, and his amiable family, entertained our party and left nothing undone that we might see, each and all, the relics with which the house abounds. At Fardell, an old manor-house, the residence of the Raleighs, we heard a paper by Mr. Geo. R. Wright, F.S.A., on the family and its occupation of the building, though, as he told us, Sir Walter Raleigh was not born here, but at East Budleigh.

A genuine Queen Anne's house, built in 1720-1730 by the Hon. Geo. Treby, the then Secretary for War, was seen at Plympton and examined. It bore some resemblance to that part of Hampton Court Palace built by William III.

Slade Hall, the residence of J. D. Pode, Esq., was interesting from its timbered roof in hall, and carved oak panelling, as also a ceiling of the time of James I.

Returning to Plymouth, after our week's excursions, the Hoe was a place of meeting, not to play at bowls with Sir Francis Drake, the Mayor of Plymouth, and other notables, with the Armada in sight, but to look out to sea towards the new Eddystone lighthouse, lately completed, and to view on the left the citadel where once stood the chapel dedicated to S. Catherine. The fort is a genuine relic of the seventeenth century, and every attention was shown us by the gallant Colonel Laughlin, commanding the artillery there. A good plan of the locality, in the time of Henry VIII, is to be seen in the *History of Plymouth*, by Lt. Jewitt, F.S.A., from a chart of the period in the British Museum. To the right, we looked down upon Devonport, with its dockyards and shipping, and over to Mount Edgecumbe, which we had the privilege of visiting on the Sunday given us by the Earl of Mount-Edgecumbe, Lord of the domain, whose hospitality, when he was President of our Cornish Congress, was well remembered by many who were there, and who were pleased to have another opportunity of seeing the unrivalled Italian, French, and English gardens of that Western paradise.



The old Eddystone lighthouse, erected by Smeaton, and completed in 1759, has done good duty; and it is now proposed to remove it, stone by stone, to the Hoe, building it up there as a landmark for sailors on the spot where an obelisk now stands for the same purpose.

At the evening meetings many points of interest were raised. Mr. E. G. Bennett, in a paper on Admiral Blake, showed that his body was eventually buried in the churchyard of St. Margaret's, Westminster. The Rev. W. S. Lach-Szyrma, besides other papers, gave one on the narrative of Drake's voyage round the world, and the tonnage of his ships. The Exeter book of Bishop Leofric was described by Mr. D. Slater, and I would refer to the article on this Anglo-Saxon Bishop's library, by the late T. Wright, in *Journal*, vol. xviii, p. 220. Mr. W. H. Cope's paper on porcelain manufacture brought out some interesting facts as to Mr. W. Cookworthy's celebrated factory at Plymouth in about A.D. 1770. The history of Plymouth was read on various occasions by Mr. R. N. Worth, commencing with the Tamor-Worth of Saxon times. He attributed this place to Plymouth, and, perhaps, to S. Nicholas Island. He carried the subject through the various ages, and many of the scenes described were portrayed on the windows in coloured glass, which adorned the Guildhall where we began and finished our interesting meeting.

One of the architects of the Guildhall, Mr. James Hine, F.R.I.B.A., read a paper on the last occasion of our meeting, and had followed us in some of our excursions.

The Mayor, Mr. Burnard, in a poetical speech on the opening day, promised us much to interest in our week's excursions, which we were able to tell him had been fully realised when we met at his *conversazione* at the end of the week; and the cordial thanks of the Society voted to him, and to the local Secretary, Mr. F. Brent, and local Treasurer, Mr. W. H. Alger, were certainly well earned. Our own associates from London and other parts came in full force. The general arrangements, for which we were as usual greatly indebted to Mr. G. R. Wright and Mr. J. Reynolds, were carried through without a hitch.

Before concluding this sketch I will say a word about two collections, the one public, and the other private, in Plymouth, which should be recorded: 1st, the Cottonian Collection, being a Museum, Library, and Public Reading Room, to which we were introduced by the Librarian, Mr. Holdanc, by whom every information was afforded us. The name is derived from William Cotton of Highland House, Ivy Bridge, who presented the collection to the town of Plymouth. It is vested in seven trustees, and was opened to the public in June 1853. This fine collection had descended from Charles Rogers, F.S.A., to the William Cotton who married his sister and heiress. C. Rogers died in 1791. A portion was sold off by auction, the sale lasting twenty-one days;



the remainder, at his death in 1816, passed to the William Cotton who presented it to Plymouth under an agreement with the Public Library concluded in 1850. The life of Charles Rogers is to be found in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1784. He published many works. His great work, in two folio volumes, is a collection of prints in imitation of drawings (London, 1778), with lives of their authors, and explanatory and critical notes; now very scarce. A copy is here, and a fine collection of illustrated works, such as the "Museo Fiorentino"; Hamilton's "Etruscan, Greek, and Roman Antiquities", Naples, 1766. A book of varied collections of designs for tapestries is interesting now that these works of art are being reproduced. The title is "Devises pour les Tapisseries du Roy" (1668, Paris), with royal arms of France on binding. The four elements are represented in a series of plates; and the seasons in others of equally appropriate devices. A catalogue of the paintings of Charles I may also be noticed; also the Arabic text of the Koran, and a curious pamphlet, "Stultifera Navis", Fribourg, 1498.

There are some original pictures, as—1, portrait of Sir Joshua Reynolds, painted by himself; 2, portrait of Dr. Samuel Reynolds, Master of the Grammar School at Plympton, which we had visited there, inspecting the schoolroom, the timbered roof of which gave to the youthful artist his first lessons in perspective; 3, portrait of Miss Reynolds, sister of Sir Joshua, also painted by him.

Among the treasures in glass cases were noticed a richly ornamented Missal or Mass-Book of the fifteenth century, written on fine vellum; 4to.; the size  $8\frac{1}{2}$  ins. by 6 ins.; in old French binding. It contains 193 folios and twenty-four illuminations; another, without date, but of about the same period, from the armour and costume indicating the times of Charles VII of France and Henry VI of England; "Missale ad Usus Eccles. Sarisburiensis", 4to., black letter, printed in red and black, London, 1554; Diptich with Greek and Russian characters, probably of the twelfth century, from the collection of Edward Harley, Earl of Oxford. The subjects are the Holy Trinity and the Annunciation.

The private collection before referred to is that of Mr. F. Brent, very rich in stone and flint implements of all shapes and sizes, and brought from very distant countries, as Malaga in Spain, Corinth in Greece, New Zealand, Esquimaux country, Honduras, Charleston, Lake Superior, Canterbury in Kent, and Jamaica. The investigations of his late brother, Mr. J. Brent, F.S.A., of Canterbury, who had himself witnessed the opening of nearly three hundred barrows or graves in Kent, had furnished him with some good examples. Then there was a fine collection of spears, canoes, and implements of all kinds, both in stone and iron, as well as ceremonial axes belonging to the islanders of the South Pacific; and a carving, in very hard black stone, of a ship manned by

two figures, from Vancouver's Island, was very noteworthy. There were bones, including those of the horse and deer, from the bone-caverns of Devon; and of miscellaneous objects of more modern times there was a goodly collection, down to relics, brought from near the Pole, of the ships *Erebus* and *Terror*; and a medal, struck in 1828, in commemoration of the abolition of sacramental tests. The flint, stone, and bronze implements could hardly have been better commented on and discussed than they were by the proprietor and by Mr. W. Myers, F.S.A., Mr. C. Brent, F.S.A., and others.

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### Antiquarian Intelligence.

THESE paragraphs of antiquarian intelligence are prepared and condensed from miscellaneous communications made to the Secretaries; and it is earnestly requested that Associates will forward, as early as possible, notices of recent discoveries, which may be of archæological interest, coming to their cognizance.

*Roman Antiquities in the City.*—Mr. John E. Price, F.S.A., who has, through the courtesy of the Directors of the Inner Circle Railway, taken a very active part in excavations for antiquities during the construction of this new line, has recorded the more prominent results of these researches. He states that large quantities of Roman pottery, enriched and plain, have been found along the line, including some admirable specimens of Samian ware as well as mediæval pottery of native and foreign manufacture. There has also been discovered a miscellaneous collection of iridescent glass, china, stone cannon-balls, etc. A fine piece of the old City wall was disclosed at Trinity Square, just below the surface. It was in good order, but a length of about 73 ft. had to be removed; and it was observed in this locality, that the old ditch had been diverted to the eastward from the wall, for some purpose not now apparent. In the same quarter were also discovered several interesting foundations of Roman buildings; among others a large area of red, tessellated Roman pavement laid on a concrete bed. It was supported by a substructure of oak-piling, with which, in some places, were found the roots of oak trees, a clearing of vegetation having evidently been made by the early colonist previous to the erection of the building. A wall, a platform or way on two sides, a gutter, and some ducts, also remained; and among these were found fragments of pottery and unique, semi-cylindrical tiles. Near Aldgate mediæval walls were met with, as though associated with the foundations of the

religious house of the Minorite Order of St. Clare. Contiguous to these was an ancient well with curb and windlass, and at the bottom thereof were found pottery and other objects. A Roman cemetery is known to have existed at the Minories, and sepulchral relics were accordingly found between Aldgate and Trinity Square, but chiefly nearer the Great Eastern Railway, from Church Street southwards. A massive lead coffin was discovered near Church Street. It was ornamented with escallop-shells and a beaded pattern of well known Roman type. Adjoining John Street a large quantity of remains, with two black urns, were found; while Roman human remains were met with on the City side of the London Wall. Mr. Price adds that the work is being continued; and as the line penetrates thoroughfares full of interest from their association with the early history of London, further interesting discoveries may be expected.

The compilation and publication of a *Complete Register of Monumental Brasses*, not later than 1700, existing in this country, has been undertaken by our Associate, Mr. P. F. Hodgson, who especially solicits co-operation on the ground that this work, when completed, will be a means of shedding new light on the history of the past, and will be an addition to archæological literature. Several works have been published, giving more or less correct representations of particular brasses, but no complete register has yet been attempted, owing to the difficulty and expense of searching each church personally, and the present time appears a favourable opportunity for obtaining information on this subject.

*Place-Names in the West Riding of Yorkshire, with Notes on their Derivation and Meaning.* By REV. NICHOLAS GREENWELL, Vicar of St. Barnabas', Leeds.—The study of place-names in our native country, with a view to ascertain their origin, has been carried on with diligence; many rich and interesting results have been obtained, which have been of philological value; much good also has been done in throwing light on the national, social, and religious life of our country in olden times, and in awakening an interest in the past history of the counties. It is believed that the publication of the above work, devoted to the place-names of one of the most interesting and important districts in the country, will form a not unworthy contribution to the study of the subject generally.

In gazetteers and books of geography, and even in works on local topography, there is confessedly a want of knowledge of the signification of the names of places. That this deficiency will still exist for a length of time is the writer's conviction, unless an attempt is made to put together in a collective form the derivation of the place-names of indi-

vidual districts or counties. As a humble beginning in this important work, it is to be hoped that the attempt to give the meaning of certain place-names in the West Riding may meet with favour at the hands of Yorkshiremen, and of those students who are interested in local topography, and subjects allied to it. The study of the subject is not to be regarded in the light of a mere antiquarian pursuit, but as one that is quite worthy of close attention and research on account of its intrinsic value on many important grounds, particularly as regards the substitution of certainty for conjecture.

Not only does the story of individual human life belong to it, but also that which properly pertains to and may eventuate in the certainty of national history. The meaning of a name, when unknown, is valueless in our minds, but when we have a knowledge of it, it becomes instinct with life.

There is not a single place-name that is without its meaning. There is not one which does not tell us something that connects us with the remote past, or which fails to afford us some idea of the lives of our forefathers under most varied circumstances. To know the story of a place, or even its meaning only, gives us an abiding interest in the locality, and invests the scene with a never-failing charm. The uncultivated Celt, the warlike Roman, the domesticated Anglo-Saxon, the fierce Dane, and the haughty Norman, have each left us a legacy in the shape of "household words", which keeps us continually in mind of our ancestry, and of that which ought to be very closely united with the subject, viz., the desire to emulate our forefathers in the best and noblest aspect of their lives. A limited edition of the work will be printed and be offered to subscribers, in the first instance, at 5s. until the date of publication, when the price will be raised to 7s. 6d.

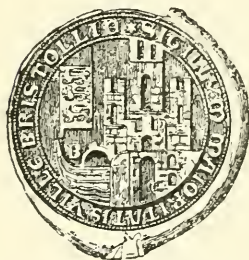
*A View of the State of the Clergy within the County of Essex, c. A.D. 1603*, is proposed to be published, by B. BEEDHAM, Esq., Ashfield House, near Kimbolton, from the original MS. at Kimbolton Castle.—The MS. is of much and general interest. It is just the document which would have delighted Macaulay, as furnishing contemporary materials for the purpose, if he had desired to draw a sketch of the English clergy at the commencement of the seventeenth century. It is also a valuable addition to the history of the important and interesting county of Essex. There will be added an introduction, illustrative notes, and an index. The work will be handsomely printed in demy quarto, on hand-made paper, and the price will be 15s. per copy.

*The Costume Society.*—The Costume Society has been formed for the purpose of publishing every year a collection of illustrations of historic costume taken directly from original sources. Each plate will be



11 ins. by 15 ins., and will be accompanied by a separate description. The annual subscription is £1 1s. In order to carry out this work, the Society appeals to all who are interested in the promotion of its objects. Subscribers should communicate with E. W. Godwin, Esq., at 7, Great College Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

*Bristol, Past and Present.* By J. F. NICHOLS, F.S.A., and JOHN TAYLOR. Vol. iii, "Civil and Modern History." (Bristol: Arrowsmith, 1882.)—The third volume of the history of Bristol by Mr. Nichols and Mr. Taylor has just been completed. In all respects it maintains the high character which we were pleased to notice in the first and second volumes at the time of their publication. The mediæval periods which are taken cognizance of in the present work are very attractive; and the historical scenes, which have been graphically and accurately described, and in many cases illustrated with drawings reproduced from authentic contemporary engravings, will be read by the lover of topographical archæology with considerable interest.



Mayorality Seal of Bristol, 13th Century.

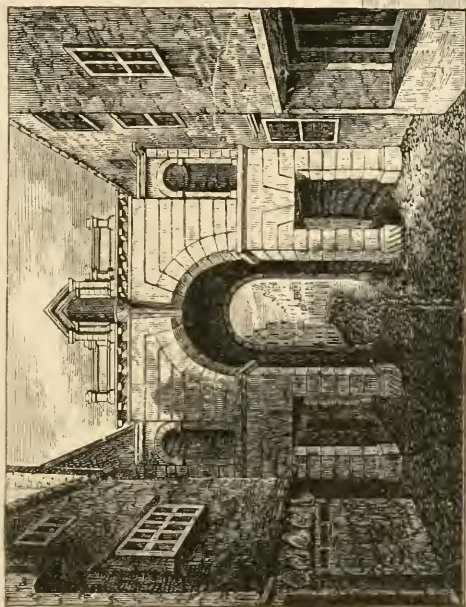


Another, 14th Century.

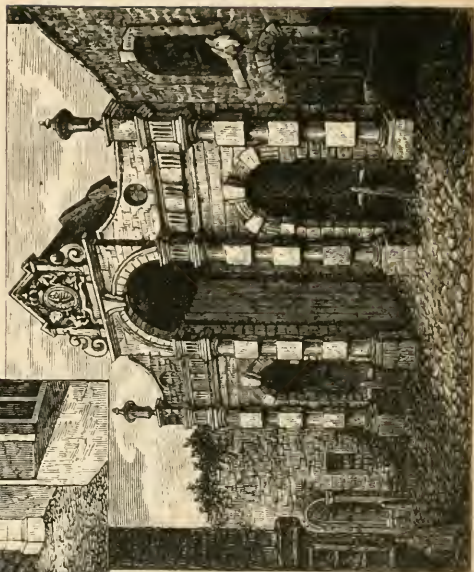
Commencing with a retrospect of the Stuart era, during which period the two gates known as Redcliff Gate and Temple Gate were constructed, the work goes on to consider the troubled period of the civil wars; the battle of Worcester in 1650; the Pie-Poudre Court; the struggle of religious and Dissenting factions; the persecution of Quakers and others; Monmouth's rebellion and Judge Jeffrey's cruelties; the rise of industries and manufacturing interests; and the history of the corporations, charities, and public institutions. These prolific themes have found two indefatigable expounders in the authors whose names are prefixed jointly to the work.

We have reproduced here, from this work, three Bristol seals, to supplement the paper by the late Mr. J. R. Planché, *Somerset Herald*, in our *Journal* for 1875. Voyages of discovery and adventure, and the maritime history of the port of Bristol, supply a very instructive and readable chapter. The view of Redcliff Church in the seventeenth



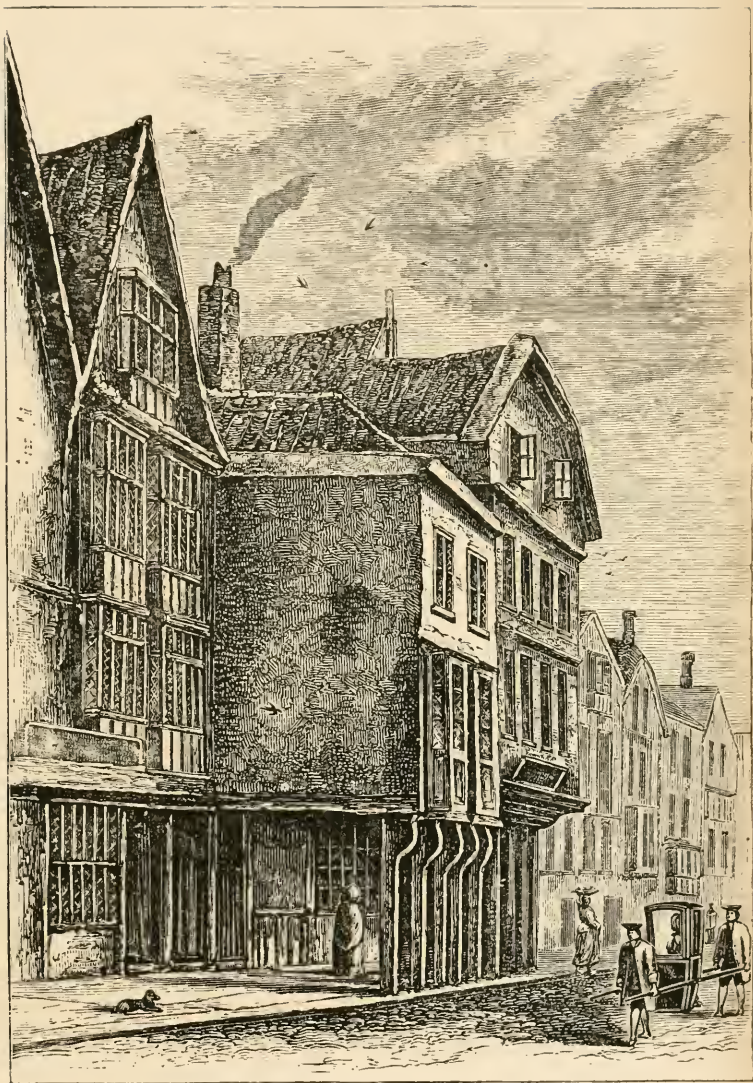


REDCLIFF GATE, S. VIEW.



TEMPLE GATE, BRISTOL, N. VIEW.

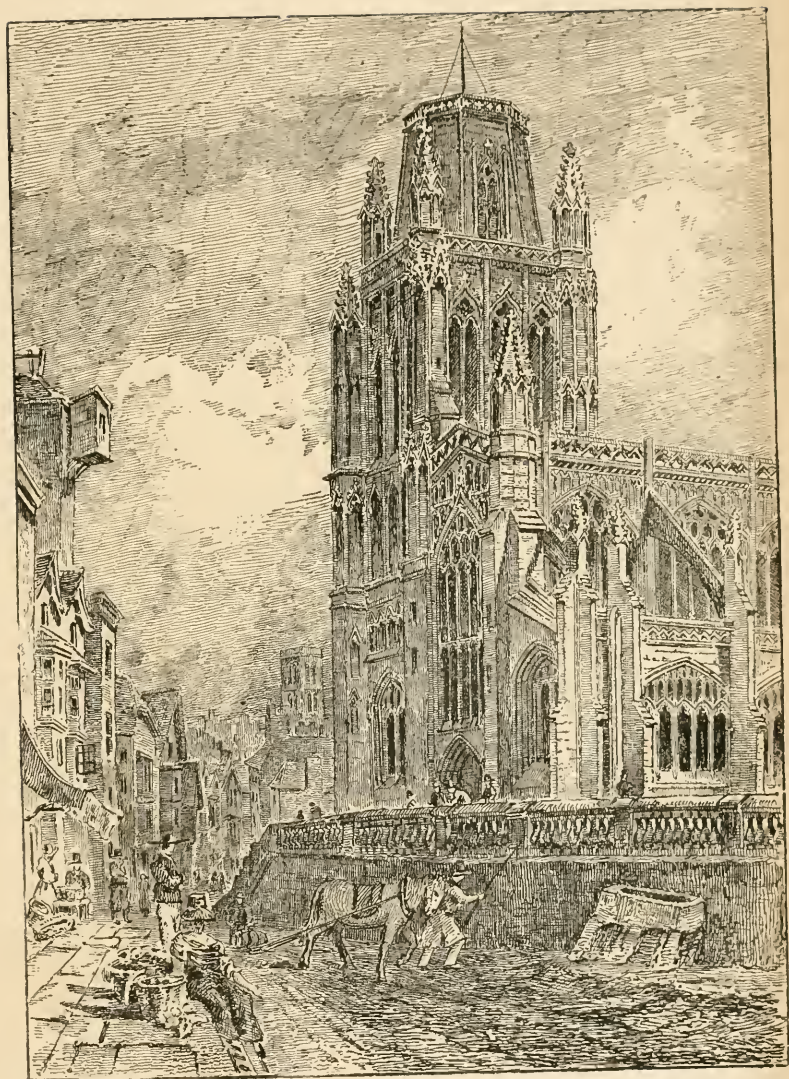




PIE-POUDRE COURT, OLD MARKET STREET, BRISTOL.



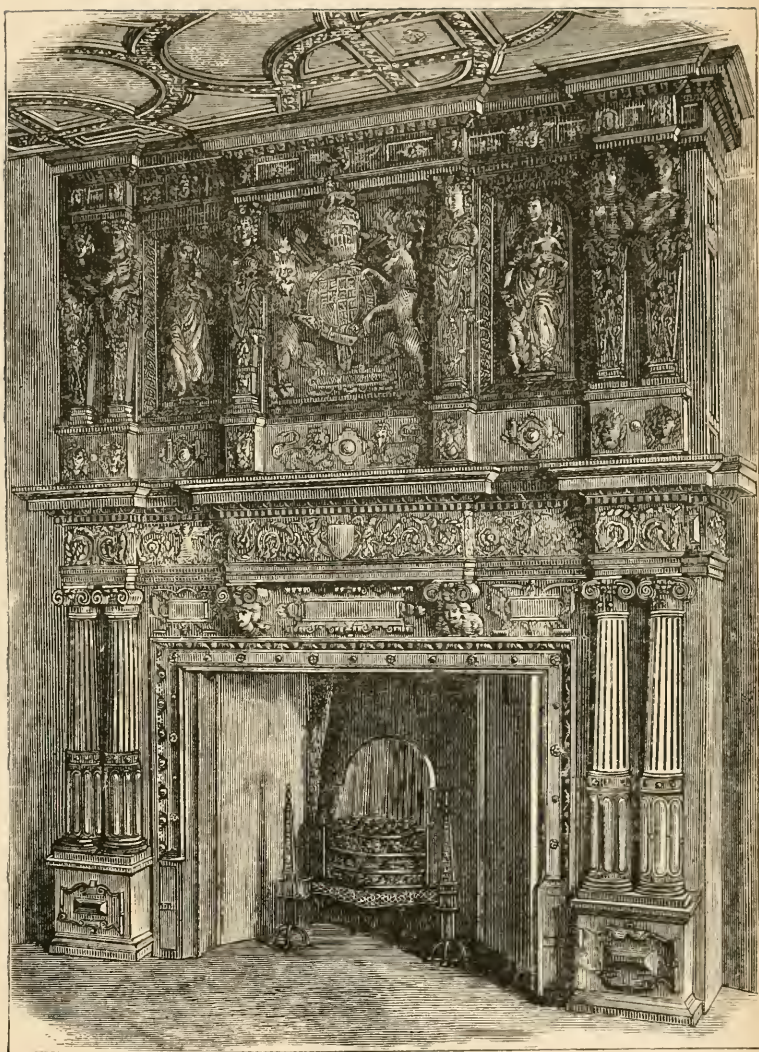




REDCLIFF CHURCH, BRISTOL, IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.







CARVED MANTELPIECE, AT WELSH BACK, BRISTOL, A.D. 1614.



century will recall the visit made to that beautiful structure at the time of our Congress in the city. For these illustrations, as well as for that of a very elaborately carved mantelpiece, dating from the early years of the seventeenth century, we are indebted to the kindness of



Royal Seal of Recognizances for Bristol, t. Edward I.

the publisher, whose labours upon the work have resulted in the production of a history such as few other cities or towns in England can match.

*The Abbey of Waltham Holy Cross, its History and Architecture.* By EDWARD H. BUCKLER. (Elliot Stock, Paternoster Row.)—This work furnishes an account of the principal historical events connected with the Abbey Church of Waltham Holy Cross, derived from original sources, as well as a succinct description of its architectural features, in which the disputed question of the age of the building is discussed from the evidences of the fabric itself; and fresh light, it is believed, is thrown on the subject in the particulars given.

The volume is illustrated by six plates specially made for this work by the author. Of these, the views have been taken from points of observation not hitherto selected; the remaining illustrations represent objects of interest in connection with the Abbey, some of which, it is believed, have never been illustrated before. These are accompanied by a descriptive text which gives information concerning the surroundings and associations of the Abbey.

As the edition is limited, the publisher requests that subscribers will send to him as early as possible, in order to avoid disappointment. The price is 18s. 6d.

Mr. Buckler's epitome of the history of an ancient monastery, situated so near to the metropolis that it may easily be visited in an afternoon, will be found useful as embodying a considerable amount of the latest information from time to time published upon the points touch-

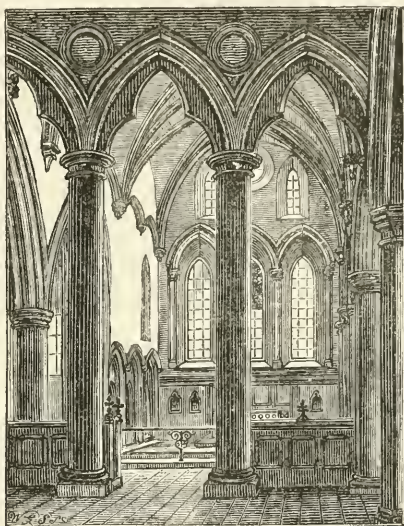
ing the foundation, architecture, and present state of the building. Much that has been stated in Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum*, Morant's *History of Essex*, and other works, is herein elucidated. The views of the interior, and the miscellaneous information which Mr. Buckler has gathered together from various sources, are of interest to archæologists, and will be sure to be well appreciated. The seal of the Abbey, remarkable for the large antique gems introduced into the matrix,—perhaps a tangible proof of the precious store of gems and gold and relics at one time in the possession of the Abbey,—has been strangely passed over by Mr. Buckler in a line and a half only of notice; and he takes no notice of the mural paintings described in our *Journal*, vols. ii, p. 196; iii, 90-93; nor of the curious mould for a badge of the Holy Cross of Waltham, found in Coleman Street, engraved in the *Journal*, xxix, p. 421, and noticed vol. xxx, p. 52. Metal casts from it were probably intended to be worn by pilgrims and votaries. Mr. Buckler has, we fear, omitted to search some of the journals of archæological societies for points of information which would have made his book richer in individual facts, by means of which alone we are enabled to make some way at least in the reconstruction of the historic and artistic past; but he deserves the credit and support of all antiquaries for what he has done. The work is produced in Mr. Stock's usual excellent manner.

*The Gaelic Union*, for the preservation and cultivation of the Irish language.—The Council of the Union have decided to commence a publication early in the winter months, if properly supported, and to issue the first monthly Number in time for the 1st of November,—the great feast of Samhain among the ancient Irish. The Council will give their labour, literary and otherwise, gratuitously, and will not be found wanting in other ways. A still larger number of practical supporters than those already enrolled is required in order to remove any possibility that the present move might prove useless, if not illusory. As the Council will have to undertake the entire responsibility of this effort, they will not enter into the project as a speculation, neither will they be satisfied with mere security against loss; but before commencing, they must have reasonable hope of success, and such a number of names enrolled as will allow of considerable possible defections. The journal must be self-supporting. If, happily, it should do more than cover its expenses, any surplus will be employed in improving, enlarging, embellishing, and possibly illustrating it. The subscription for publication is 5s. per annum; per post, 5s. 6d.

*Restoration of the Church of St. Mary, Westwell, near Ashford, Kent.*—The state of the fabric of this edifice is such that restoration cannot be



much longer delayed without risk to the entire building; there are holes in the roof, the flooring of the pews has given way, and the walls are covered in many places with a thick coating of green, owing to its damp condition. The chancel was restored some years ago by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and it is now proposed to complete the church in the same manner, and therefore a few particulars concerning it are added for the sake of those who are unacquainted with the parish. The church dates back as far as the middle of the thirteenth century (about A.D. 1240-60), and to this date belong the west door, the west window, and the tower-arch. The nave is coeval with the tower (about 1250 or 1260), and elegant in design and detail. It has the usual



Westwell Church. Interior.

character of the finest period of our architecture, to which Westminster, Salisbury, Lincoln, and Beverley, and so many of our most beautiful churches belong. The chancel is of the same date, with internal arcade, a groined Early English roof, a handsome triplet east window, and inserted florid sedilia of Bethersden marble. The most curious and beautiful portion is, however, the triple chancel-arch and screen, a high, open colonnade of three arches, of the same date (A.D. 1250), situated between nave and chancel. Seen from the tower-arch, through this fine, open partition of three bays, and the two chantries, the chancel, with its arcade, its beautiful east window, and roof of the same age, has a very striking perspective effect. In the north aisle there is a remarkable piece of stained glass, probably unique in England, commemorating the marriage of Richard II with Anne of Bohemia; and

another of Edward the Confessor and his Queen, the daughter of Godwine, Earl of Kent.

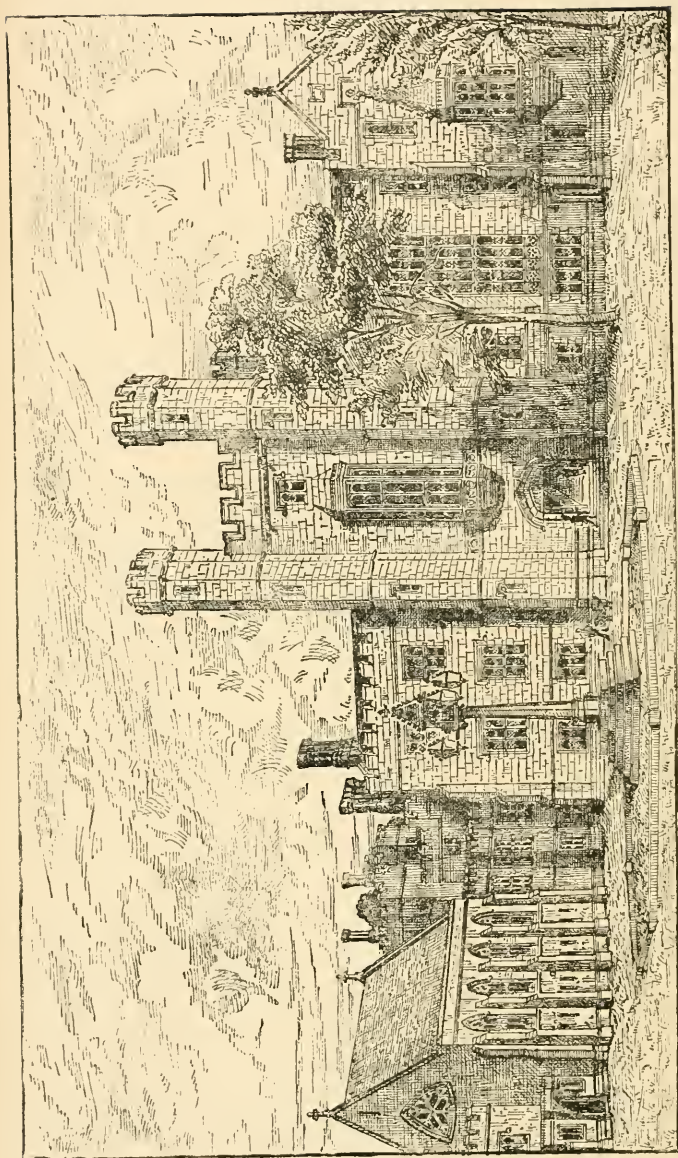
It is now proposed to restore the remainder of the church at a cost of £2,500, in accordance with the plans of Mr. E. Christian, under whose direction the chancel was restored. The old lines of the building will be most scrupulously respected, and nothing introduced that can in any way mar the simply grand beauty of the church. It is for this purpose the present appeal is made.

Among the names of the Committee in charge of the work we observe His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Right Rev. the Bishop of Dover, the Right Hon. Lord Hothfield, the Venerable the Archdeacon of Maidstone, E. L. Pemberton, Esq., M.P., Rev. Canon Jeffreys, the Right Hon. the Earl Sondes, Sir Edward C. Dering, Bart., A. Akers-Douglas, Esq., M.P., the Rev. Canon Alcock, Rural Dean, the Rev. H. H. D'Ombraïn, Vicar, Secretary.

Subscriptions will be received by the Rev. H. Honeywood D'Ombraïn, Vicar, or by any member of the Committee.

*Lambeth Palace and its Associations.* By J. CAVE-BROWN, M.A., Vicar of Detling, Kent, and for many years curate of the Parish Church of St. Mary, Lambeth, with an Introduction by the late ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY. 1882. (W. Blackwood and Sons).—Lambeth Palace has on more than one occasion been kindly thrown open by the late lamented archbishop to our Association, when some of the country members have united in a party and come to town to visit the principal sites of archaeological interest which London is still enabled to exhibit. These visits have perhaps, not unlikely, produced inquiry for an historical description of the edifice and its surroundings, but until the publication of Mr. Cave-Brown's work, now under our notice, there was no good and easily available notice of the Palace extant. Mr. Tauswell's work, *The History and Antiquities of Lambeth*, which was written in 1858, being perfunctory and so inaccurate that it can never be accepted, even as far as it goes, as an authority, and Ducarel's *History of Lambeth Palace*, although the basis of all subsequent histories of the place, is not easily to be procured. The worth of the present work is enhanced by an Introduction by the late Archbishop of Canterbury, almost the very last literary effort he made, in which he points out how few buildings interesting from their antiquity are yet standing to represent what remains of London before the seventeenth century. In Lambeth, writes the late prelate, "we can find memorials of the successful efforts made to secure freedom from the thralldom of Rome, which marked the reigns of the later Plantagenets and of the Lancastrian and Yorkist sovereigns. We can trace the mode in which Christian influence was maintained throughout the land, in spite of





LAMBETH PALACE COURT-YARD.



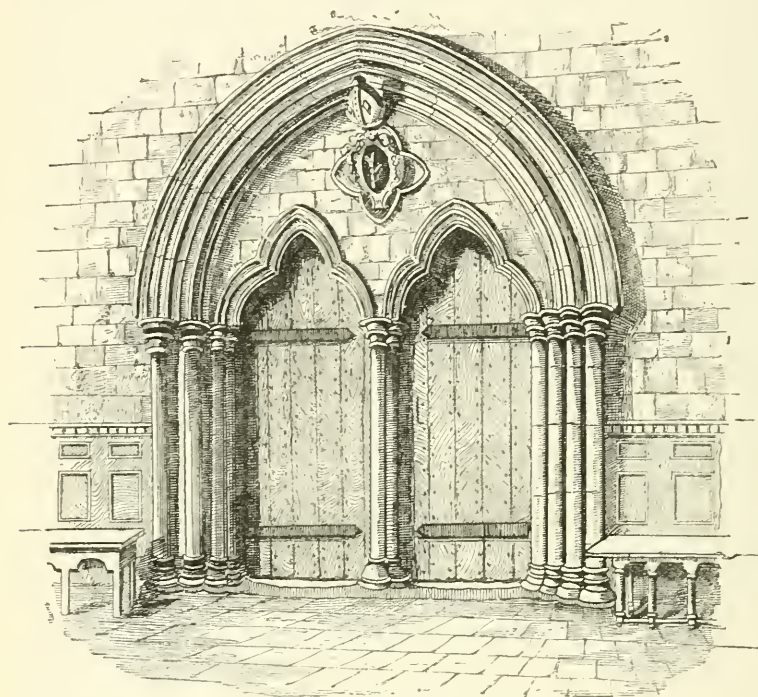
marauding barons and rapacious kings." The opening chapter shows how Lambeth Palace became the residence of the Archbishops of Canterbury, after a long controversy and struggle with the monks of Canterbury, who sought to interfere with the archbishop. The Archbishop in turn resolving to hold in some part outside his cathedral city a chapter of secular canons independent of these monks, and to fix for himself a residence where he might live and act free from such interferences. The site appears to have been a royal manor, deriving its name from two words, signifying *loam* and *hithe*, or landing-place; but to assign even an approximate date to the first building of the archbishop's residence is now impossible, from the failure of early registers and records. Mr. Cave-Brown has reproduced in his work many views of the older buildings and parts of interiors. Among them are a general view from the garden before 1829; the main entrance in the courtyard; and an interior view of the spacious entrance hall with its broad flight of steps leading to a lofty corridor running at right angles.

The great gateway, of which an illustration is given, is treated in a succeeding chapter. Its architecture is of the early Tudor style of brick-building, in good proportion and of massive proportions. The Great Hall or "Juxon's Hall", is next considered, with its five lofty windows of three lights. The valuable library is now preserved in this hall, of which a side view from the outside, and two inside views, one showing the elegant roof, are contained in the work. Here again, of the original erection the author can point to no authoritative record, although it is clear that a *magna aula* existed at as early a date as the beginning of the fourteenth century.

Many important historical events in England have been enacted in the hall of Lambeth Palace, but the space at our command here will not allow us to do more than point the studious reader to Mr. Cave-Brown's charmingly written chapters. Of the cloisters a good view is reproduced, showing the site of the pump which stood in the centre of the quadrangle, and near which Dr. Pearce preached a sermon on the occasion of one of Queen Elizabeth's visits to the archbishop; the queen, we are told, with her nobles and courtiers listening to it in the galleries round, while the people, who filled the quadrangle below, divided their attention between Her Majesty and the preacher. Of the thirty thousand volumes and the choice manuscripts which are contained in the library, the author naturally has much to say; and those members of the Association who have been enabled by the courtesy of the present librarian, Mr. S. W. Kershaw, F.S.A., our Associate, to see a selection of its treasures, will be delighted to read the chapters devoted to a consideration of the chief contents of this storehouse of literary rarities, and to some graphic biographies of Henry Wharton, Edmund Gibson, A. C. Ducarel, and others who have occu-



pied the post of librarian. Subsequent chapters speak of the guard-room, or dining hall, and its portrait gallery, filled with half-length portraits of a nearly complete series of archbishops, interspersed with a few others, some of which are of great historical interest and deservedly preserved in the room, while others, as the author points out,



Entrance to Chapel, Lambeth Palace.

might be removed with propriety to other sites where their interest is greater. The water tower, commonly termed the "The Lollard's Tower", a name to which we are told it has no right, is not a single structure, but a group of three distinct buildings, representing different periods of architecture; of the history of the tower, and of the origin of the incorrect tradition which couples the Lollards with it, Mr. Cave-Brown has much to impart; but we must refer our readers to the author's lengthy account of it. The chapel naturally attracts much attention. Its entrance doorway "is of striking character and of no ordinary construction." This was, no doubt, originally the main entrance into the chapel from a raised terrace which ran along its west end. Here a semicircular arch, with deep massive hood-mouldings, belonging to the earliest English periods, embraces two cusped arches, each closed by a massive oaken door. The jambs contain a row of

four columns, of which the capitals and projecting limbs, bonding the whole into the main wall of the buildings, are each cut *en bloc* out of a single slab of Purbeck marble, as also are their bases. Such is the construction on either jamb; while a cluster of three Purbeck shafts, similarly grouped, rising between, divides the two lesser arches." This doorway is probably the oldest part of the Palace now existing. It is an interesting relic of the Old Palace, and should be examined by visitors, who are apt to pass it over unnoticed.

The work closes with a chapter devoted to recording the miscellaneous associations of Lambeth Palace, in which the author very eloquently gathers up a very large collection of facts, showing the part the Palace has played in connection with great and powerful personages, from the earliest period of its history down to the present day. The appendixes of Consecrations at Lambeth, from 1274, and of the armorial bearings of the Archbishops of Canterbury, will be found useful in many ways.

Mr. W. J. Taylor (Red Lion Street) has just completed a medal of the late Lord Londesborough, which should commend itself not only to the members of the British Archæological Association, but to a still wider circle, from his Lordship's love of art and literature. Mr. Taylor has succeeded in producing a finished and faithful likeness. Mr. Taylor is also now publishing, for the first time, a medal of Mr. Roach Smith, engraved some years since from the marble medallion by Signor Fontana, in the possession of Mr. Joseph Mayer. The reverse has an excellent view of the Roman walls of Dax, in the Department of Les Landes, saved by the interposition of Mr. Roach Smith. As works of art, these medals are inferior to none of the present age.



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# LONDON AND SUBURBAN ARCHÆOLOGICAL EXCURSION.

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FRIDAY, OCTOBER 24TH, 1884.

THE ladies and gentlemen provided with the necessary tickets for the above Excursion party, will assemble at 10 A.M., at the Chapel Royal, Whitehall, formerly the Banqueting Hall of the once famous Palace, built by Inigo Jones, where Mr. John Robinson will give a short account of the interesting structure and the remains of the old Palace, which under his guidance will be afterwards inspected.

By the invitation of Mr. Joseph Hanby, Sub-Almoner, the party will proceed to that gentleman's official residence in Spring Gardens, where a short paper will be read by Mr. Bidwell, for Mr. Hanby, on the History of the Royal Almonry at Whitehall, and an exhibition made of the Maundy Money and other interesting objects connected therewith.

Afterwards a visit will be made to Westminster Abbey, where a portion of the old Monastic work, now in process of destruction, will be pointed out and commented on. The old work and buttresses of the north side of Westminster

Hall, lately exposed, will be pointed out, and afterwards Luncheon be partaken of at the St. Stephen's Hotel, Bridge Street, at 1 p.m.

About 2.15 p.m., the Visitors, under the guidance of Mr. George R. Wright, F.S.A., will proceed to Lambeth Palace, where, by permission of His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, Mr. S. Wayland Kershaw, F.S.A., will receive them in the Library, and describe the choice Illuminated MSS., rare Books, etc., which it contains, and then conduct them to the Chapel, Picture Gallery, and Lollards' Tower. Afterwards, if time will permit, a visit will be paid to the old Parish Church of Lambeth, adjoining the Palace.

## SATURDAY, OCTOBER 25TH.

### CROYDON EXCURSION.

The ladies and gentlemen of the party will, under the guidance of Mr. George R. Wright, F.S.A., assemble at Whitgift's Hospital, in the High Street, Croydon, at 11.45, when the building will be examined, by the kind permission of the authorities, and where a paper on its History and Foundation will be read by Mr. S. Wayland Kershaw, F.S.A.

Trains leave Victoria at 10.24 A.M. for West Croydon Station, arriving at 11.32. From Victoria Station at 11 o'clock, arriving at East Croydon at 11.39.

Luncheon will be partaken of at 1.30 at the Greyhound Hotel. After luncheon, the Church of St. John the Baptist,

the parish church of Croydon, will be inspected, by the courtesy of the Rev. J. M. Brathwaite, Vicar, who will describe the ancient monuments preserved after the fire which consumed the former building, and will show the old registers.

The ancient Palace of the Archbishop of Canterbury will then be inspected, by the kind permission of Mr. and Miss Oswald, under the guidance of Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, F.S.A. (Hon. Sec. of the British Archaeological Association), the exterior being inspected in the first instance. After perambulation of the building, the ancient chapel of the Palace will be visited, by permission of Mr. Brathwaite, where a paper will be read on the history of the building, by Mr. S. W. Kershaw, F.S.A., followed by some notes on the architectural features, by Mr. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., who will also refer to the probable destruction of the buildings.

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## MONDAY, OCTOBER 27TH.

### VISIT TO THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

The ladies and gentlemen of the party are to assemble at 10.30 A.M. in the great hall of the British Museum, and then, by the kind permission of Dr. Bond, Principal Librarian, and under the guidance of Mr. E. Maunde Thompson, F.S.A., Keeper of the MSS., proceed to inspect some of the rarest and most interesting of the Collection, assisted by Mr. E. Scott, M.A., Deputy Keeper, and Mr. W. De Grey Birch, F.S.A. Afterwards, through the courtesy of Mr. A. W. Franks, F.S.A.,

and Mr. George Bullen, F.S.A., visits will be paid to the new Ethnological Department, where the famous Taplow Antiquities are preserved, and the Printed Books Department in the same National Establishment.

At 1.30 p.m. Luncheon will be partaken of at the Holborn Restaurant, after which the above London and Suburban Archaeological Excursion will be concluded.

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